INDEX TO VOL. CV.

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The titles of articles are printed in italics

CONTENTS OF VOL. CV

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

AND AFTER

XIX- -XX

A MONTHLY REVIEW

FOUNDED BY JAMES KNOWLES

VOL. CV

JANUARY—JUNE 1929

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Letters as well as articles will be considered for publication, but letters should be confined to criticism or amplification of articles which have already appeared in the Review. No anonymous contribution is published.

BOOKS RECOMMENDED

A number of members of the reading public, men and women, have sent recommendations of recent books. This list is a digest of their selections.—THE EDITOR.

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honour and the latter punishment was annulled. As for the crown prince, the court declared unanimously that it was incompetent to decide. The members avoided the word 'desertion,' speaking merely of an attempt to 'absent himself.' This they considered a State matter and a family affair as between the king and his son, and they left the crown prince to the paternal clemency of His Majesty.

The king was furious. Blood he would have. From Wusterhausen on November 1 he wrote a violent letter to the court-martial expressing his surprise at the sentence upon Katte and his inability to realise 'the shallow reasons which have induced the court-martial not to pass sentence of death upon him.' And he concluded his letter with these words.

> His Majesty went to school too in his youth and learned this Latin proverb: *Fiat justitia et pereat mundus*. We decree therefore of right and justice that though he by right deserves as having committed the crime of high treason to be torn with hot pincers and hanged, yet in consideration of his family he shall be put to death with the sword. When the court-martial shall signify his sentence to Katte he is to be told that His Majesty is sorry, but that it is better that Katte should die rather than that justice should depart out of the world.

But for Frederick William mere murder was not enough. Katte must be done to death under the window of the crown prince's cell, and officers must be sent to hold Frederick by main force, if required, against the bars. Early in the morning of November 6 Katte was led past the prison wall at Cüstrin on his way to the scaffold. At the sight of his friend, walking with quiet fortitude to his doom, the crown prince kissed his hand to him and called out in French, 'O my dear Katte! I ask of you a thousand pardons.' Katte looked to the cell window, bowed, and replied in French likewise, 'Monseigneur, it is nothing'; and then added: 'Death is sweet for so lovable a prince,' and fared on—round some angle of the fortress and out of sight of Frederick, who had swooned away after his last glimpse of Katte in this world. By a refinement of cruelty the headless body, covered by a black cloth, was by express order of the king left for several hours in view of the prince's window.

For some days Frederick lived in hourly terror of being summoned to endure a similar fate. But the protests on behalf of the crown prince, received from the Courts of the Great Powers of Europe, imposed a check on the savagery of Frederick William. The crown prince's life was spared. He had still to undergo a long ordeal of discipline and humiliation. But in one respect he had gained his point. Nevermore was the royal cane lifted against him.

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with some nerve-racking experiences *en route*. In the old castle at Mittenwalde he had been examined by an official commission. The fiscal-general had appeared in his official red cloak. Red was the colour of the headsman's dress at Berlin, and for a moment Frederick thought that his last hour had come. Later, during the inquiry, there were ominous references to the rack. Frederick owned afterwards that his blood ran cold. But he confronted the commissioners with courage and answered with spirit to the questions put to him by the creatures of the king

In his cell at Cüstrin Frederick wore plain prison dress, for his uniform, sword, and every mark of dignity had been removed. Tenpence a day was allowed for his food—sixpence for dinner and fourpence for supper The food was cut for him, as he was not allowed the use of a knife There was no furniture, not even the most needful, in his cell The prisoner was not allowed on any pretext whatever to leave his cell, three times a day an attendant entered, remaining not more than four minutes on each occasion. No books were allowed except the Bible and Prayer Book. The single tallow candle was extinguished at seven every evening. Permission to receive Holy Communion was refused. Some relaxation was afforded the prisoner after a few weeks owing to the humanity of his gaolers Books and writing materials were smuggled in, some human intercourse was allowed him, and the regulation as to deprivation of light at seven o'clock was disregarded.

After six or seven weeks of furious brooding the king declared that Keith, Katte, and the crown prince should stand their trial for desertion before a court-martial As regards Keith the order was a mere formality, for the crown prince had found time to warn him, and, handily situated as he was on the frontier, Keith had fled into Holland and thence to England Two other officers were also to be brought to trial for comparatively minor derelictions of duty in connexion with the projected flight. The court-martial assembled at Copenick on October 25, 1730—a full-dress affair with a lieutenant-general and three each of the rank of major-general, colonel, lieutenant-colonel, major and captain, the members voting by classes according to rank For six days the court sat, and then forwarded the proceedings with findings and sentences to the king. The case of Keith was simple He had actually deserted and was condemned to death but as he was out of reach all that could be done was to cite him by beat of drum and hang him in effigy Katte had not deserted, but he had contemplated doing so, and he had given the crown prince active assistance in the preliminaries of his scheme Of the five classes of members three voted for death and two for detention in a fortress for life; the president's vote turned the scale in Katte's

innocuous substitutes in their stead. The king himself arrived at Potsdam on August 27, and the usual scenes of savage cruelty ensued. Black in the face, his eyes sparkling fire, and foaming at the mouth, the king knocked Wilhelmina senseless to the ground, and was with difficulty restrained by the queen and others present from kicking her while she lay. The queen in her terror rushed up and down the room shrieking hysterically. The noise was heard outside. A crowd collected. The guard turned out. Meanwhile inside the palace the king was swearing he would have Fritz put to death and Wilhelmina imprisoned for life. He accused the princess of complicity in the crown prince's attempt to desert, and declared that she had had an intrigue with Katte, to whom he said she had borne several children. Of Katte's connexion with the crown prince the king had formed an idea even more horrible and, probably, equally far-fetched. The dreadful scene was interrupted by the sight of Katte being led across the palace square for interview by the king, who rushed off to vent further cruelty, shouting out that he would soon have evidence against his son and daughter—'clear proofs to cut the heads off them.'

Before dealing with the main culprits the king had a hurried campaign of vengeance against those whose connexion with deserter Fritz and his schemes was more remote. Arrest and banishment were the rule in every case, and even the very bookseller who had provided the crown prince with books was sent to Memel. The king gave forth terrible threats. He wished more than ever for the death or abdication of his son, but here he found himself confronted by grave difficulties, for as heir to the Elector of Brandenburg the crown prince held a high place in the Empire. To put him to death without the Emperor's consent would involve immense political difficulties, and an enforced renunciation of the succession would have the same result. A rumour of the king's murderous intentions filled all minds and occupied all tongues in Prussia and Berlin, in spite of a savage edict which threatened that every tongue so offending would be cut out. The king, with his queer, warped mind—the mind of a brutal drill sergeant suffering from gout and religious mania and given to drink—was torn between a longing to cut off his son's head and the desire to save his immortal soul. Carlyle, quoting from old letters of Frederick William of this time, declares that these show 'the ruggedest of human creatures melted into blubbering tenderness and growling huskily something which we perceive is real prayer.' For a month the king never went to bed sober, and his conduct one night is consistent with an attack of *delirium tremens*.

Meanwhile the crown prince was languishing in solitary confinement in a prisoner's cell at Cüstrin, sixty miles east of Berlin. He had been brought there under escort and by circuitous routes

brother of the crown prince's friend who had been sent off to Wesel in disgrace—and Frederick persuaded the lad to have horses ready at four o'clock in the morning for the projected flight across the Rhine. By mistake—Fate was indeed unkind to the crown prince—Keith first wakened the prince's valet, who had long been a spy of the king's, and, when the crown prince had dressed and slipped out, the valet woke up Colonel Rochow, who hurried in great agitation to rouse the other military watchdogs. The prince was found waiting for the horses which had not yet arrived, and was induced—according to some accounts compelled by main force—to return to the camp. He sullenly maintained that his intention was one of amorous adventure to a neighbouring village; but, unknown to the prince, the plot was divulged later by the page, who confessed everything to the king. Frederick William sent for the 'trio of vigilance' and informed them that if they failed to bring the crown prince back to Prussia, living or dead, they would answer for it with their heads. Arriving at Darmstadt, he said to his son with grim mockery, 'Still here, then? I thought you would have been in Paris by this time,' to which the prince, not yet aware of young Keith's treachery, replied with light-hearted evasion. He discovered, however, to his dismay that he was now practically in arrest, and at Frankfort the worst happened. At that city there arrived an express to the king from Captain Katte. It was the letter meant for Lieutenant Katte, on which the crown prince had forgotten to include the word 'Berlin' in the address. There was now revealed to the maddened king a plot to desert in which an officer of his guards was a conspirator. He sought out the crown prince, rushed upon him, seized him by the throat, tore out his hair by the roots, and struck him in the face with the knob of his stick with such violence that blood streamed from the prince's nose.

From Frankfort the royal party proceeded down the Rhine to Wesel, the crown prince, in arrest, following in a separate yacht under guard of the military watchdogs. At Wesel the culprit was brought on shore for a further interview with his father. A terrible scene ensued. The crown prince acknowledged that he had intended to desert, but declined to express the remorse expected from him, whereupon the enraged father drew his sword, and would have run the crown prince through the body had not the commandant of Wesel sprung between them with vehement protests. Rumours of the attempted flight and of the actual arrest of the crown prince soon reached Berlin, where the queen and Wilhelmina were thrown into an agony of alarm. They knew that the king, immediately on his return, would search Frederick's desk for incriminating letters, and the two ladies therefore burnt the whole of the correspondence and set to writing hundreds of

the Dutch frontier. The other [illegible] Katte, a lieutenant in the bodyguard and some six years [illegible] to the crown prince. Although Katte was of the Junker class and came from a military family, his tastes were those of a scholar, and he was unusually well read and well informed for a man of his age and class. Katte disliked army life; and a spirit of rebellion against the Prussian military system was the chief bond between him and the young Frederick. The crown prince was resolved to try to escape to France, Holland or England, and his fellow conspirators Keith and Katte had engaged to assist him. Captain Guy Dickens, the British secretary of legation, was also in the plot; but although he assured the prince that everything would be done in England to assist him and to pay his debts, he deprecated the prince's intention of seeking asylum there.

On July 15, 1730, the King of Prussia started from Berlin for a journey through southern and western Germany, taking with him the crown prince. Frederick's mind was now made up. He would, at all costs, fly from his brutal father But the stars in their courses fought against the crown prince It so happened that at Erlangen, one of the towns on the route, there was quartered Rittmeister (*i.e.*, cavalry captain) von Katte, a cousin of the crown prince's confidant in Berlin. From the latter there came by special messenger an incriminating letter to Frederick, and the messenger, in passing through Erlangen, informed the *Rittmeister* that he was the bearer of a note from the lieutenant to the crown prince, and asked where he would find his Royal Highness. Captain von Katte's suspicions were aroused, and he gave to the messenger a note addressed to Colonel von Rochow, one of a 'trio of vigilance' set by the king over the crown prince, advising him to be on his guard The king was informed. For some time suspicions as to the prince's intention had begun to form, and they were now strengthened Worse still was to follow. In writing to Lieutenant Katte the crown prince omitted to put 'Berlin' on the address, with the result that the letter was delivered to, and read by, the suspicious Captain Katte at Erlangen. The crown prince's carelessness was to cost Lieutenant Katte his life.

A scene, trivial but humiliating, determined the crown prince. At Feuchtwang the royal party was entertained by the dowager Margravine of Anspach. During dinner Frederick let fall a knife, and his clumsiness led to an abusive outburst from the king. After reaching Augsburg the party headed north-west towards the Rhine, and the proximity of the French frontier induced Frederick to make his attempt from Steinfurth, a village between Heilbronn and Heidelberg, where for want of better accommodation the king and his entourage had to pass the night upon straw in barns. Among the king's entourage was a page, Keith—

period, the king never saw Frederick without threatening him with the cane. She herself, though supposed to be her father's favourite, shared in the horrible treatment meted out to his family by the royal brute. 'The pains of purgatory,' she wrote, 'could not equal what we endured.' She and her brother were forced to attend the king at nine in the morning, to dine with him, and not to leave the room under any pretence whatever. The monster spent the time in hurling invectives at his two children. At dinner the food was disgusting, but the king forced Wilhelmina and Frederick to eat till they sometimes vomited in his presence. The king, when carving, would often endeavour to leave nothing for the two children, and if his calculations had erred he would spit on the dish so as to prevent them eating what was left. Once Wilhelmina had the courage to remonstrate at the quality of the food, and a real 'royal row' ensued. The king threw a plate at Frederick and another at Wilhelmina. As the family rose to withdraw the king aimed a blow at his daughter with his crutch. She dodged it, and the king then made his lackeys drag his wheeled chair in pursuit, while the princess fled to the queen's apartments. There can be little doubt that at this period Frederick William was violently insane. Once he drove the queen and the children angrily from his presence and tried to strangle himself with a cord. It was in this year that he proposed to challenge King George II. of England to a duel, the *casus belli* being the mowing of a hayfield upon disputed territory on the Hanover-Brandenburg frontier.

In June 1730 things had come to a crisis between the king and his son. In that month there was held in the camp of Radewitz an entertainment given by Augustus of Saxony, which was a combination of military manœuvres, a 'tattoo,' and a beanfeast. The chief guests were the King of Prussia and the Crown Prince Frederick, and to degrade his son in the eyes of the royal and aristocratic assemblage seems to have been one of the chief objects of Frederick William. The crown prince, who was now in his nineteenth year, was treated like a disobedient child, and on one occasion was actually beaten *coram publico*. The king added mockery to outrage by declaring: 'Had I been treated so by my father I would have blown my brains out; but this fellow has no honour—he takes all that comes.' With Frederick the desire to escape his life of humiliation now became a fixed resolve. He had made a couple of friends on whose help he could rely. The first was a young officer, one of the king's pages, Keith by name, who had become an inseparable companion—so inseparable that the diseased mind of the king had placed upon the attachment the most unfavourable construction, and Lieutenant Keith was dismissed from the palace and posted to a regiment at Wesel, on

place for a lad of sixteen, who had been brought up in rigorous seclusion, to have his first glimpse of the world. Augustus the Strong was a most immoral man. He had a large number of illegitimate children (at his death the total was estimated at 354), and so abominable was the moral state of affairs at Dresden that his favourite mistress was one of his own illegitimate daughters, who filled the same place in the affections of one of his natural sons. The Crown Prince of Prussia fell under the charms of this lady, and the debauchery to which he gave way at Dresden seriously undermined his health, while the temporary freedom he had there enjoyed made him chafe against the restrictions to which he was forced to submit at home. Shortly after his return from Dresden the crown prince fell into a very low state of health, and the king, believing it the result of his own severe treatment, felt some perfunctory pangs of remorse, and even showed some kindness and tenderness to his son. But when he was apprised of the real cause the king's rage knew no bounds. He had his son strictly watched, once more spoke with savage delight at the prospect of his death, and in the presence of some young officers offered a reward to anyone who should bring him intelligence that the crown prince had contracted a loathsome disease.

The king now redoubled his brutality. Frederick, to whom his beloved flute was about the only resource left, had formed a friendship with a young woman, the daughter of a minor official in Potsdam, who played the spinet and with whom the young man would play duets. Whether a guilty relationship existed between the pair is uncertain. Voltaire calls her *une espèce de maîtresse*, and declares that the prince merely fancied that he was in love with her. The king, however, immediately presumed guilt and had the young woman publicly flogged in the market-place in Potsdam right under the eyes of his son. In the royal palace there were terrible scenes. The house was divided against itself, for the queen was working for a double English marriage (Wilhelmina to the Prince of Wales, and Frederick to the Princess Amelia), while the king had been induced by political wirepullers to oppose the project. In December 1729 the king taunted his son with his English proclivities, to which the young man spiritedly replied: 'I respect the English because I know the people there love me.' The king went livid with rage. He sprang upon his son, seized him by the throat, and showered blows upon him with his cane until sheer exhaustion compelled him to desist. That night Frederick wrote to his mother: 'The king has entirely forgotten that I am his son. . . . I am driven to extremity. I have too much honour to endure such treatment, and am resolved to put an end to it one way or another.'

The Princess Wilhelmina has left on record that, at this

routine lasted for nearly ten years. During it the crown prince had, of course, to fulfil his military duties as well. By the time he was twelve years old he could drill his cadet company with great exactness, and he himself was frequently obliged to stand sentry before the palace with musket and cartridge box just like any private soldier. In his fourteenth year he was appointed captain in the Potsdam Grenadier Guards—the regiment of giants. All the time the king's brutality kept the life of the crown prince one of misery. One day there was a terrible scene because the boy wore gloves when out hunting on a day of Arctic temperature. On another occasion the king insisted on his son riding an unbroken horse, and when the crown prince was thrown and severely injured he was ordered to attend guard mounting next day, even though he was unable to get his arm into the sleeve of his jacket. At table the crown prince was foolish enough to use a three-pronged fork instead of the two-pronged instrument of standard use, and was severely beaten by the king for his audacity.

A complete divergence between the tastes and pursuits of the king and his son was noticeable to observers by the time the latter had reached the age of fourteen The king had a mania for soldiers, while the crown prince was frankly bored by everything connected with his military duties The father was an arrant Philistine, while the son was passionately fond of music, drew and painted with no little skill, and was so devoted to books that by the time he was fifteen he, in league with one of his tutors, had got together a library of 3000 books—many of them encyclopædias, bibliographies, histories, and mathematical and scientific works—which he concealed in a house near the palace Frederick loathed the 'Tobacco Parliament,' with its foul atmosphere and the *bourgeois* company with which the king delighted to surround himself; he disliked, too, attendance at church, and preferred to stay at home and read Voltaire The king hated, while the crown prince adored, everything French. Frederick William was passionately fond of the chase, but the slaying of stags and wolves and boars merely wearied his son Often the crown prince would retire with some musical comrades and hold a miniature concert with the flutes and piccolos which they had brought in the pockets of their hunting-coats.

The turning-point in the life of the crown prince came early in 1728, when, for reasons of State, the King of Prussia went to Dresden to visit Augustus the Elector of Saxony, who was also King of Poland. Frederick William had at first decided to leave the crown prince at home, but, wishing probably to have his son, who had entered the stage of adolescence, under his own eye, he gave a grudging assent to the boy's appeal to be allowed to accompany him. The court at Dresden was hardly a suitable

plishment which endeared him to the infant recruit, who had an exquisite ear for music. As a seven-year-old the crown prince was taken out of women's hands and placed in charge of a military governor who had military and civilian tutors under him. The king drew up a curriculum of extreme rigour and precision. Religion came first. No heretical sects were even to be mentioned in the child's presence. He was to be imbued with abhorrence of popery and given a revelation of its baselessness and absurdity. A proper love and fear of God was to be explained as the foundation and sole pillar of the prince's temporal and eternal welfare. In secular things he was to learn arithmetic, mathematics and artillery, and economy 'to the very bottom.' Only a little ancient history, but an exact knowledge of the history of the last century and a half Fritz (poor little man!) was to be 'completely master of' the *Jus Naturale* and *Jus Gentium*. Later he was to be instructed in the war sciences so as 'to infuse into him a true love for the soldier business,' and the fact was to be impressed upon him that nothing but the sword could bring a prince honour and renown. Latin, however, was strictly prohibited. Later this decree was disregarded by one of the prince's tutors with unfortunate results. The king, entering the schoolroom, found all the contraband apparatus of Latin grammars and dictionaries displayed, and among other books was a copy of the *Aurea Bulla*—the Golden Bull of the Emperor Charles VI. 'What is this?' roared the king 'Your Majesty, I am explaining the *Aurea Bulla* to the prince,' stammered the terrified usher Up went the royal cane, off fled the pedagogue, and outraged majesty coined a new and startling German verb: '*Ich will dich, Schurke, beaureambullam*' (I'll Golden Bull you, you rascal'), and so ended the classical education of the crown prince.

When the little Fritz was ten years old his system of education was again tightened up and adjusted, and this time with such ferocity as to suggest that the king wished to confine his son in an intellectual strait waistcoat. Every minute of the boy's working hours was rigorously planned His life was a constant routine. He had no time to play, no leisure to think. He was never alone, yet he was always lonely. His very prayers—the hours at which they should be said and the words to be employed—were the subject of royal mandate. The same exactitude was applied to his ablutions—at what hour he should wash and the occasions when he was to be allowed soap and the occasions when he must use water alone. Speed was essential. The crown prince was to have his breakfast while getting combed and queued 'so that both jobs go on at once,' and it was ordered that the lad should dress and undress himself '*hurtig so wie als menschenmöglich ist*' ('as fast as is humanly possible'). This awful and grinding

study and prayer, and emphasized this advice by a sound caning administered upon the spot. On one occasion the king pursued a Jew in Berlin and beat him almost to death. When to the royal demand why he had run away the terrified Hebrew replied that he was afraid of His Majesty, the king, with savage cuts of the cane, roared out: 'You are not to fear me, you are to love me, love me.' This out-of-doors brutality was duplicated and even increased within the walls of the palace. On one occasion he sent for a magistrate to discuss a case with him, and opened the proceedings by striking his visitor on the mouth with a stick, knocking out several teeth. Macaulay is not far wrong when he says that life there was a hell and that the master of the household was the most execrable of fiends and a dreadful cross between Moloch and Puck.

With such a monster for a father the early life of the Crown Prince Frederick was bound to be one of misery. Oliver Twist in the workhouse and Smike at Dotheboys Hall were pampered children compared with the wretched heir to the crown of Prussia. Some relief might have been afforded the young crown prince had he been cast in the same mould as his brutal sire, for deep in the savage heart of Frederick William lay some curious seeds of parental affection. But in physique, character, and tastes there was a wide gulf between father and son. Voltaire declared that 'never perhaps in all the world have a father and son ever existed who were quite so unlike.' Frederick was a frail, sensitive, highly strung little fellow who was always horribly frightened at the rough pleasantries of his father—on the rare occasions when the latter was in a good humour—and who trembled all over and became hysterical with fear when Frederick William was in a rage. Before even the unfortunate little crown prince had grown to boyhood his father hated him. The brutal, blustering, bullying king could not bear to think that the fruit of his loins and the heir to his throne was a timid, fragile and effeminate weakling. 'The king,' wrote Frederick's elder sister Wilhelmina bitterly, many years later—'the king could not bear my brother. He abused him whenever he laid eyes on him, so that Frederick became obsessed with a fear of him which persisted even after he had reached the age of reason.'

Before he was out of the hands of his nurses and governesses—when he was but five years old, in fact—the military education of the crown prince was begun. There was formed especially for the little Fritz a miniature company some 100 strong which in time increased in size and became a permanent institution known as the crown prince's cadets. The drillmaster was a seventeen-year-old youth, Rentzell by name, who 'knew his fugling to a hair's-breadth,' and who also played beautifully on the flute, an accom-

painter to reproduce the great event. He raised the Prussian army from a strength of 30,000 to 80,000 soldiers, an enormous figure when viewed in comparison with the size and population of Prussia at the beginning of the eighteenth century. To maintain such a powerful force the entire kingdom was divided into circles according to the number of hearths. Every able-bodied male, excepting only certain classes necessary for purposes of education and trade, was predestined from birth to bear arms. Every boy had to wear a regimental stock as a reminder of the duty in front of him. Even children of five years were enrolled and their parents obliged to give security for their appearance when called for. 'Better be a eunuch in a Turkish harem,' cried the harassed people, 'than a Prussian subject.'

If the army was his passion, the collection of a *corps d'élite* of tall soldiers amounted almost to a mania. Although naturally parsimonious almost to the point of avarice, the king spent money like water in enticing tall recruits from abroad; and although he really dreaded war he risked the anger of brother sovereigns by an audacious system of kidnapping six-foot men. The ambition of the king was to form a brigade of these giants, and his agents were active everywhere. Their researches were not confined to Europe, and in the words of Macaulay: 'No head that towered above the crowd in the bazaars of Aleppo, of Cairo, or Surat could escape the crimps of Frederick William.' The drilling and reviewing these great grenadiers was the main interest of his life, but, after a brush with Sweden in the third year of his reign, nothing would induce him to use his army, although it was always ready to take the field within eight days. The only blood of his soldiers he ever spilt was indeed that of his grenadiers, but it was shed by the lancet, and not by the sword. When overheated with passion or drink he was frequently relieved by bleeding. Bleeding must therefore have a like effect upon the restless or insubordinate soldier. 'Bleed the regiment, every man!' he roared once at a review held in hotter weather. He himself set the example; and then, company by company, as they stood under arms, the regiment submitted itself to the operation.

Frederick William was indeed a maniac, and the fact that he was allowed to be at large and to exercise his brutal tyranny unchecked throws a curious light upon the submissiveness of subject to sovereign in eighteenth-century Prussia. When Frederick William walked abroad his cane was in his hand, and his insane fury was vented in curses and blows. If he met a lady in the street he was as likely as not to give her a kick and tell her to go home and mind her brats. If he saw a clergyman staring at the soldiers he bade the reverend gentleman betake himself to

A ROYAL DESERTER

THE ingredients which went to make up the character of Frederick William I., King of Prussia, were as varied as those which, on the authority of *Patience*, we know to be requisite for a heavy dragoon. But the contents of the crucible required for the making of the Prussian king were much more deadly than those sung by Colonel Calverley to his simple-minded auditors In Frederick William there was more than a trace of Rhadamanthus and a distinct strain both of Nero and Caligula as well. Harpagon was well represented in his composition. He showed strong symptoms of Caliban. But the ingredients which will most surely reveal themselves are those which made up Judge Jeffreys, Squire Western, Wackford Squeers, and Mr Fang Yet there were other particles which to some extent neutralised the deadly effect of those ingredients just named Although he was a bully and a boor and a sot, Frederick William was unquestionably a deeply religious man—indeed, at times, fanatically so. In an age when marital infidelity, especially among kings and princes, was taken almost as a matter of course, he maintained in his married life a standard of purity remarkable and exceptional at the time In an age when baths were a rarity he had a passion for bodily cleanliness. And although his language, even to royal ladies, was in his frequent moments of rage horrible and obscene he was a stern *censor morum*. He frowned on the peccadilloes of youth, while for vice in which the decadent or unnatural played a part Frederick William had a very real loathing and horror

He was indeed a mixture of contrasting qualities He was an excellent administrator, but possessed of eccentricities which had never before been seen out of a madhouse He was the most pacific of princes, yet he was at heart a soldier The army was his passion. He was the first prince to make military uniform the regulation court dress, and during the last fifteen years of his reign he never wore anything else. When his five-year-old son—he who was later to be Frederick the Great—wept at being put for the first time into stiff regimentals the king was angry; but when the prince tried to beat out a march on a tiny drum Frederick William was so thrilled that he hastily summoned the court

Raleigh. On his arrival, Stanhope asks him why he did not come to dinner, and Raleigh asks how he can sit there and drink champagne and smoke cigars with Osborne lying dead outside.

The cup of bitterness overflows and Stanhope turns on Raleigh in uncontrolled fury. 'The one man I could trust—my best friend—the one man I could talk to as man to man—who understood everything—and you think I don't care.' Still Raleigh cannot understand, and Stanhope breaks down utterly. 'To forget, you little fool—to forget! D'you understand? To forget! You think there's no limit to what a man can bear?'

To Raleigh at last comes understanding. Perhaps this play will give at long last to others understanding. Life was not the only, or the dearest, thing forfeited by the soldier. The price of victory was paid by the dead before death came to them, often in the guise of merciful release; it continues to be paid by the living to-day.

Dawn comes, the last dawn for all. The invincible Trotter is discovered shaving. 'Wash and brush up, tuppence!' He goes out cheerful and undaunted. Hibbert goes unwillingly, accompanied by the cockney servant who has completed his last task of providing his officers with sandwiches. 'Your sambridges, sir. 'Arf bully beef and 'arf sardine. Sardine on top, sir.' Raleigh is brought down wounded, and dies in Stanhope's arms. Reconciliation has come at last, the friends are friends again. The shelling rises to a fury, and Stanhope goes up the steps to play for the last time his captain's part, to lead the men to whom he has been faithful, for whom he has sacrificed much more than his life.

To the soldier *Journey's End* is a record, remarkable in its fidelity, of his own experience of war. The play recaptures for him the very atmosphere of days half-forgotten but most worthy of remembrance. On that if on no other account it is to him a great play. The more fortunate generation which has already succeeded us will find here material which will enable them, if they will, to sit in judgment. It may well be that their judgment will be unfavourable; the men of yesterday bear no aureole of romance. '*Magnanimi heroes nati melioribus annis*' could nc have been written by a poet of to-day. But perhaps we may hop that, though the future may rightly lay claim to the better year England will not wholly forget the men of an ill-starred generatio who, when the darkness closed round them, were great of heart.

C. O. G. DOUIE.

all the other infantry companies in France, and Raleigh will surely tell his sister the truth. Stanhope is beside himself with anger, and is put to bed drunk by Osborne. Mason looks in with the good news that the pepper has arrived.

The second act reveals Trotter attacking his breakfast and trying to find the bit of leaf in the bacon which, Mason asserts, has shrunk up in the cooking. He has suspicions that Mason is getting familiar. The coming of spring has reminded him of his red, white, and blue garden at home, and of his eight-foot ''olly 'ock' of which he keeps a photograph. He is reminded also of the spring of the year before when the scent of a may tree caused the scare of a gas attack. 'Why, a blinkin' may tree! All out in bloom, growing beside the path! We did feel a lot of silly poops—putting on gas masks because of a damn may tree!' He has hopes of an ''ot summer'; the black clouds of which the others are more than conscious have not yet darkened his horizon.

Stanhope is under no illusions. He arranges for the strengthening of the wire before the front line and the wiring of the communication trenches so that his company may hold out to the last even if the troops on both flanks retire. He interviews his sergeant-major to this end. The sergeant-major can hardly be said to take the news that the attack is expected on Thursday morning with a frolic welcome. He takes a very dirty little notebook from his pocket and makes the requisite note. 'Thursday morning. Very good, sir.'

But Stanhope's burden is not yet complete. He has on his hands the malingering Hibbert, and in a terrible scene he threatens him with a revolver in order to keep him at his post. We are spared nothing in this play. This is war as it really was. 'You either stay here and try and be a man—or you try to get out of that door—to desert. If you do that, there's going to be an accident. It often happens out here.' We have a raid, one of those raids which we all remember so well, ordered at short notice for the purpose of securing prisoners for identification purposes, and representing for those who took part the most forlorn of forlorn hopes. A prisoner is secured at the cost of Osborne's life and that of six others. Stanhope's cup of bitterness is full. 'How awfully nice,' he says to the colonel, 'if the brigadier's pleased.'

The last evening comes, and the surviving officers of the company, all but Raleigh, seek to forget the tragedy of which they have been witnesses and that which awaits them in the morning in the most obvious way. Hibbert when drunk becomes almost cheerful, but his repulsive little mind ultimately gets on Stanhope's nerves. Trotter, having dined admirably and having tried to button his tunic without success, goes out to relieve

Stanhope is 'drinking like a fish,' but that his reputation for soldierly qualities and efficiency is not impaired, as the incompetent Hardy is particularly anxious to get away before Stanhope has an opportunity of a word with him about the dirty state of his trenches.

Hardy disappears, and Mason, the Cockney soldier servant, arrives to lay supper, the usual supper of the front line, with the exception of the cutlets—'Ordinary ration meat, but a noo shape, sir.' Mason retires, and Raleigh, the newly-joined subaltern, comes down the dug-out steps. Raleigh is full of his amazing luck. Stanhope was his hero at school, and he has been appointed to Stanhope's company. We learn incidentally that there is, or has been, an understanding between Stanhope and Raleigh's sister.

Stanhope and Trotter arrive Stanhope stares at Raleigh as though dazed and greets him with marked coldness. Supper begins, to the great satisfaction of the homely Trotter, but even his equanimity is disturbed when addressing his soup by the discovery that the miserable Mason has not packed the pepper. 'I mean—after all—war's bad enough with pepper—(*noisy sip*)—but war without pepper—it's—it's bloomin' awful!' Hibbert is relieved in the front line and comes down the stair. He will not have any supper as he is suffering from neuralgia, and retires to his dug-out 'Another little worm trying to wriggle home,' observes Stanhope to Osborne, and helps himself to the whisky which enables him still to play a man's part

The tragedy begins to take its course, a grimmer tragedy than that of *Le Tombeau* The soldier of the latter play and Stanhope are alike in this, that the war has betrayed them and, not content with claiming their lives, has first taken as forfeit their earthly happiness But the soldier has the consolation of a philosophy, almost a religion, which the war has taught him, as shield against the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune Stanhope has nothing but defiance to offer to implacable fate The scene of *Le Tombeau* is a country house far from the battlefield. The soldier has at least a quiet hour and decent surroundings in which he may take his farewell of life. 'A présent nous sommes en règle,' he says To Stanhope is vouchsafed the rat-ridden uncleanness of the dug-out and the nerve-shattering clamour of the front line The soldier has but his duty to perform; Stanhope has the added burden of responsibility for his company. The soldier has lost the love of his bride; Stanhope will not go to her, reeking with whisky and not master of himself. All might have been well. 'We all go west in the big attack and she goes on thinking I'm a fine fellow for ever—and ever—and ever.' But fate has decreed that Raleigh should come to his company of

This is the darkest hour of the war. For these young men has succeeded attack, each winning some small measure of success. In the background is the heavy fighting of late 1917, when a little ground, mostly swamp, was won at a hideous cost. These are the victors of Passchendaele.

The price of victory has been paid time and again. The reckless courage and self-sacrifice of the early battles, the unfaltering resolution of 1917, have bought this, and this only. The initiative has passed to the German army, and the great attack is imminent. Victory is as far off as ever, in its place beckons the spectre of defeat. To Raleigh alone, the newly-joined subaltern, does war hold any element of romance or adventure, and to him disillusion comes in a day and a night. Hibbert has given up the struggle and yielded to fear and despair. The others support their heavy burden, each in his own fashion, resolute but without hope. To them, as to the soldier in *Le Tombeau*, remains the 'volonté sans illusions,' which is so much more enduring than enthusiasm. 'Il y a une tâche pénible et necessaire, il faut la faire.'

The play opens with the relief of the sector by Captain Stanhope's company. Osborne takes over from Hardy, the incompetent captain of the outgoing company. Hardy is discovered drying a sock over a candle flame. The scene could have been written only by one who had seen service with the infantry. The peculiar form of good humour and sarcasm which was the *argot* of the trenches could hardly have been imagined. Perhaps to those who did not serve in the war this humour lacks point, is indeed ineffably silly. One critic, evidently of the younger generation, found it more than he could bear. This is natural; the humour of one generation is not the humour of the next, more especially when their lot has greatly differed.

OSBORNE. Five beds, you say? (*He examines the one he is sitting on.*) Is this the best one?

HARDY. Oh, no. (*He points to the bed in the right corner.*) That's mine. The ones in the other dug-out haven't got any bottoms to them. You keep yourself in by hanging your arms and legs over the sides. Mustn't hang your legs too low or the rats gnaw your boots.

OSBORNE. You got many rats here?

HARDY. I should say—roughly—about two million; but then, of course, I don't see them all.

The dialogue is authentic, and to a soldier reminiscent, to a degree which is almost painful. It creates the atmosphere; henceforward we live again the old and half-forgotten life. Here are the trench stores which we were accustomed to take over (thirty-four gum boots: twenty-five right leg and nine left leg). Here is the gossip of the front line. We learn incidentally that

This is the theme of M. Paul Raynal's great play. He prefaces it with lines of rare and compelling beauty addressed to his late comrades:

> A l'enfant de chez nous
> Quinze cent mille fois sacré à tout cœur juste
> Qui pour l'éternité
> L'éternité Française qu'il a faite
> Dort et rêve sous l'Arc de Triomphe
> Aux quatre vents sans fin
> De la gloire du mystère de la douleur et de l'amour.

This noble tribute is a fitting prelude to a play which reaches the height of its great argument. A generation speaks to posterity through the soldier who is its hero. It is well that great literature should tell the story of that generation to those who come after them, for the lesson which they learned from tragic experience may thereby not be forgotten, and some meed of honour may be accorded to them in recompense.

> How many ages hence
> Shall this our lofty scene be acted o'er
> In states unborn and accents yet unknown!

Journey's End and *Le Tombeau sous l'Arc de Triomphe* have much in common. They are tragedies. They exhibit men under the influence of long service in the field and in the presence of defeat and death. Both dramatists have evidently reached the same conclusions in regard to war. But in the latter play the tragedy is unrelieved, there is not an amusing moment; the grandeur of the protagonist carries the play forward to a majestic close. The impression left on the mind resembles that imposed by the reading of a canto of *Paradise Lost*. In the former play the tragic scenes are interspersed with comedy and are heightened by that circumstance. Mr. Sherriff has evidently read his Shakespeare.

The action takes place in the three days preceding the great German offensive of March 21, 1918. Captain Stanhope's company is holding a sector of the British trenches before St. Quentin; the company is doomed. In and out of the dug-out pass the officers of the company—Stanhope, the young captain, his nerves in rags after three years of infantry fighting, supporting his courage and resolution by whisky in preference to quitting his post; Osborne, the middle-aged schoolmaster, strong and gentle; Raleigh, the boy straight from school, enthusiastic and inexperienced; Hibbert, the malingerer; Trotter, the middle-aged ranker, a man of infinite good nature, without imagination, stolid, invincible. One by one they pass up the stair which leads to the trenches and death.

great general in action, but not master of his own mind [illegible] away from the battlefield; Laertes, single-hearted and [illegible] tempered captain; Parolles the coward; Falstaff the man who has learned that discretion is the better part of valour; Bardolph and his companions, the disreputable hangers-on of every army. Is there any soldier who did not meet all these and many other of Shakespeare's soldiers in the recent war?

Thomas Hardy, moreover, notably in *The Dynasts*, has given scenes from the battlefield which ring true. His soldiers are real soldiers, whether Wellington and his staff or the troopers who on the battlefield and on the march speak of the same irrelevant but all-absorbing topics in much the same language as the Dorset private soldier in my experience used on the Western Front.

Le Tombeau sous l'Arc de Triomphe is remarkable in that it is a play, having war as its theme, written by a soldier who has the promise, if not already the fulfilment, of the highest literary distinction. Other soldiers have described war with fidelity, and their books make excellent reading, but few have tried to probe that strange mystery, the mingled horror and majesty of battle, or have attempted a philosophy of the soldier. Indeed, this play has reminded me more often of Greek epic and drama than of anything in modern literature, and I have been told that the old Norse literature presents war in something of this guise. The Greek and the Norse poets knew war at first hand, and their view of war differs greatly from that of modern writers who have not known war. In reading the *Iliad* we gain a conception of war neither righteous nor joyous, but inevitable and decreed. This is the conception of war which we find in *Le Tombeau*. Joy of battle is not a marked characteristic of these fighting men; the father of one of them, on his return to Argos or Mycenæ, might well have sought in vain for 'l'élan d'un guerrier.' Achilles issues from his tent in a state which merits the description of 'froide détermination' rather than of 'enthousiasme.' He kills in cold fury and disgust, and asks a gallant man who pleads for his life why he should spare him seeing that on his head too must soon fall death and unrelenting fate, 'whether at dawn or noon or eventide.' In Norse literature also the weariness and sorrow of war are in the foreground, and courage in defeat is the major theme. The most marked characteristic of the literature of war written by those who know it not is that the reward of courage is shown to be victory and honour. In the books written by those who have had personal experience of war the reward of courage is more often defeat and death. How much more attractive the latter is as literature; the brave man in adversity is surely the greatest of the world's stories. 'He saved others, himself he could not save.'

I know of nothing in literature with which this play can be compared. There are many who have written of war since first man set on record that which was in his heart. The bad books about war are legion and hardly merit discussion. A play or a novel requires a hero, and war provides convenient opportunities for exhibiting heroism in its most obvious and unmistakable form. The good books about war have nearly all been written by those who have seen service in the field. But in modern literature there is hardly a man who has been at once a soldier and a distinguished man of letters. Byron died before he had time to give to the world any of the fruits of his experience of war; the greatest figures in English literature, even when they have lived in time of war, have not served in the ranks. The literature of war is disappointing on that account; the imagination of even the greatest writers has hardly apprised them of the atmosphere of the battlefield or of the soldier's point of view. There are two notable exceptions, both men of supreme genius—Shakespeare and Thomas Hardy.

Shakespeare, indeed, betrays but little interest in war. He has felt bound in *Henry V* to pay tribute to the traditional heroics associated with military enterprises, and, being Shakespeare, he has carried through the task with genius, but he is clearly happier and more at home with his n'er-do-well Pistol and Nym. In *Othello* he has been more whole-hearted, but Othello's famous speech, after the magic words 'Farewell the tranquil mind, farewell content,' becomes rather a panegyric of a military parade than an expression of a belief in fighting for fighting's sake. But the first line shows his incomparable genius; those of us who have been soldiers and are so no longer know well how hard to bear is the loss of that tranquillity of mind which we found in the faithful discharge of a soldier's trust.

It is difficult to discern in a great writer where he is putting his own point of view and where the point of view which would have been held by the character created by him. In these two plays we feel that Henry V and Othello are speaking; in *Hamlet* we feel that it is Shakespeare. His insight showed him the stupidity and futility of war as a means of settling differences of opinion, and it would be interesting to know what was the reception accorded by the England of the Tudors 300 years ago to Hamlet's aphorisms on the real issue between the armies which he saw on the march.

But Shakespeare was much more interested in men than in ideas, and we have in his plays a marvellous gallery of soldiers: Othello the great and faithful captain of mercenaries, the professional soldier at his highest; Edmund the mercenary at his worst, with courage as his only redeeming feature; Macbeth,

homme condamné iniquement à mort.' The son is amused by the idea and recalls the demeanour of the prisoners of the Temple. The father is shocked by the idea. 'Je ne m'en serais pas souvenu. Tu combats contre l'étranger. Eux subissaient une guerre fratricide.' The son reduces his father to silence at last. He asks, 'Est-ce qu'il y a des guerres qui ne soient pas fratricides?' For a time the older generation and the younger face each other in silence. Then the father recovers his equanimity and some measure of complacency. 'En quel temps nous aurons vécu!' he observes. The scene ends.

The soldier has bought his leave by volunteering for an enterprise which, if it is carried through, cannot but cost his life. The telegram which conveys the information that the enterprise must go forward has already arrived. For a time the telegram is withheld, but the son judges from the embarrassment of his father and the girl whom he loves that something is being concealed, and he demands it. When it is produced, he reads 'Revenez immédiatement.' He greets the order, the formal notice of approaching death, with that laughter which was the soldier's reaction to inexpugnable fate. He must return in a few hours; but there is yet time for the most pure of marriages. And to this marriage the soldier summons his dead comrades. He raises his glass:

> Je salue, je remercie, et j'embrasse. . . . Mes amis! Mes bons compagnons! Mes camarades! Mes copains! Êtes-vous contents que je sois heureux? . . Elle vous fait plaisir, cette joie navrée? . . Ils sont contents. Je bois à eux. Et tout d'un coup je ne sais plus, une piété plus que religieuse traversant et transfigurant mon émotion fraternelle si ce que j'élève au bout de mes doigts c'est une coupe ou un calice, et comme dans le miracle catholique, si je vais boire le vin donné par les chères terres maternelles ou le sang sacré dont ils les ont baignées en les protégeant.

Here, indeed, in language most beautiful and significant the great idea is expressed which represents, as it were, the mystery of the profession of arms, the attraction, to some minds overwhelming, of the soldier's life, however tragic its circumstance. It finds perhaps as noble expression in Julian Grenfell's *Into Battle* and Allen Seager's *Lafayette Ode*, both written by men who had seen much of war and were conscious that the strong arms of death were closing round them.

The night draws on, and the tragedy deepens. The soldier discovers that his bride no longer loves him, that his year of absence has proved too long. There is a terrible scene between him and his father. But at the last reconciliation comes, and the love of his bride is his again. 'Dans l'univers et dans l'éternité, il n'y a plus pour moi qu'une chose qui compte. C'est que tu me souries en me voyant partir.' And so he goes out to his death.

of a man speaking, but of a generation. The father, shocked an pained by his son's scorn, asks whether many think as he think Is he sure that he speaks in their name? 'Je ne parle pas,' th son replies, 'au nom de personne. Mais s'ils parlaient, ce serai comme moi.'

It is a strange conversation which ensues between father an son. The traditional rôles are reversed. The father is full o martial enthusiasm, the son out of the depths of his experienc has no patience with his father's illusions. The son is the olde man, and far the wiser. Here is a young man on the threshold o life; what has he to say of it? 'Il y a une tâche pénible e nécessaire, il faut la faire' He is still a soldier in the ranks; h disdains his father's suggestion that his life might be mor tolerable if he were an officer. 'Je hais tellement la guerre qu je ne suis pas fâché de la subir tout entière' He repudiates th idea that his service has in it anything of servitude. He i obedient, not to others, but to himself alone 'Tout ce qui est ne l'ai je pas voulu ou consenti? Je tiens avec probité ce qu j'ai promis.' The father is distressed; fidelity to an idea is surel not enough to support a man in battle. There must somehow b found an element of romance. But the son will have none of it Joy of battle, he observes, is not mentioned in military text-books The dialogue rises to a crescendo. The father thinks that some-thing must be done about it

'Il faudrait changer le cœur des hommes,' he says.

'Qui sait s'il n'est pas changé?' replies the son.

'Qu'y a t'il de nouveau en eux?'

'Leur dédain muet de la gloire'

The son breaks at last into a passionate outburst of denuncia-tion and derision of the old ideas of war, once 'féroce et magnifique,' now 'la plus lourde, la plus monotone, la plus rebutante des corvées'

The father is impressed, but cannot dispossess himself of his cherished illusions The explanation may perhaps be that his son is not as good a man as his comrades 'Pourtant tu n'est pas leur pareil,' he suggests. But the son cuts him short, 'A force de souffrir je le suis devenu.' The father realises at last that his son has suffered, but this is a matter which the son will not discuss. The conversation drifts back; the father is exercised in his mind as to the possible outcome of the war in the absence of martial enthusiasm. 'Cette froide détermination,' can it support a man's courage? The son reassures him. 'L'enthousiasme passe. Cette volonté sans illusions ne bronchera pas.'

Again the conversation turns to other matters, but the father cannot let the subject alone He seeks in vain 'l'élan d'un guerrier,' and he finds only 'la constance hautaine et glacée d'un galant

[illegible] characters in the play: the soldier, his mother, and the girl whom he loves. The plot is of little importance, the [illegible] the characters only of limited interest. The [illegible] figure of the soldier dominates the play by the greatness of his moral stature. He is not an uncommon man; before the war he would have attracted but little notice; he has literary interests, but there is no suggestion that he would have attained high literary distinction. But by force of suffering he towers over the others in a great measure as the hero of ancient epic surpasses in stature the hosts whom he leads. He has lost one by one his friends; he knows that his little hour is drawing to a close; he has come home, his leave bought at the price of [illegible], to seek a few hours of forgetfulness, a brief interval of happiness, before he joins his comrades in the shadow and the dust.

The war has now traversed fourteen months of carnage. The great battle of the second autumn of the war has broken in a surf of blood along the heights of Champagne. The civil population is buoyed up with tales of victory, with hope of the final liberation of France from the invader. The soldier has come from that battle; he knows the truth; he has seen the small gain of territory bought at a terrible price. He finds his father in a state of [illegible] and of marked complacency. The war has made him a person of more importance than before, and he is conscious of having done the State some service. [illegible] he says with satisfaction: "Je ne suis pas [illegible] à mon âge. Je n'ai pas regardé à [illegible]. Il faut [illegible]. On n'a personne [illegible]"

The father prattles on of the petty [illegible] which the war occasions, but the son is not [illegible] [illegible] c'est [illegible] [illegible] The last word [illegible] strangely on the ear of the [illegible] he repeats in an abstracted manner. There is a wealth of meaning in the word. For more than a year he has lived in a world in which the thought of self has no place and the energies of all are directed to a common ends. He has returned to another world [illegible] away a [illegible] world, in which the [illegible] are personal [illegible], and the individual has [illegible] duty to society to cherish his personality and to watch with interest its growth in the warmth of his own self-esteem.

But there is more in that one word than this. We realise that just in such measure as the individual has lost himself in a body of men devoted to a common cause [illegible] the [illegible] have a sense, not [illegible]

TWO WAR PLAYS[1]

'Il y a des générations qui n'ont pas de chance.' In these [illegible] the soldier in *Le Tombeau sous l'Arc de Triomphe* tells the [illegible] of his peers.' He is speaking to his father, the representativ[e] [of a] generation to which the fates had been more kind. But [the] soldier is speaking not only to those who were too old to se[rve in] the war, but also to those happier generations which shall [come] after us. Here in this great play is on record the manner in w[hich] an ill-starred generation met a fate which they had done no[thing] to deserve; here is the point of view of men who lived i[n cir]cumstances of horror and died in agony that they might ex[piate] the failure of others to think clearly and to realise the c[onse]quences of their actions and policies, or, if you will, that [they] might buy through tragic experience a better world for genera[tions] yet unborn.

The point of view of the man of intelligence and imagina[tion] brought face to face with the harsh verities of war has now [never] been stated with greater power or eloquence. The soldier in [the] play may indeed speak for all soldiers, for though he has gre[ater] powers of thought and greater depth of insight than his comra[des,] yet he sees the war in no other way than as they see it. He [has] the power to formulate and to express that which is in [their] thoughts; they have not. Yet his capacity for suffering i[s] greater than theirs; perhaps his gift of insight, his abilit[y to] co-ordinate his thoughts, make it less. He is past the fea[r of] death, past any reaction of disgust or horror. He has com[e to] hold the war, as Farinata degli Uberti held the Inferno, 'in [gran] *dispitto*.' To his father, full of romantic ideas of the pride, p[omp] and circumstance of glorious war, he describes it in term[s of] scorn: 'Je ne la crains pas, et je l'abhorre. Je la fais, et [je la] méprise.'

[1] *Le Tombeau sous l'Arc de Triomphe*, Paul Raynal [illegible] main at [illegible] éditeurs, 7 Rue du [illegible] Paris. [Pro]d[uced] in 1924 at the Comédie Française and recently in London in an E[n]glish t[rans]lation as *The Unknown Warrior* by the Arts The[atre] Club and Mr. Leon M[...]. *Journey's End*, R. C. Sherriff (Victor Gollancz, Ltd., London). Produ[ced by] the Incorporated Stage Society, and subsequently by Mr. Maurice Brow[ne at] the Savoy Theatre.

staked his reputation as a doctor that he would never fall ill. And he won. He died at an advanced age as a result of falling downstairs.

The way of life of elderly Romans of the sensible kind is depicted for us by the younger Pliny, who used to visit an old gentleman of this type "When the hour for the bath is announced" (everyone then bathed daily about noon) "he walks awhile naked in the sun if there's no wind, then plays hard at ball, which helps him to fight off old age, and after bathing he lies down to rest before his meal"

The elder Cato's way of life (to go back three centuries) became proverbial for its austerity, although not in keeping with the changing manners of his time it will serve to illustrate how Romans of an earlier date actually lived Rising early he worked on his farm in a coarse tunic in winter and naked in summer He sat with his slaves at meals eating the same bread and drinking the same wine with them He used to boast that a dinner never cost him more than a few pence He marched to war on foot, followed by one servant While in the army he drank water, and a little wine when exhausted During the Tarentine campaign he came for the first time in touch with Greeks and learned their maxims as a result he became still more frugal and temperate When governor of [illegible] instead of using a carriage he astounded the people by walking from one town to another, attended only by one officer Even when he reached the highest rank that Rome had to offer he made very little alteration in his habits, and went on drinking the same [illegible] of wine that his slaves drank He taught his son [illegible] the javelin, to fight hand to hand to ride [illegible] and to swim After losing his first wife he married again though at an unseasonable time of life [illegible] In old age he began the study of Greek [illegible] At the age of eighty four he was still active in [illegible] a year later His example did much to stem the [illegible]

A strong, healthy old age seems to have been common among the ancients To be eighty [illegible] was [illegible] the ordinary. Lucian has left us [illegible] men all of whom died at eighty or more [illegible] health They include kings statesmen [illegible] historians, poets, and men of letters [illegible] The [illegible] old gentlemen at death [illegible] of them is Philemon the comic poet [illegible] at ninety-seven in fits of laughter

STANLEY W. [illegible]

gluttonists, not only by compulsion, but by their very natu Bœotians and big eaters came to be synonymous terms. Cor thians had tastes far too luxurious. Sicilians were known gormandizers, while Athenian meals were ridiculed for th simplicity As for the bad habits of Hellenistic times, it w suffice to mention that Athenæus devotes about 100 pages to fis gastronomically considered, and that a certain Philoxenus, glutton for hot dishes, used to gargle with hot water befo setting to!

The ancients trusted largely to Nature, and the best of the tried to live in accordance with whatever common experienc pointed out as suitable That Nature will always do her share i healing diseases is a Greek doctrine, and a true one Simpl remedies were universally trusted It must be remembered however, that among the Romans sound medical knowledg was often obscured and sometimes obliterated by a mass o superstitious formulæ and senseless prescriptions Neverthele simple living seems to have kept them healthy for many centurie Thousands of people, says the elder Pliny, are living, not indee without medicine, but without doctors And he goes on to boas that the Romans did without doctors for 600 years

Perhaps he exaggerates, but it is certain that professiona doctors who charged for their services did not become a numerou class till five or six centuries after the founding of Rome And then they became very numerous indeed The explanation, accord ing to Seneca, lay in new-fangled dishes

> Simple meats are out of fashion and all are collected into one so tha the cook does the office of the stomach nay, and of the teeth too, for th meat looks as if it were chewed beforehand Here is the luxury of a tastes in one dish From these compounded dishes arise compounde diseases, which require compounded medicines[14]

Among the doctors who had to deal with this state of affai was one Asclepiades, called in Rome the most celebrated physicians Asclepiades deserves mention, if only for th astounding things related of him He first sprang into fame b recommending to his patients the simple methods used by earli generations, such as diet, water-drinking, massage, walking. people could do this for themselves, they at once became interes in helping to make a success of such inexpensive treatment. the faith of his patients and their will to health were enlisted the side of Dr. Asclepiades Then came a piece of good luck t gave him the most gratifying publicity. He revived a man w had been supposed dead and was in fact on the way to bur The finishing touch to his sensational career was given when

[14] *Ep.* 95 (transl. by L'Estrange).

But I hold that to have need of nothing at all is a divine attribute, and that to have need of as little as possible is to come nearest to the divine.' [29]

All ancient authorities agree that the mind and body interact, and many incline to the belief that the mind needs closer attention than the body. Hence the proverbial saying: 'Ulcers of the mind need healing more than those of the body.' Plato goes so far as to make Socrates say: 'My belief is, not that a good body will by its own excellence make the soul good, but on the contrary that a good soul will by its excellence render the body as perfect as it can be.' [30] Naturally enough this daring theory of Plato's provoked incredulity in his own times and in many subsequent ages. In our times we seem inclined to admit that after all there may be more things in heaven and earth than we had imagined: Plato, consequently, is coming into his own again. The time may yet come when it will be generally recognised that some of the ancients are in advance, not only of their own age, but of ours too.

So far we have been dealing with the ancient theory of right living—the theory of what contributes to mental and physical health. Let us now observe this theory being put into practice, for the examination of how the ancients actually lived will be found to yield a number of hints. Generally speaking, both Greeks and Romans rose earlier than we do, and made a long morning of it—only debauchees and cranks staying late in bed. They wore no hats, and dressed in such a way that the air came in contact with all parts of the body. Many accustomed themselves to going barefoot, but most people wore sandals. In bodily cleanliness and frequency of bathing they surpassed our times. The greater part of the public and private business of the day was finished by noon. In business they were prompt, in their spare time leisurely. In some countries idleness could be punished by law. They removed their bedrooms as far as possible from the noise of the streets.

Though they approved of meat in theory, in practice they ate very little of it—at least, during the early, hardy days. Rome grew to strength on gruel, kidney-beans, onions, and garlic; her decline coincides with the time when, as Seneca describes it, the smoke from gourmands' kitchens sometimes prompted night watchmen to send in a fire alarm.

The Greeks in general ate little meat. They often held picnics in the country and on the seashore. Barley bread, fish, vegetables, fruit, and cheese were among their staple dishes. But the various Greek States differed in habits at least as much as do the modern countries of Europe. The Spartans were

[29] *Xen. Mem.*, i. 6, 10.
[30] *Rep.*, iii. (transl. by Davies and Vaughan).

of heat, by anxiety, staying up at night, too much sleep or too little; by a hard bed, by running and much walking, by all violent exercise, by vomiting and purging, by anything tart and sour taken once a day only and by the use of uncooled wines on a fasting stomach.[26]

Let us now turn to another aspect of our subject—menta hygiene. In antiquity there were two standards of healthy man hood and womanhood: the best type of Roman answered to th description 'a sound mind in a sound body'; and the best typ of Greek strove for a beautiful mind in a beautiful body—th concept 'beautiful' being understood to include the ideas 'sound and 'harmonious' The difference between these standard arose from a difference in national temperament, but as regard the means of attaining them both Greeks and Romans were prett much in accord Their method was simple, and can be expressed roughly in two phrases 'Don't worry' and 'Keep the minc busy.'

While taking an interest in our bodies we should not give them too much thought nor pamper them with an attention they do not need Virgil speaks of one who 'destroys his health by his very anxiety to preserve it' Seneca advises a friend not to be 'overcareful of the carcase,' and elsewhere he expresses in these words the principle underlying all mental hygiene 'Whatever eases the mind is profitable also for the body' Another precept of his well worth repeating, reminds us that 'to wish to be cured is part of the cure.'

Seneca tried a change of air occasionally and found that it did him good in mind and body, but he warns his friends against developing the mental disease which breaks out in globe-trotting The lack of trains and steamships by no means prevented wealthy Roman neurotics from trying to get away from themselves. 'We are strenuously idle,' says Horace maliciously, 'by ship and by car we go chasing after happiness'[27] (*strenua nos exercet inertia. navibus atque quadrigis petimus bene vivere*) Horace treated human failings with a gentle irony, but Seneca turns acrimonious about them and dips his pen in the ink of sarcasm. His readiness to censure others and his own colossal self-satisfaction make him more of a modern than an ancient figure He has no mercy whatever on globe-trotters They remind him of ants who climb all the way to the top of a shrub and down the other side with nothing gained; and they always look as if they were on their way to a fire[28]

Socrates describes the perfection and advantages of an unworldly mind in a well-known passage: 'You, Antiphon, seem to think that happiness consists in luxury and expensive living.

[26] *De Med.* i. 3 [27] *Epist.* i. 11. 28 [28] *De Tranq. An.* 12

after labour, also to a person fatigued by a journey, even when the perspiration has abated. . . . A change of labour relieves fatigue. . . .' [30]

For a man fatigued by walking, frequent friction, even on the journey itself, refreshes him; at the end, first a rest and then unction [perhaps with the prototype of our modern embrocations], afterwards he may bathe the feet and legs, rather than the arms, with warm water. . . . He who has been chilled must wrap up well and sit in the *laconicum* [somewhat like our Turkish bath at home] until he perspires, then anoint himself, afterwards bathe, take food in moderation and drink pure wine [31]

Ancient wines, owing to their strength, were not taken neat except as medicine.

His advice on sea-sickness seems a little superfluous. 'He who has been to sea and is troubled with nausea, if he has vomited much bile, ought to abstain from food or take very little' [32] But perhaps Celsus never went to sea

He concludes this division of his subject with the remark 'Above all things everyone should know the nature of his own constitution' [33]—a maxim which Greek and Latin literature echoes and re-echoes The emperor Tiberius, who despite debauchery reached the age of seventy-eight, used to ridicule those who after thirty did not understand their own constitutions Four centuries earlier Socrates had made this the theme of much of his advice.

He earnestly exhorted his friends to take care of their health by learning whatever they could from men of experience and by attending to it, each for himself, throughout his whole life, studying what food or drink or exercise was most suitable for him, and how by these means he might enjoy the best health, for he said it would be difficult for a person who thus looked after himself to find a physician who could tell better than he what was conducive to his health. [34]

Before taking leave of Celsus let us glance at his methods of putting on flesh and of 'reducing' The ruthlessness of his regimen for getting thin could hardly be surpassed. But first—how to put on weight

The body fills out by moderate exercise a good deal of rest unction and a warm bath some time after a meal, costive bowels, moderate cold in winter, full sleep—but not too long, a soft bed an easy mind, especially anything sweet and fat taken with the food and drink, frequent meals, and as much in quantity as can be digested [35]

And now—how to get thin:

The body is attenuated by staying in hot water, and the more so if it be salt; by bathing on an empty stomach, by a scorching sun, by all kinds

[30] *De Med.*, i. 3. [31] *Ibid.* [32] *Ibid.*
[33] *Ibid.* [34] *Xen. Mem.*, iv 7 9 [35] *De Med.*, i 3

nastics. Plato, keeping to the old tradition, agreed that athletic training should begin in childhood and continue through life. At the same time the gentler forms of exercise were not forgotten; in Horace speaks the wisdom of the Epicureans when he suggests that 'strolling among the healthful groves' [13] (*silvas inter reptare salubres*) benefits both body and soul.

Regarding man's sexual life, all the old writers on health either affirm or imply that its proper regulation is one of the essentials of well-being. Plutarch accepted the ancient dictum which reduced all rules of health to three [14]. (1) Eat not to satiety; (2) work conscientiously; (3) economise your sexual strength. The advice of Celsus on sex matters has been given in the opening paragraphs of this article. The utility of the marriage relation for keeping men and women in health was fully recognised; Hippocrates, for instance, in his treatise on women's diseases, after discussing hysteria, melancholia, mania, etc., says bluntly that the cure for these consists principally in sexual intercourse.

Sudden changes of regimen ought to be avoided.

> It is not proper [writes Celsus] to surcharge the stomach with food after long privation, nor should privation succeed to a full diet. . . . A rapid transition from too much labour to ease, or *vice versâ*, is not unattended with serious danger. When any change is contemplated the transition ought to be very gradual.[15]

Hippocrates was the first to formulate this precept; he says, in his laconic style, that 'every excess is inimical to nature; whatever is done gradually is safe.' [16] But he favours occasional changes of habit, for in another aphorism he writes: 'Habits of long standing, even harmful ones, occasion less inconvenience than others to which the body is not accustomed. It is therefore necessary occasionally to change the habits' [17]—to prepare the body for any unforeseen changes. After giving the usual warning about changes of weather ('the changes of the seasons are the principal causes of disease; and, in the same seasons, great changes of temperature' [18]), he accuses autumn of being the most destructive time of the year. 'Diseases during the autumn are very severe and destructive; spring, on the contrary, is very salubrious, and diseases then are seldom fatal.' [19]

For those who lead very hard and active lives—and among the Romans there must have been many—Celsus gives some useful hints. He recommends that after great fatigue one should take (before eating) a warm bath and massage. 'Cold water,' he continues, 'is most pernicious to a person sweating

[13] *Epist.*, I. 4. 4.
[14] *De San. Tuenda.*
[15] *De Med.*, I. 3.
[16] *Aph.*, II. 51.
[17] *Ibid.*, II. 50.
[18] *Ibid.*, III. 1.
[19] *Ibid.*, III. 9.

easier to restore the strength by nourishing drinks than by solid food.'[9] Incidentally, Plutarch advises considering milk, not as a drink, but as a food.

Again, on the subject of purging the body all ancient authorities agree. 'Those who are healthy and take medicinal purges,' Hippocrates warns us, 'soon lose their strength.'[10] Celsus advises great caution:

> He who wishes to relax his bowels let him first use such food and wine as produce that effect; if these avail him but little then let him take aloes. But purgatives, although sometimes necessary, become dangerous if used frequently; for by this process the body will be deprived of its nourishment, and so rendered more susceptible to disease.[11]

Plato considered gymnastics the most effective means 'to purge and strengthen the body.'

Celsus devotes a chapter of his work to the needs of 'the ailing, in which number a great part are those living in cities, and almost all those who are studious.' To such as these he offers the following advice:

> Those who digest badly should rest until digestion is completed. When a person wakes he ought to remain a little, and unless it be winter he ought to wash his mouth with plenty of cool water. In the long days (he is speaking of an Italian summer), he ought to repose at noon, before rather than after a meal. . . . He should study not after food, but after digestion.[12]

And then he comes to the question of exercise:

> Set apart some time for the refreshment of the body: the first care is exercise, which ought always to precede food. He who has digested well and laboured little, his exercises ought to be more powerful. . . . Convenient forms of exercise are reading aloud, the use of arms, ball games, running, and walking. Unless the body be very weak it may be exercised better by walking uphill and down rather than on the level. It is better in the open air than in a portico; better in the sun (if the head can bear it) than in the shade. . . . But incipient perspiration ought to terminate the task, or at least lassitude short of fatigue. Indeed, there ought to be no fixed rule, nor immoderate labour in these exercises.

Writing to a friend Seneca recommends racing, lifting weights, the long jump, and the high jump; he also advises him not to spend too much time on the body—the spirit being much more important. When he himself grew old, however, and his teeth (as he tells us) were falling, he still kept up his early morning gymnastics in company with one of his servants. The exercises included a foot-race, which Seneca admits to be, at that age, almost too much for him.

Other exercises favoured by the ancients were throwing, riding, and swimming. Old age did not excuse men from gym-

[9] *Aph.*, ii. 11.
[10] *Ibid.*, ii. 36.
[11] *De Med.*, i. 3.
[12] *Ibid.*, i. 2.

were adhered to by some they were not especially recommended either by physicians or by the results of common experience. Seneca, the statesman and author, abstained in youth from animal food and wine. Cassius, he of the lean and hungry look, was a water-drinker. But for the most part opinion favoured the principle of Celsus, that a healthy man should avoid a strict regimen.

Fish, meat, vegetables, fruit, and cheese were all considered good dishes. About appetizers opinions differed: Celsus recommends that a meal 'should begin with *salsamenta* (salted fish) vegetables and other similar food; then comes the meat, which is always best roasted or boiled.'[4] But if the object of the first course was to rouse the appetite, Socrates and Plutarch, among others, would have none of it.

For the guardians of his ideal republic Plato allows no sauces nor confectionery, nor too wide a variety of dishes. And he would like it, by the way, to be thought disgraceful for a man to need medical aid except for a wound or an illness incidental to the time of year.

Celsus, too, denounces condiments. 'All condiments,' he writes, 'are injurious for two reasons: one that too much is taken on account of their being very palatable, and the other that although the quantity be moderate, yet they are digested with difficulty.'[6] The food, of course, should be palatable in itself, not merely made palatable by the addition of relishes.

And this consideration brings us to what is perhaps the most remarkable of all ancient precepts about food. It comes from the Hippocratic aphorisms. 'Food and drink, if agreeable, although a little inferior in quality, are preferable to less agreeable food and drink of better quality'[7]—not a bad motto for cooks who buy the very best food and then boil all the taste out of it. Hippocrates means that savoury food promotes its own digestion by stimulating the nerves of taste and smell, which in turn quicken the secretion of saliva and the gastric juices. And he holds that vegetables, for example, of the second quality, if properly prepared, will do us more good than first quality vegetables made tasteless.

As regards the size of the evening meal we have the advice of the School of Health at Salerno: 'If you want a good night let your supper be light' (*ut sis nocte levis, sit tibi cœna brevis*).

The subject of diet for invalids does not come within the scope of this inquiry. However, two aphorisms of Hippocrates addressed to the sick deserve mention on account of their general interest. The first runs: 'The more you feed a diseased body the more harm you do it.'[8] The other concerns convalescents: 'It is

[5] *De Med.*, i. 2. [6] *Ibid.* [7] *Aph.*, ii. 38. [8] *Ibid.*, ii. 10.

Compare, for instance, Celsus' rules of diet and his golden rule that a healthy man should be under no restriction of regimen with the following aphorism of Hippocrates; it starts with advice to the sick, but ends with a warning to the healthy.

The sick err in adopting a very spare diet, for they are bound to violate its rules and will then be more liable to injury. Every violation is more harmful under spare diet than under one more generous. Even in health a scanty diet, perfectly regulated and rigorously observed, is dangerous, because errors which may arise are more severely felt. Therefore a severe regimen is in general more dangerous than one a little more liberal.[1]

It may be recalled that the elder Cato, of whose remarkable way of life something will be said later, recommended frugality for the sick, but not fasting.

'Neither fasting nor fulness,' says Hippocrates elsewhere, 'nor anything else which passes the natural bounds, is advantageous.'[2] But if the former is resorted to we should bear in mind that 'the old bear fasting most easily, next those who have reached middle age, the young with great difficulty and children with still greater difficulty, especially those of a lively disposition.'[3]

On the other hand, physicians lay more stress on the dangers of over-eating than on those of fasting. 'Food' writes Hippocrates, 'when taken in greater quantity than Nature requires, causes disease.'[4] And the poet Theognis gives the same warning in a more pointed manner: 'Satiety has killed far more than famine.'

The social results of over-eating, by the way, were as painful as the physical. For gluttony may lead to fat, and the ancients had even less love for fat men than we moderns have. In warlike Sparta, in Rome during her centuries of struggle, and among other military nations a fat man was looked upon as a downright disgrace. The poor fellow may have been by nature inclined to fat, but that did not excuse him. In Sparta one of the chief magistrates publicly rebuked a citizen on account of his 'corporation,' and even threatened him with banishment. The censors of Rome, if they discovered a Falstaff among the knights, would condemn him to lose his horse—a hint to him to 'walk it off.' And even here a fat man's tribulations did not end; not only was his physical worth impugned, but his mental condition was derided by blunt proverbial sayings, such as 'fat paunches don't produce keen minds' (*pinguis venter non gignit sensum tenuem*).

The particular suggestions of the ancients regarding suitable food cannot have, in other times and places, the same application as their more general precepts. It is interesting, nevertheless, to note that while the principles of vegetarianism and teetotalism

[1] *Aph.*, i. 5.
[2] *Ibid.*, ii. 4.
[3] *Ibid.*, i. 13.
[4] *Ibid.*, ii. 17.

HEALTH HINTS FROM THE ANCIENTS

A man who is in good health and a free agent should be under no restriction of regimen nor should he need a doctor.

He ought to lead a diversified kind of life: sometimes in the country, sometimes in town, but more frequently in the country. He should sail, hunt, rest at times, but take pretty frequent exercise; for indolence weakens the frame, while work strengthens it; the former brings on premature age, the latter gives one a long period of youth.

Sometimes warm bathing will be advantageous, sometimes cold. . . . He should not avoid food that is in common use. Sometimes he should attend banquets and sometimes keep away from them; at times eat plentifully, and at times only just enough. Let him eat twice daily rather than once, and always as much as he can actually digest.

The sexual relation is neither to be indulged in too freely nor entirely shunned: in moderation it animates the body, in excess it debilitates. But as what constitutes excess depends on considerations of age and constitution, it is well to know that coition is not injurious when neither languor nor pain follows. More injurious in the day time, it is safer at night, provided that in the first case it be not immediately followed by food, nor in the second by staying up and working.

These precepts ought to be observed by those who are well and strong, and while healthy let them take care not to use up those resources which are for use against disease.

De Medicina, i. 1

The above hints on health were written nineteen centuries ago by Celsus, a Roman gentleman who thought it the duty of every man of the world to make himself acquainted with the elements of medicine. Though not a practising physician himself, he probably prescribed for his friends when they needed it, and thus acquired a store of practical knowledge. In any case, he studied medicine and he studied men; and that part of his work in which the above advice occurs is evidently based on his own observations and inquiries. His recommendations are rational, and, as a recent critic truly said, they will never be out of date.

In turning over the pages of Celsus and comparing them with those of other ancient authorities we soon discover that while differences of opinion prevailed among physicians regarding methods of treatment, regarding the fundamental rules of health there was a general agreement.

British studio is awaited with keen interest—and not a little apprehension.

And what will be the effect on the legitimate stage of this great transformation act in the world of the movies? One thing seems certain: if the talking picture should eventually wear out the vociferous welcome that has been given it, the cinema will be for ever discredited, because, although a section of its public may elect to go back to the silent medium, the impetus behind that form of production will have been withdrawn, and it is not likely to get a second wind. Will the drama of the stage then begin to absorb the former patrons of the picture drama who, having sampled the spoken play in a mechanised edition, will have acquired a taste for the warm human touch of the real thing? It may be so. But it will then be more than ever necessary for the flesh and blood theatre to put its house in order and make it economically possible for the lower paid populace to seek the solace and inspiration of its achievements. In the cinema they have put up with, if not always enjoyed, millions upon millions of feet of celluloid rubbish. But they have put up with it cheaply, and in comfort. They have not had to endure hard seats and long waits; and if, and when, this crowd tires of the standardised film and the machine-made 'talkie' which has followed it and turns its attention to the authentic play, it will demand the same measure of comfort and convenience. Now, while the whole gigantic organisation of the cinema is busy perfecting its new toy for the housing of yet another type of emasculated drama, is the time for men of vision, enterprise and money to be planning a real theatre, worthy of the country of Shakespeare, and cheap enough to attract its humblest citizens.

BERTRAM CLAYTON

is a notion abroad that the public in this country will prefer what are called sound 'shorts' to the long dialogue picture, and a great deal of our directors' efforts have been limited to making one-act plays, variety items, and musical 'effects.' Only a very few of these, however, have yet been put on the screen. The idea is also prevalent that there may be a future for the part-sound, part-silent picture, and the productions on this basis of some of the American companies have given encouragement to the policy of the 'half and half.' Again, an interesting novelty, but not one which, in our opinion, is likely to make much headway. For this is neither fish, flesh, fowl, nor good red herring—or, if the last-named, only one that is being drawn across the track. A character who pours out his heart in words for the first part of the picture, and is then left mouthing dumbly in the air, is a monstrosity which not even the long-suffering cinema public is likely to tolerate for long. The British producer would be well advised to give a wide berth to the 'talkies' which suddenly go silent in the middle.

What of his prospects in the more ample sphere of the dialogue drama? If the general quality of the 'talkies' made at Elstree, Welwyn, and Wembley is to be of no higher grade than the majority of the silent films made in the past three or four years, America will continue to maintain its predominance as the cinema's universal provider. The charge of 'vulgarity' is often made against American films, and no doubt there is plenty to substantiate the indictment. But after seeing some of the pale imitations of the Hollywood movie which are made in this country one recalls Abraham Lincoln's remark in regard to General Grant. 'Tell me the name of his brand,' said Lincoln, when they informed him that Grant got drunk, 'I'll send some barrels to the others.' One would like to know how the Hollywood stars get all their sparkle and speed and then send the recipe to the English producers and their companies. It used to be said that the American films would always be better than those produced here because of the superiority of the Californian climate. There is nothing in that excuse now, as all the indoor pictures in both countries are made under arc-lights. All the same, the climate does have an extraordinary effect on the films, but the effect is on the personality, not on the photography. Abundant high spirits, sometimes known as pep, are a wonderful ingredient for the pictures. Compared with the majority of the American movie actors, with their boundless energy and unfailing liveliness, the British screen artists seem to be suffering from permanent dyspepsia. Will this atmosphere of depression be shaken off when they are able to speak their lines in the 'talkie' film of the future? The first long all-dialogue movie from a

enjoying their job; and this, with all its cleverness, is certainly not what the talking film succeeds in doing as a rule. *The Strange Cargo* was even better in this respect. The technique triumphed over a preposterous plot and stimulated interest in every move—and sound—of the game.

But, except for the 'new and wonderful element' that had been added to them, both the afore-mentioned productions were the usual movie stuff, the sort of fustian we had (for our sins) seen hundreds of times before in the picture playhouse. If it was merely meant to give tongue to the fatuous fiction of the movie as we have known it hitherto, the invention would but add one more terror to existence.

Fortunately there are some directors who know how to apply the process of the sound-on-film system to a type of story which is not an insult to the intelligence. The film adaptation of classic books and plays has been a murderous business for the most part; and even when the best has been made of a celebrated novel or drama it has seldom succeeded in *looking* any better than the improvisations of the scenario hacks. It will be impossible to maltreat these works in the 'talkie' versions without the violence being instantly perceived. It was a bold stroke, therefore, in these quite early days of the invention to take a play like Barrie's *Half an Hour* and turn it into a 'talkie.' But the success of the experiment justified the audacity. *The Doctor's Secret*, which is a slightly expanded rendering of Barrie's play (though liberties have been taken with the ending), registers the high-water mark of this stage of the talking film. This poignant little drama of a lady who left her husband for a lover, and fled back home again in time to cover up her deception, comes out in this version with almost all the force of the original, while, of course, the extra facilities of the screen permit a more fluid presentation than is possible on the stage. In Ruth Chatterton, H. B. Warner, and Robert Edeson the 'talkies' have already discovered three artists who were evidently destined for this medium. In *The Doctor's Secret* a good deal of that flatness of diction and monotony of emphasis which we noted in the earlier examples has disappeared. The voices come from the actors, and not from the amplifiers, and the transitions from scene to scene are much more dexterously contrived. If the talking pictures 'go on from this basis of quality' the cinema will have more to say to the intelligent playgoer than it has had in the past.

But, it will be objected, all these are the work of the American studios. Is the British cinema public doomed for ever to listen to the American accent, as it has been doomed for so many years to look at American films? What is the English producer doing in the 'talkie' field? Well, up to the present, not much. There

father (Al Jolson), the recurrence of a pathetic lullaby, and oceans of movie sob-stuff were exploited to the full without any pretence of psychological story value. Yet it is mainly on the strength of the extraordinary success of *The Singing Fool* that the cinema proprietors are being told that the 'talkies' have come to stay and that they must adjust their ideas and their theatres accordingly.

If this were the only kind of thing the innovation had to offer us it would hardly have caused the revolution in the British film studios that we are now witnessing, or set the whole world of play-acting by the ears. The talking picture has a far wider significance than is to be found in the musical medley above referred to, and the early examples, though few in number, have been sufficiently diversified to give us a line on the future development of the art.

The first all-'talkie' drama of more than half an hour's duration which excited discussion beyond the confines of cinema-land was *The Wolf of Wall Street* Here was an admirable story for this medium, and one which had been seen in its silent form only a week or two before and could be compared with it Yet, novel and interesting though it was, one felt that if this was the best that the machine could do the 'talkies' would not rival, let alone surpass, the best that had been done in the soundless play The 'Wolf' was far too wolfish. 'Wall Street' too raucous, for perfect pleasure There was a thickness of utterance in the male performers and an almost total lack of differentiation in tone Whatever the position of the actors in the scene, their voices all came too obviously from one centre—that of the loud speaker, or amplifier When they turned their backs it was difficult to tell who was talking The lips moved and gave the illusion of emitting sound, but the sounds reached the ear an appreciable second or two after the movement had been seen by the eye A Polish member of the cast who could not speak English had a voice superimposed upon him out of keeping altogether with his appearance and character Yet one came away with the strong impression that if these mechanical defects had been remedied *The Wolf of Wall Street* would have made a very striking dramatic entertainment. *The Canary Murder Case* which followed took a step backward and seemed to accentuate all the imperfections of its predecessor. The action took place on the screen, but the dialogue had the effect of being delivered from a gramophone in a corner of the orchestral well

But the next 'talkie' of any importance left these defects far behind. In *Speakeasy* the enunciation was clear, the action speeded up to suit the quick-fire of the dialogue, while the whole performance conveyed the feeling that the performers were really

Americans and German brains have combined in the creation of a type of picture which really was striving to express something in shadow form to raise the cinema out of the slough of banality in which it was wallowing (and it is a somewhat ironical reflection that at the very time the work of such men as Lubitsch, Chaplin, Jannings, Murnau, Pabst and Conrad Veidt, to say nothing of the efforts of the new Russian school, was being seen in its perfection the screen should 'go talkie,' and thus deflect the whole trend of the moving picture). It is at least reassuring to be told that it is the intention of one of the foremost experimenters in sound films to 'go on from this basis of quality' and not turn back to the days of the witless charades composed, as one critic has put it, 'for the deaf and the daft'.

But when we come up against 'talkies' in being we are instantly aware that something subtler is needed than the mere imposition of speech on the more advanced type of silent film. The first thing, of course, is to improve the medium itself—the synchronisation and the amplification, the whole business of 'talkie' technique, and this, in the opinion of the present writer, will be the least of the obstacles which stand in the path of the producer. Those who, like the manufacturers, were converted to the talking picture in a single night are not at all disconcerted by the crudities of mechanism now apparent. They are firm believers in the ability of the minds behind this invention to remove all its merely technical blemishes and overcome every snag that exists between the audience and perfect audibility. Twenty years ago the ordinary motion picture was a thing of 'rainy' lines and irritating blobs. But now the camera and the projector between them have brought the cinematography of a scene to nearly the utmost pitch of clarity and lucidity. Similar triumphs await the pioneers and investigators of the science of sound and movement on the screen; of that there can be little doubt. Rapid improvements are being made even at this moment, and it will not be long before all the blurs and jars will be eliminated, the voices more sharply diversified, and the perfect 's' be heard instead of the hybrid consonant that now takes its place.

But, as already remarked, these are only technical difficulties which technicians exist to overcome. We are concerned here more specifically with the talking picture as a form of dramatic art. So far, very few of the full-length dialogue films exhibited in England have provided an adequate test of the potentialities of this type of entertainment for rivalling the appeal of the flesh and blood stage. *The Singing Fool* came and took London, and all the provincial centres in which it has played, by storm. But this was a very mixed bill, in which the personality of one per-

gone away directly the novelty has worn thin. For in the talki
film—crude and imperfect as it is at present—the promot
appear to have got hold of a dramatic medium which not o
leaves the voiceless story gesticulating vainly in the air, t
which may also prove the most serious competitor the legitim
theatre has yet had to meet. At the first blush it might se
that in adopting the 'talkies' the cinema has extended its scie
without adding anything to its art. There is more machinery
may be said; but is there any more *mind*? There are t
recording instruments instead of one; but are we going to
and hear anything better recorded? Probably not for some co
siderable time. But the point for the majority of cinema-goe
surfeited with sugar and 'slapstick,' is that, at all events, th
have got a new sensation at last. The silent film, even at
best, was always an art *manqué* as long as it was forced to r
on the printed captions for its explanations and comment. Ma
films were but rivulets of plot meandering through meadows
sub-titles. The dumb shadows walked and grimaced, liv
loved and died, yet (except in the most superlative examples
silent acting) could only express their thoughts in the halti
language of the caption-writer. Now the gag is being taken
of their mouths, and in future it will be by their words as well
their deeds that we shall know them.

Nobody denies that this is going to be a pretty stiff te
The cinema has flourished for nearly two decades on the mo
fatuous type of story, and the people who controlled its pol
have, for the most part, shown little sign of being capable
desirous of anything better. Now that they have anot
powerful toy to play with, are they likely to change their metho
and give us a 'talkie' theatre worth listening to, or will t
dialogue be on the level of the drama they have hitherto dish
up? If the latter, then we shall soon be wishing that th
voluble mimes were sent back once more to the shades.

But there is hope that the former policy will be pursued
few of the very first talking pictures have shown a feeling for pl
character, and circumstance which we had hardly expected fro
Hollywood; while one of the leading American executives in th
country has boldly outlined a mode of procedure for the 'talkie
which is both suggestive and exhilarating. Mr J. C. Graham, o
the Paramount Film Company, in a recent manifesto on th
subject, is all against employing the new medium to exploit th
old type of film. His organisation (one of the three most im
portant producing concerns in the world) proposes, as he say
'to go on from the present basis of quality and add the new a
wonderful element' to it. That quality in some of the rec
silent films from this firm has been very good indeed. The b

The magnates made wholesale clearances in the studios, cut down their production schedules, and, calling their experts together, announced that a new policy would have to be adopted, and that quickly, if the lost ground was to be regained. Every variety of 'silent' film had been tried, and though, of course, there were still millions of 'hicks' and 'hayseeds' in the world who were unaware of any other form of theatrical amusement, the more intelligent and better paying patron was getting restive under the monotonous flood of 'hokum' with which he was being assailed. Something new was wanted to stimulate interest in the cinema, and by the greatest of good luck here it was ready to hand. The gramophone and the radio had shown the way. Why not abandon the megaphone and take on the microphone? The talking picture was obviously the next logical step in the development of the muted movie. Inventors and engineers were hastily summoned and bidden to exert their energies in the perfection of an instrument which should reproduce sound with scene. Actors and actresses were 'tried out' in voice tests, with the result that many favourite 'stars' were relegated to the background and unknown supers brought to the front. Both dialogue and dumb versions were constructed of films already on the stocks, and appropriate noises grafted on to those whose operations, being mostly in the open air, did not so readily admit of dramatic speech. Short sketches, music-hall turns, band performances, and public orations were pressed into the service, and rapidly made their appearance on the screen. And as the public immediately showed a marked preference for the sound film and began to clamour for more, two of the biggest companies —the Fox and the Columbia—scrapped their 'silent' schedules in a night and proclaimed to the world that henceforth they would make nothing but pictures which talked or sang, or at least broke out of their former stillness with some kind of synchronised sound. The rest of the film corporations have followed this lead in varying degrees, so that in 1929-30 it is estimated that there will be only about half of the usual output of speechless films, the rest being wholly or partially 'talkie.'

It has been said that the cinema, being only an artifice and not an art, would die as soon as it ceased to pay. It is rather piquant to note, therefore, that, in spite of the lofty claims of its promoters and its seemingly unshakable supremacy as the darling of the populace, the 'silent' drama is being thrown overboard in the home of its greatest achievements, without apologies and without regrets. So much for that form of mechanised entertainment.

But it would be a grave mistake to dismiss the succeeding evolutionary stage of the cinema as a mere craze which will also

TALKING PICTURES

In these days, when we are gravely assured by food 'reformers' that there is less virtue in fresh vegetables than in the kind put up in tins, it is not surprising perhaps that mechanical entertainment should be recommended as a good substitute for, if not as superior to, the real article. And the popular enthusiasm for plays which can be seen and not heard (as in the cinema), or heard and not seen (as on the wireless), is a testimony to the modern tolerance and enjoyment of this type of emasculated art. At any rate, the films, which have long been a parasite on the written word and the spoken play—when they have not been floating nebulously in an inane world of their own—are claimed to be far more successful than the drama of the stage; and, judging by the space afforded every minutest aspect of them in the newspapers, one can quite believe it.

Apparently, however the film manufacturers themselves have, of late, not been too easy in their minds on this point. So far as the magnates of the industry in America are concerned (and they have for the past fifteen years dictated both the output and the economics of this business) there were solid reasons for doubting if the craze in its hitherto accepted form would continue to return the enormous amount of money invested in it. Their own public was becoming frankly contemptuous of the ordinary run of pictures. The huge cinemas that had been erected in New York, Chicago, and other big cities were playing films as a sort of sideline only, the chief attractions being the elaborate stage prologues and 'presentation' acts, eked out with expensive vaudeville items. That was one very palpable sign that the Hollywood 'masterpieces' were not being responded to so ravenously as in the past. Another severe check came from the continent of Europe, a profitable market in the old days for the best and worst of the Californian product. England, France, and Germany, desiring a film place in the sun, had each begun to put the bar up against American pictures by the passing of quota and contingent legislation. Evidently the non-stop run to fabulous fortune of the 'fourth richest industry' in the States was not going to be the easy and unhampered process it had been since 1914.

which has been started. Why should we not regard the country-side of England as a pleasant garden adorned with its wild flowers, and treat it in the same practical and common-sense way as we treat the flower beds of our own private gardens or public parks?

H. Hamshaw Thomas.

[illegible] to take a joyful interest in wild flowers, and one should use the as a means of developing that appreciation of Nature which m provide such a great mental relaxation later. To those who ha to live and work in cities, harassed daily by the oppression of the materialistic aspects of life, the pleasure of the downs a fields is invaluable. We need to teach our children how to enj without destroying, and what flowers to pick and what to leav

But we cannot confine our efforts to the education of t children. Without loss of time we must endeavour to bring befo all the realisation of the value of the flowers we have and t danger of their loss. The Press, the placards, and the platfor must be used to their fullest extent. We can already learn a goo deal from our neighbours across the Atlantic of what can be do and how it can be done. The Wild Flower Preservation Societ of America has been in existence for some time. It has its head quarters in Washington and its branches or chapters in the variou States, it enrols members pledged to its objects, it publish literature, including a quarterly magazine, and it supplies seed of native wild plants at 10 cents per packet. Something ha already been done on these lines in England. The Society for th Promotion of Nature Reserves has printed and published poste for display in places where wild flowers are being badly deplete and other bodies have issued posters or leaflets. A society calle Flora's League has been founded and organised by that champio of our wild flora Sir Maurice Abbot-Anderson, C.V.O., who enrol members and issues badges and literature to them without an subscription.[1] The Council for the Preservation of Rural Englan promises to take up the matter, and some of our rural communit councils are moving. But the need is urgent and great. We hav got to bring the matter clearly before all the people of our countr during the next few years, and this will need extensive centr organisation as well as local enthusiasm. It is clear that there ar people in England who are prepared to give time and money t this object, and one hopes that before long a strong, centralise and continuous action will make itself felt. The keynote of thi movement should be appreciation rather than prohibition.

In concluding this article a further personal reference may b made. I first took up this matter casually and with some hesita tion, for my time was very fully occupied. But after investigati the facts and considering the future it seemed imperative to try do something. I hope that this article may have the same effect its readers, serving first as a basis for thought and discussion, then leading to active co-operation of some kind in the move

[1] Write to the Secretary of Flora's League, 78, Portland Place, London.

...ue value in the eyes of the law. The by-law, being applicable to all places to which the public have access, will enable owners to protect the flowers on their land, and will safeguard the flowers which belong to the public.

It has been urged that the proposed by-law interferes with the digging up of very common plants, or even troublesome weeds such as dandelions and daisies, but it is very unlikely that this will be a hardship to anyone. Do any people make a practice of digging up such things? Even if they do, they have only to ask permission, which will be most readily granted by most owners. Perhaps the day may come when we shall place a higher value on the undoubted beauty of daisies and dandelions, for they may come to be the only bright flowers of our waysides. Then again we must not overlook the fact that offences against the proposed by-law merely render the offender *liable* to a fine. The police exercise considerable discretion in the case of motorists who exceed a speed of twenty miles per hour, and there is no need to suppose that they would not exercise discretion in the present connection.

It is to be hoped that before long this by-law will be in force throughout the whole of England, and may be taken up in Scotland and Ireland as well. But no legal enactment can be effective unless supported by the solid and unanimous weight of public opinion, and the real way to protect our wild flowers is by the establishment in the people of this country of the right attitude towards them.

We need an educational movement which will reach effectually all classes of the community and lead them to regard our wild flowers in much the same way as they are accustomed to treat the flowers in our parks. This, moreover, has already been started, but it needs developing and intensifying, especially among the middle classes. A large number of children in our elementary schools are taught that it is better to see a flower growing, and to leave it for some other child to see, than to pick it, also that when wild flowers are picked some should always be left. The same kind of teaching should be extended to, and impressed upon, the children in private, public, and secondary schools, the children who will become the motor tourists of the future. Towards this end we hope that a vigorous campaign will be carried on in our universities and training colleges, placing before the teachers of the future the facts about wild flower destruction, and enlisting their active co-operation in bringing about a better state of things.

It is, of course, futile to teach children that they must not pick flowers, and to discourage them from regarding wild flowers as things to which they have a special claim. A policy of instruction which is not carefully considered and judiciously employed may

The members of the conference eventually agreed to a by-law in the following form:

No person shall (unless authorised by the owner or occupier, if any, thereof, so to do) uproot any ferns or other plants growing in any ro[ad,] lane, roadside waste, roadside bank or hedge, common or other plac[e to] which the public have access.

Every person who shall offend against the foregoing by-law shall [be] liable for every such offence to a fine not exceeding for the first offe[nce] 40s., and for a subsequent offence not exceeding 5l.

This form has now received official sanction, and can be adopt[ed] by any local government authority which wishes to do so. Si[nce] it is bound to meet with the criticisms of those who have lit[tle] knowledge of the matter, and who may not stop to think it o[ut,] attention may be drawn to certain relevant points.

In drafting the new by-law consideration was given to all t[he] aspects of the situation which has been outlined in the precedi[ng] pages of this article, and to the following considerations. If t[he] beauty of our countryside is to be preserved, we want to prot[ect] common flowers as well as rare It is clearly impossible to legisl[ate] against the picking of flowers, but no one can claim to have a rig[ht] to dig up plants which do not belong to him Serious damage [is] caused by uprooting, and something will be achieved if we c[an] stop it To make the law effective it must have no qualificatio[ns.] The botanist, even though he may be a lover of flowers, mu[st] abide by the same rule as the hawker ; if anyone wishes to dig [up] a wild plant they must first obtain permission from the prop[er] quarter. No special knowledge must be required from the pol[ice] or others who have to enforce the Act ; thus we cannot ma[ke] exceptions of the commonest plants such as the dandelion, pla[n]tain, or other forms which we usually call weeds. There a[re] certain rare ferns which look very like 'weeds,' and if we want [to] preserve such things the prohibition must be absolute. Wh[ile] there should be no ambiguity about the offence, there should [be] full discretionary powers given to those who have to deal with it.

I believe that the proposed by-law, which was the result of very careful consideration both by the chief officials of the Home Office and by a number of other persons, is as good a provision as could be framed. Apart from protecting the wild flowers of the wayside, it establishes a very important new principle, for it also gives the owners and occupiers of land to which the public have access a legal right to the wild flowers on their ground. At present wild flowers have no legal status, and the anomaly exists that [a] hawker who goes to a wood and digs up a large quantity of wild lilies-of-the-valley can only be prosecuted for trespass, for although such plants may have a market value, since they are wild they

[illegible] in respect of the flowers in our public parks, and one might have laws of general application to wild flowers.

Two forms of legal protection are possible and have been suggested. The first would be of the type which I have seen at work in South Africa, and would be somewhat similar to the Wild Birds Protection Act. By Act of Parliament certain rare plants would be scheduled, and any person found gathering or uprooting them would be rendered liable to a penalty. In order to make such an Act operative the public would have to be fully informed as to the appearance and character of the plants scheduled; in South Africa this is done by the display of coloured pictures of the preserved species in railway stations, post offices and other public buildings. Such notices would have to be published mainly in the neighbourhoods where the plants occurred, and the effect of this would be to draw attention to the rarest plants of each locality and to arouse in many people the desire to find them. Those who were successful in finding them would seldom incur any risk of a fine by picking a bloom or two, while bolder spirits might go and dig them up for sale as great rarities at prices high enough to cover any possible penalty. Something of this sort does actually go on in South Africa, where wild flowers are picked in large quantities by the coloured people and sold for indoor decoration. A protection Act for scheduled species does or may protect a few rare forms, but it is of no help in preserving the beauty which our countryside derives from its primroses, bluebells, and ferns.

At the present time it would seem better to work for legislative action in the form of local by-laws, designed solely to prevent the digging up of wild plants. It will surprise many people to learn that for nearly twenty years a by-law has existed in some twenty-three English counties, or local government areas, which was framed to check the destruction of wild plants on roadsides, commons or other public places. Unfortunately to enforce a penalty under this by-law it was necessary to prove that the removal of the plants had disfigured the locality, and the collection of plants by private individuals in small quantities was sanctioned. As a consequence this by-law has been virtually a 'dead letter' from its inception. Last year, however, as the result of a certain amount of public agitation and of the praiseworthy action of the Cumberland County Council, the Home Office undertook the consideration of a new and more effective form of by-law. After obtaining evidence for its necessity and the opinions of some of those interested in the subject, a conference was called at Whitehall which included representatives of those who would have to administer the law, with some botanists, and an attempt was made to frame a by-law which would be both beneficial and effective.

tend to die from injury or other causes, and need to be replaced b
young and vigorous new plants which have grown up from se
One of the plants habitually overpicked in many places i
the pasque flower. In one locality which I know it had beco
rare before the war, but during the interval when the place w
being used for military purposes it was little disturbed, and
increased greatly in abundance; to-day after several years
intense gathering it is becoming less common again.

When an attempt is made to pick certain plants it usual
results in their being torn up by the roots or seriously damage
Again, the healthy growth of a perennial plant may proceed aft
the removal of its flowers, but it cannot proceed if the leaves a
also removed. Thus the simple picking of flowers year after ye
by a large number of people will certainly result in the eventu
diminution of those flowers, if not in their extinction.

There is, however, still another great source of harm. T
flowers of our meadows, downs, and woodlands do not all appe
at the same time, but different species succeed one another throu
the spring and summer, also the leaves may be growing up a
making the food of the plant before or after the flowers appe
We often find that the people who have been visiting a wood
pick oxlips have trodden down and killed many young sprout
shoots of the wood anemones, while a fortnight later visitors,
picking primroses and anemones, have trampled upon a
destroyed the sprouting bluebells, and so on. As the lovel
plants become rarer there is more competition to secure la
bunches of them, and so the process of destruction tends to go
to its completion.

When things go wrong in my garden I generally know wh
measures to take to put them right But what are we to do abo
preserving and keeping up our supply of wild flowers? This i
matter which is already of vital urgency, and at the same time
great difficulty. We English folk seem to be so preoccupied w
business or care of some description that many things which
going on before our eyes make no real impression on our brai
unless some exceptional circumstance forces us to take notice
them. Thus very few people are yet alive to the fact that som
thing must be done to save our wild flowers, though in ot
countries (*e.g.*, Switzerland and South Africa), where a mu
greater proportion of territory is still clothed with its natu
vegetation in which wild flowers abound, steps have already be
taken to meet the problem. Even a comparatively new
developed country like British Columbia has already becon
conscious of the danger to its flora.

It is perhaps not illogical that we should first consider t
possibility of protecting flowers by law. Rules are made a

[illegible] and in schools often do no [illegible] [illegible] much harm. In obtaining the large and [illegible] [illegible] which one sees exhibited, many more flowers have been [illegible] and wasted. When collected the rarer and more delicate [illegible] are generally crowded into jam jars and often bruised by [illegible] coarser and ranker growths. I have never seen in this country [illegible] wild flower exhibit staged properly, with each species in a [illegible]parate vase accompanied by its name One supposes that these [illegible]mpetitions are organised with the idea of stimulating the [illegible]nterest and developing the knowledge of our young folks, but they certainly do not inspire respect If such competitions are to be continued they must be very carefully conducted, and the competing collections should be exhibited in a manner which will make children think that they have brought together something of value. We occasionally hear of wild flower competitions for adults, such as those organised by women's institutes, and one fears that these may be still more harmful. Competitive collections of the rare flowers of a county, or of groups of plants like the orchids, should be absolutely banned by all thoughtful people, and any other type of competition should be organised with the greatest care and foresight

We now come to the last and perhaps most important of all the modern agencies which are depleting the countryside of its flowers. The men, women, and children who go out into the fields, the lanes, and the woods to enjoy the wild flowers are in a great many cases bringing about their destruction. We have not yet learned the lesson, '*You can't have your flower growing and pick it.*' I do not believe that wanton destruction is common, but there are three main ways in which harm is done. There is first the practice of digging up plants by the roots in order to transfer them to a garden or rockery. People say that there are plenty of primroses in a certain wood, and no harm will be done if a few are removed, but they forget that if everyone who came did the same thing the effect would soon be obvious. Often three or four plants are spoiled for each one that is successfully lifted, but even when transferred to the suburban garden the life of many wild species is very short, and the depredator is no better off. It would have been far better to have bought for the garden [illegible] *penny packet of seed of the same or a similar species.* The second *source of harm is over-picking Many plants are repro*[illegible]*uced entirely by seed, and when the flowers are removed it means* [illegible] diminution in the supply of seed which will be sown naturally [illegible]ext year. Annual plants can be eradicated entirely in this way. [illegible]ough perennials, including those which live on from year to [illegible] by means of bulbs or underground stems may be little [illegible] [illegible]. Sooner or later, however, the old plants of these types

improbable that the existing tar-spraying may in some roads h
a very injurious effect on the wayside flora, and something mi
be done to ensure that the surface treatment of our road does r
cide the roadside flowers.

During the latter part of the nineteenth century there wa great depletion of our wild ferns owing to the activities of hawke who scoured the countryside for these plants, dug them up a sold them, generally in 'rustic' baskets or stands. The fact th these poor ferns subsequently had a very short life did not se to depress the trade, and probably it still goes on. But t practice almost cleared the countryside in some places, as know from personal observation, and from conversation with man formerly engaged in this occupation. Unfortunately t wild flower hawker is still with us, and daffodils, snowdrops, lili of-the-valley, and fritillaries suffer greatly at his hands. Th can be no possible excuse for the toleration of such people, w go round digging up and selling ferns, or bulbous plants when flower. They steal what should be regarded as the property the public or of private individuals, and they sell to the ignora plants which are very unlikely to grow again in a garden, obtaining money in a manner savouring of fraud. The hawker the most deadly foe of our beautiful wild species.

The digging up of rare plants is a crime which is sometim committed by the selfish or ignorant botanical collector, and su a person may do a considerable amount of damage by collecting large number of plants of some very scarce species, even thoug the roots are left intact There would often be no reason why single flower should not be cut off and preserved, but the existen of botanical exchange clubs provides an incentive to certa collectors to take large numbers of specimens which may b exchanged for rarities from other parts of the country. It is t be hoped that before long all those who call themselves botanis will realise the position, and will excommunicate persons wh behave in a way contrary to the interests of the science.

It is not uncommon for the destruction of wild flowers to b laid to the charge of our children, but though they may frequentl be seen picking large bunches of flowers only to throw them awa later, I do not think that they do any serious harm on their ow initiative. The tiny tots love to make daisy chains and to pluck brightly coloured blooms, but their little legs do not carry them very far, while the commoner flowers are generally as attractiv to them as the rarer ones. But when children begin to grow u and become acquisitive, and when they are sent out by teache or parents for the express purpose of gathering as many ra flowers as they can find, the matter becomes more serious.

The wild flower competitions commonly organised in connecti

of many flowers which the former writers held in Cambridgeshire, while many of Babington's localities no longer hold the species he used to find. In out-of-the-way places some of the rare kinds are still to be found; but their existence is very precarious, and at any time they may be over-picked or dug up by some callous botanist or unthinking visitor, and then they will be gone for ever. There is a certain plant of which only two specimens were known to exist in the county of Norfolk. A year or two ago some miscreant dug both of them up and removed them, though fortunately a small piece of the root of one of them was left, and this sprouted again last year.

In order to ascertain whether common plants such as the primrose, bluebell, or male fern are as abundant as formerly we have to rely upon the observations of field botanists or Nature lovers who have been watching them for a number of years. When investigating this subject on behalf of a Committee of the British Association last year, I sent out a letter to a number of qualified middle-aged persons in different parts of the country asking whether they had noticed any marked diminution in the more ornamental plants of our hedgerows, commons and other public places. The replies were almost all of the same type, and indicated a general diminution in all such plants as primroses, violets, and ferns along the roads and lanes near our large centres of population. The same is the case with many of the woodland flowers, when not in places which are strictly preserved for game. It is impossible to doubt the general truth of these opinions: anyone who travels by road through the country can recognise his proximity to the large Midland towns by the change in the character of the wayside flora, and the same is probably true elsewhere.

The allegation that our wild flora is disappearing is undoubtedly true, and we must next inquire as to the causes of this disappearance. It is clear that they are many and varied; some of them are preventable, but others are beyond control. In Cambridgeshire a considerable number of rare plants have vanished owing to agricultural development; fens and marshes have been drained, downland has been ploughed up, heathland has been reclaimed. Some of the old localities for interesting plants have been built over, while in other cases damage has been done to hedgerow species by the widening of roads. The same is true everywhere. A short time ago I visited a spot in North Wales where the blue columbine grew in profusion some twenty-five years ago. I found that a coal mine had been established a short distance from the place, with obvious consequences. One must in such cases bow to the inevitable, but at the same time it should make us more mindful of the wild flowers which have been left undisturbed. It

[illegible] motor transport has opened up the countryside to a place, while in some localities bicycles are more in evidence t ever. Within an hour of leaving the outskirts of London we reach some of the most delightful scenes of rural beauty, and have not been slow to take advantage of the opportunity. Ne before have so many thousands of people left our cities each we end, with no other object than the enjoyment of Nature and t open air. It is no longer necessary to keep to main roads, for b roads, lanes, and even farm tracks can be traversed in dry weath The possibility of getting out into the country to enjoy the wi flowers is one of the recognised objects for which people buy motor car, and one need not go far on a fine Saturday or Sund afternoon to realise that numberless people take full advantage this possibility.

The object of this article is to examine the present situati and the future of our countryside, regarding it as a great gard in which wild flowers grow, and to suggest what may be done keep this garden full of the more beautiful plants so that it m continue to be a source of delight to an ever-increasing number people. We must first inquire as to the condition of our wi flowers. 'Are they as strong and as healthy as formerly Then we must turn to the consideration of the future.

At the outset we must ascertain with some care whether o wild flowers are as plentiful as they were twenty or more yea ago. One cannot base a case on general impressions, for it is ve easy to be prejudiced in reaching a conclusion, and it is al difficult to appreciate the gradual changes in the flora of a locali which is constantly before our eyes. It is convenient for o purpose to make an arbitrary division of our wild flowers into tw classes, those which are rare, occurring only in a few spots in county or in the country, and those which are common, occurri in greater or smaller numbers everywhere. A decrease in abu dance of the flowers of the first class usually leads to their parti or total extinction in the localities in which they grow; in th second class it means a diminution which may perhaps be checke or reversed by suitable action. Now the localities of the large number of our wild flowers have been recorded in lists compile by botanists in the nineteenth century. Some of these list or local floras take us back over a considerable interval; thu for the plants of Cambridgeshire we have Babington's *Flo* (published in 1860), Relham's *Flora* (which went through fo editions from 1785 to 1820), as well as the *Catalogues* of Thom Martyn in 1763 and John Ray in 1660. It is comparatively e to visit the localities mentioned in these works and to ascert whether the plants recorded still occur. Such an investigatio depressing. Even in 1860 Babington recorded the disappear

WILD FLOWERS

I HAVE just come in from my garden. It is early in May, and the grass is new and green; the yellow daffodils make a rare show, the hyacinths and tulips provide touches of bright colour, while the ground is full of growing buds and sprouting seeds. I have been busy noting which plants are growing well and those which need careful tending. If I do not protect some of my rarer species from the inroads of their rank-growing neighbours I shall lose them, and next summer I shall miss their beauty. All this is a severely practical proceeding; I love my garden, because it appeals to my æsthetic sense. It is pleasant to sit there after the day's work is over. It is satisfying to watch flowers growing and opening. There is nothing sentimental about such feelings, but just the knowledge that it is much more pleasant to possess a garden full of flowers than a garden containing only grass and trees with a few docks and dandelions. But many people can only experience the pleasures of green grass and brightly coloured flowers by going out to the meadows, the downs or the woods, where, in fact, they can find far more massing of colour and delicacy of form than I can obtain in my few square yards. The green grass of our meadows and the foliage of our trees are seldom sufficiently appreciated except by those who have lived in hotter climes, but the wild flowers seen upon this background of verdure form the special adornment of our countryside. Of course everyone likes to see quantities of wild flowers amid the greenery of their natural environment, and few people would not regret finding only docks and nettles growing along a roadside where formerly primroses, foxgloves, and ferns had abounded. But just as the flowers of my garden need thought and attention if I am to maintain them in their full beauty, so to-day some thought and attention must be given to our wild flowers if they are to continue in their vigour and abundance. When we read about our vanishing wild flowers let us treat it as a practical matter, and not merely as an excuse for the pouring out of sentiment. Never before has it been so easy to get out into the heart of the country, far from towns, factories and smoke, and to enjoy the wide spaces of the downs, or the peaceful glades of the woods. Public and

amount to a form of indirect subsidy, but, since the Bedfordshire district has been chosen as an average rural area, there must be many parts of rural England where electrification would not pay even when given an indirect subsidy of this sort.

In these circumstances the suggestion is made of a direct subsidy being granted to those supply authorities who undertake a supply of electricity to rural districts within their area. The farming community have persistently demanded a subsidy on their crops, or an import duty on foreign farm produce, but the arguments against are considered greater than the arguments for such proposals, and those in authority have always held the principle to be vicious. A subsidy to provide farmers with cheap electricity might be found to be a useful compromise, and there is no doubt it would go a long way towards helping agriculture and towards more intensive cultivation of the soil.

The amount of the subsidy to each individual area might be governed by consideration of a standard tariff for the whole of rural England. The price charged in the experimental area in Bedfordshire could be chosen as the standard for all rural areas, subject to reduction if circumstances permit. The subsidy would then vary from nothing in the most densely populated areas to the amount required to provide an electric supply in the most sparsely populated areas, at the standard charges.

Without such a subsidy the development of electricity in sparsely populated rural areas will probably make very slow progress, and it will be many years before its advantages are universally felt and have any marked effect on the betterment of agriculture. A subsidy of this sort would encourage local authorities to proceed at once with the electrification of rural areas within their control and remove the hesitation they might naturally feel at the risk of incurring financial loss.

Farm wages on the Continent are everywhere less than in this country, and therefore farm produce from abroad competes unfairly with the home-grown article. There are very few people in this country who wish to see the wages of farm labourers reduced: the logical alternative is, if possible, to increase the labourer's output. It has been shown this can be done with the abundant use of electric power, but in order to be of economic advantage such power must be reasonably cheap.

R. E. TURNBULL.

kingdom who is interested in the subject. The Bedford area had been chosen by the Government because of its suitability for providing data that would form a reliable basis for other schemes.

The capital cost is estimated at approximately 100,000*l*. It is expected to show an annual loss for the first three years, and the Bedford Corporation will be empowered to borrow each year out of the development fund a sum equal to 75 per cent. of the deficit, such loans not to be repayable until the scheme becomes self-supporting, when they will be a first charge on the profits made on the selected area.

The area of the scheme comprises a little more than 100 square miles, and, according to the 1921 census, contains a population of 17,937 persons and 4573 dwellings. Active propaganda will be carried out with a view to increasing the demand, this to take the form of demonstrations and canvassing, an attractive two-part tariff, assisted wiring, and facilities for the hire and hire-purchase of electrical apparatus, such as electric motors, irons, washing-machines, vacuum-cleaners, heating and cooking appliances.

The estimated returns are based on the assumption that in six years 75 per cent. of the total dwellings in the area will have been connected, and the average return will be—from each cottage 6*l*. per annum, from each farm 18*l*., and each country residence 30*l*

Taking a dispassionate view of the above scheme, one cannot help thinking its promoters are somewhat optimistic in their estimate of the time within which rural dwellers may be expected to take full advantage of electrification. Allowance should be made for the present depressed state of agriculture and the innate conservatism of English people. Still, there is every reason to hope for its ultimate success, and credit should be given to the Government departments concerned and to the Bedford Corporation for their patriotic endeavour to carry out the letter and spirit of the Electricity (Supply) Act, 1926.

On the success of the scheme depends whether it will be extended to other parts of the country. Besides helping the farmer by providing him with a cheap supply of electrical power, it would benefit rural industries already established and also attract to the cleaner atmosphere of the countryside many new industries, thereby easing congestion of housing and transport in the towns and providing healthier surroundings for many of our industrial workers. The development could be combined with the regional planning schemes to be carried out by the county councils under the powers conferred on them under the Local Government Act.

It will be seen on examining the proposals that they really

interest on the capital cost of this must be added to the cost of generation.

We have in this country immense deposits of coal, and it has been proved that in a modern steam generating station electricity can be generated almost as cheaply as by any other system in the world. There is nothing wrong with our methods of generation: backwardness in the general use of electricity in this country is due to the high cost of transmission, distribution and wiring, and to the other causes enumerated above. The importance of keeping down the capital cost of supply to the consumer, after the electricity has been generated, cannot be over-emphasised. It will be obvious to everyone when it is stated that the cost of generation represents only *one-fourth* of the total cost, the remaining *three-fourths* being incurred in getting the electricity from the generating station to the consumer.

The Electricity Commissioners have shown a commendable readiness to listen to outside criticism and also in encouraging rural electrification as far as lies within their power. Several supply authorities, including the Chester Corporation and the Shropshire, Worcestershire, and Staffordshire Electric Power Company, have already experimented with various schemes intended to show that electrification of certain rural areas is economically possible; but now the Bedford Corporation has been encouraged by the Development Commissioners, the Electricity Commissioners, the Ministry of Transport, and the Ministry of Agriculture to proceed with a scheme to demonstrate the practicability of supplying electricity to villages and farming areas. It is hoped by this means to make electricity available to all classes in that district. The scheme is to include assisted wiring and the hire-purchase and hire of electric apparatus, thereby making current available to all premises, including cottages. Special consideration is to be given to the appointment of an official who will devote his time solely to the development of electricity in rural areas. Sir John Snell, chairman of the Electricity Commissioners, says that restrictions have been removed which make it possible to construct low-tension overhead lines at a cost of under 200*l*. per mile.

The responsibility for the success of the Bedfordshire scheme will rest largely with the corporation's electricity undertaking, whose powers had previously been extended by Special Orders made in 1924 and 1926 so as to include the Ampthill, Kempston and Sandy urban districts, and fifty rural parishes containing thirty-one villages. Mr. R. W. L. Phillips, M.I.E.E., electrical engineer to the Corporation of Bedford, says the scheme is an experiment to discover to what extent it is possible economically to bring electrical facilities within the reach of everyone in rural districts; and it would be watched by everyone all over the

these restrictions. Speaking at the annual general meeting of the Scottish Power Company the other day, the chairman said:

> The one great essential to enable supplies to be given from our trunk lines to hamlets in sparsely populated districts is a further relaxation of conditions regulating pole and transmission lines, so as to reduce still further the mileage cost of these light lines.

The eighth annual report of the Electricity Commissioners, published this year, says:

> The benefits of a public supply of electricity can only be made available to rural areas by the fullest use of less costly methods of distribution, such as overhead lines and the best possible use of way-leaves.

The Commissioners might also have added that less costly methods of wiring premises are also desirable: if some of the restrictions by the Board of Trade and fire insurance companies were removed, premises could be wired at considerably less cost, without adding anything to the fire risks and without lowering the efficiency of the installation.

Some of the reasons why we are so far behind foreign nations in the matter of electric supply and the use of electricity are: (1) Excessive and unnecessary restrictions by the Government, which raise the price to the consumer. (2) Competition by the gas industry, which was a very powerful vested interest in this country before electricity was introduced. This does not apply in equal degree to other countries. In Canada and the United States, for instance, no one ever thinks of using gas for lighting, but only for heating and cooking, so it follows there is little competition between the two services; indeed, they are often provided by the same or affiliated companies. This is a very good arrangement and results in an all-round cheapening of supply. (3) Parochial method of dealing with supply: no comprehensive system existed until the Electricity (Supply) Act, 1926, began to be put into operation. Much of the supply was provided at excessive cost from small stations of very low efficiency. Had a comprehensive scheme been thought of during the early days of the industry, it would have resulted in lowering the cost of production. Germany has applied to the electric supply industry the principles of amalgamation and co-ordination she has used so successfully in other industries. She has realised that a national rather than a local supply is the only way to get cheap and abundant electricity.

The superior advantage some foreign countries possess in the way of water power is not so great an asset as most people imagine. Vast and costly engineering works are often needed before such power can be harnessed to do useful work, and the

consulted to see if it warrants the outlay. In this way personal visits have been made to 22,000 farms and about 2500 power prospects. Local industries, such as cheese and bacon factories, milk and fruit canneries, gravel and stone quarries, sawmills, etc., are encouraged to use electric power, whilst it has also been found to attract new industries. In 1924 the Commission supplied 3500 horse-power to rural districts, serving 14,000 consumers.

Some of the uses to which electricity is being applied on farms, besides lighting, are milking, grinding, crushing oats, sawing wood, cutting fodder, pumping, threshing, and silo-filling. In the house it is used for vacuum cleaners, electric irons and washing machines. For the larger machines, such as those used for threshing and silo-filling, groups of farmers known as syndicates combine in ownership. A typical outfit of this sort consists of a 20-horse-power motor mounted in a covered horse-drawn waggon, through the side of which the pulley wheel of the motor projects. The transformer, primary and secondary cables, primary switch and meter are mounted in a second waggon. The benefits of a cheap electric service, wherever it is available, are every year being more fully realised by rural dwellers in Canada as a blessing which is revolutionising domestic and farm labour to an extent never before attained by any other agency.

It is interesting to note that, contrary to the generally accepted belief, the Ontario Hydro-Electric Commission has found that in certain circumstances underground cables are cheaper to instal than overhead equipment. This is the case with single-phase cables of which the outer lead sheath forms an earthed return. The trench for the cables is dug by a plough drawn by a caterpillar tractor which is also used to draw the carriage containing the cable-drum and for the filling-in equipment. The system is worth investigating by the authorities in this country; but one can well understand if the trench were dug and filled in by hand labour, following out the usual leisurely movements common to British workmen employed on a job of this sort, the cost might be considerably in excess of overhead equipment, provided the cost of the latter is not raised by grandmotherly legislation and unnecessary restrictions.

Every effort must be made to keep down the capital cost of transmission and distribution. Up to the present, in the few cases where overhead systems have been used their cost, owing to unnecessarily strict regulations and the opposition of vested interests, is far too high. Overhead lines in this country which cost 600*l*. to 800*l*. per mile are put up on the Continent for 150*l*. to 200*l*. per mile.

Constant reference is being made by supply authorities and others interested to the added cost of distribution caused by

population. The rural areas in Great Britain constitute [illegible] per cent. of the total area, but contain only 22 per cent. of the population. Also some of the rural areas themselves are much more sparsely populated than others. Evidence seems to show that in some of the more densely populated areas electrification would be an undoubted financial success, whilst in the very scattered districts a public supply would never pay unless subsidised.

The experience of other countries in rural electrification will be of interest. Dr. Alfred Ekström, who was for fifteen years the manager of a large and successful electric supply company in Sweden, says that in the south of Sweden more money is being made out of the supply of electricity to the rural districts than to the towns. He says that England, both in density of population and standard of living, is much more fortunately situated than Sweden, and he can see no reason why electrification of many of the rural areas in England, carried out in a proper and practical way, should not be a good paying undertaking. As a note of warning he adds that our present regulations regarding the erection of overhead lines are unduly rigorous, with the result that they cost two or three times as much as those in Sweden. On the same subject Sir Philip Dawson, M.P., says that overhead distribution is carried out on the Continent on a very extensive scale, with the result that, with electricity costing about the same at the generating station as it will be obtainable from the Central Electricity Board, there is scarcely a village or hamlet in Central Europe where electricity is not used for all purposes, for power and heating as well as lighting

In Germany the ' Grid ' system has brought about a large use of electricity in purely agricultural districts : 90 per cent. of the farms are electrically equipped. Herr Felix Deutsch, chairman of the Allgemeine Elektricitat Gesellschaft declares that electrification of the rural areas in Germany is an undoubted success. They have realised that in agriculture, as in all other industries, labour efficiency is at its best when helped by the wholesale adoption of electricity.

But it is with conditions in Canada the writer is best acquainted, having had practical experience in the supply of electricity to rural areas in that country. The Ontario Hydro-Electric Commission is a body somewhat analogous to our Central Electricity Board, but with wider powers. It has been instrumental in giving electricity to many rural districts. Speaking before the World Power Conference at Wembley in 1924, Mr. F. A. Gaby, the Chief Engineer of the Commission, said it had already formed 117 rural power districts, and service had been given to 55 of these. Each district covered about 100 square miles. Before authorising any supply to the district it is first well

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ELECTRICITY AND AGRICULTURE: THE ECONOMIC ASPECT

The question of electric supply to rural areas has been very much to the fore of late, partly because of the progress already made by the Central Electricity Board in putting into operation the Electricity (Supply) Act, 1926, and partly because it is hoped a supply of cheap electricity will help the farmer in his present struggle against adverse circumstances.

The reason why electric power is superior to any other form of power is its great adaptability and, we might add, its flexibility. It can be made to perform any conceivable task that requires mechanical energy, and this without a confusion of belts and shafting. A separate motor of the requisite horse-power can be set to drive each individual machine, no matter how grouped or widely separated.

In one way farming in this country is much behind other industries in that it has been slow to adopt mechanical power in place of man power and animal power. The output of the agricultural labourer can be increased only if he is given every assistance by mechanical power.

The 'Grid' system of high-tension mains intersecting the country will greatly assist rural electrification, but it should be pointed out here that the Central Electricity Board is chiefly concerned with the organisation, generation, and transmission in bulk of electricity: its distribution to the individual consumer or to a rural area adjacent to a supply station is left to the authorised supply authorities.

The question as to whether electricity will be of any real help to the farmer or not is almost entirely economic: if it cannot be supplied at a sufficiently low rate it will not pay the farmer to change over from other sources of power, such as steam, oil, or petrol. Other factors being equal, electricity must always be dearer in rural than in urban areas because there are fewer consumers per square mile, and consequently the share of the cost of distribution to be borne by each consumer is greater, and must be paid for by adding to the price of current. The price, therefore, may be said to be inversely proportional to the density of the

good or bad. In the last few centuries we have become more and more accustomed to think of the way in which a man spends his leisure, and indeed of his whole moral character, so long as he keeps within the law, as being his own affair. This freedom is the gift to us of all those, of whatever faith, who faced the religious persecutions. And what was the Romantic movement, with all its reverberations, but the amazed discovery that the spirit speaks *to us to-day* more loudly and more clearly through art, which is of the individual, than through religious observance, which is of the mass? The problem of the leisure age, then, will be the problem of organising this free and individual spiritual activity, to which modern men feel themselves obscurely impelled (and for which a good deal of vice is no more than a kind of groping *pis aller*), while at the same time leaving it free and individual—to provide leisure *from* enforced activity—*for* voluntary activity. But this is rank idealism, someone will object, not practical politics at all! I am inclined to agree with him. There is not a single idea in either of these two articles which does not arise with rigid necessity out of the most practical problem imaginable—namely, the existing unemployment in the coal industry. But practical politics prefers not to see rigid necessities. After all, they are not yet *facts*. Now emigration, road-making, higher death duties, these are nice solid facts! They are already in existence. And when you have got a nice fat fact to be going on with, why look ahead?

A. O. Barfield.

[illegible] schemes. Vote-catching stunts, like Mr. Lloyd George's, for the 'distribution of employment,' can at best put off the evil day a little longer. For they are based on acceptance of the central fallacy that, apart from dividends, the only way of distributing increased purchasing power in the present is in the form of rewards (wages and salaries) for a still further increased production in the future. And where, then, is all this enforced acceleration to end? There is a fundamental dishonesty behind a policy which keeps people's attention fixed on the problem of distributing employment, when the real problem is that of distributing goods—and leisure.

And it is here that I think we could learn especially from America's mistakes—by never forgetting that goods and leisure are correlative. I believe the problem of the right use of that leisure, which the machine age is offering us with both hands, may turn out to be the most important problem of all. There is something about the endless rush to increase consumption—to increase material wealth—which we are witnessing in America, which would, to say the least of it, not *suit* Europeans. If we are to grapple adequately with the machine age we must learn to rest on our oars and to know when to do so For Europeans have not yet quite forgotten that they need other things beside bodily comforts, and nothing but disaster will come of pretending that they have. With wealth, which serves the body, we remain in the practical sphere. But with leisure, which serves the spirit, we come at once into the moral—and spiritual—sphere.

When I spoke of leisure in my last article as the 'soul-creating' thing, I supposed that many, who knew the inspiriting effect which hard and even enforced labour may produce, violently disagreed with me. Incidentally, this conviction of the moral value of hard work is undoubtedly a very great stumbling-block in the way of a proper understanding of the approaching leisure age. Here, however, we reach the threshold of a subject into which it is not possible to enter in an article on economic problems. It was the Austrian philosopher, Rudolf Steiner, who pointed out in his *Threefold Commonwealth* that the moral-spiritual aspect of human society will undoubtedly need to become articulate, to be in some sense organised, certainly to be definitely *recognised* as a third element, alongside of the political and the economic. It was the same universal genius who pointed out in a course of lectures on economics that in the age which is approaching industry will be *obliged*, if only for its own sake, to recognise the *gift* as a third form of money transaction alongside of the *loan* and the *wage*.

It is, I think, reasonable to speak of economic leisure as the 'soul-creating' thing in this sense, that it alone makes possible an entirely *free*, an entirely *individualised*, spiritual activity, whether

credit from the more popular one of the nationalisation of banks.* It is an important distinction.

The wealth of the twentieth century is compounded of many factors, among which there is one that takes a very high place. I refer to that imponderable increment that arises from the *development* of industry in the past, from the inventive genius of scientists and the devotion of all manner of nameless men to problems of industrial administration. Whatever may be said of the other factors, I challenge anyone to deny that this increment belongs *to us all*. The law at any rate signifies its tacit assent to this proposition by refusing to grant patents in perpetuity. You may keep your estate in your family as long as you please, but not your genius. What is so little realised as yet is the enormous importance which this imponderable increment has at length attained. There is—or there could be—plenty for all. Anyone who keeps a weather eye open for statistics of productivity can convince himself of the fact in a few months. Thus, Lieut.-Colonel Maude in the article in the *Army Quarterly*, to which I have already referred, points out that

> in a short period of one hundred years steam, electricity, machines, and the other inventions and organisations connected with them, converted a world of shortage into a world of material plenty. This is the cardinal economic fact of to-day. . . . If, then, production is ample and consumers eager to consume, why have we got a seeming paradox in poverty and want, even in the civilised and highly industrialised nations of the West? The answer is to be found in the third of the economic trinity, distribution. . . . The chief agent for distribution is, of course, 'money,' or, to be more exact, 'purchasing power,' which means money in relation to prices. . . . Therefore it is the lack of purchasing power which stands between the consumer and his desires.

Money is the chief agent for the distribution of the common wealth. In other words, when we speak of the 'financial credit' of a person or a group, we mean the power to claim so much of that wealth for his own particular use. It follows that the total 'financial credit,' the total purchasing power, of the community should be enough to purchase all the wealth it can produce. Is this the case? Is our financial credit being distributed sufficiently or insufficiently?—well or ill? Is it distributed on the assumption that it belongs to those who distribute it or that it belongs to those to whom it is distributed? These are some of the questions that will have to be thrashed out when a public inquiry is held into the working of our financial system. And it is only by means of considering these questions, and some others, with a certain high seriousness that is rapidly disappearing from our political consciousness that we can hope to learn anything from America's

* 'Socialism and Banking: A Reply,' March, 1925.

[illegible]—then it would no longer be possible to finance consumption in this way. But the reason would be, precisely, that it no longer needed financing. Our industrial civilisation would have passed from its present artificial saturation point to a real saturation point.

It will be seen then that the theoretical objection really arose from the use of the word 'loan' in this connexion. Rather is it our problem to find a way of creating bank deposits *otherwise* than in the form of these temporary and repayable loans. But as soon as we set the problem thus in a clear light, my purpose in retaining the word 'loan' up to this point, in spite of its misleading nature, becomes clear. For the word *reminds* us that the whole technique, habit, and book-keeping methods for creating the fresh credit necessary to the financing of consumption are already in existence. All that is needful is to recognise that the deposits created by a bank, when it makes what is now called a 'loan,' may, in certain circumstances, be permanent instead of temporary.

As a matter of fact no honest man who is acquainted with the manner in which war production was financed in all countries, or with the colossal extension of the funded debt system, will pretend to be amazed at the idea of a 'loan' that is never repaid. And indeed it might well be possible, in order to avoid fluttering any dovecotes, to start the ball rolling with a loan funded at some exceptionally low rate of interest, say, the half of 1 per cent.

How often does it not work out in practice to-day that the interest on a funded loan is repaid with money borrowed from the same source as the principal! And 'loans' of this kind are already, in all but name and one other thing, gifts. The other thing is the power of control which the lender retains by means of his nominal ownership over the borrower. And it is here that the *real* obstacle to the financing of consumption will arise. I doubt if it is possible to exaggerate the tenacity with which those financial interests and institutions which virtually 'own' that actually common property, our credit, will cling to the power of control which it gives them over national policy and individual destiny. I do not say that such control has always been exercised in a wholly unwise or consciously reactionary manner; but he would be a rash man who would praise the way in which it is being used to-day. We are faced here, then, not with a technical difficulty, but with a moral one. Does our credit, which is really the product of our common endeavour and good-will, 'belong' to ourselves or to the financial institutions which we rightly pay to guard it in its financial form? As a matter of fact the economist to whom I have already referred, Major C. H. Douglas, distinguished some years ago in these very pages this question of the ownership of

therefore probably not much under-consumed. It was the coal problem which led to the writing of these articles, and a scheme for financing the consumption of coal on these lines was actually sketched out some years ago by the distinguished economist C. H. Douglas, to whose writings [1] I am largely indebted for anything constructive I may have been able to say in these columns. To these writings I refer any reader who is sufficiently interested in what I have said to raise more detailed problems of practical administration, such as that of determining the degree of price reduction possible at a given time.

Meanwhile there is a grave theoretical objection which I must hasten to meet. Let us lump together the whole cycle of production and consumption under the heading 'industry.' Existing financial policy, it was said, finances industry *at the production end* by granting it loans, which it recovers at last out of the price charged for its finished goods to the consumer, and then repays to the bank. Here, on the contrary, it is proposed to finance industry *at the consumption end* by granting it loans *after the price of the finished goods has been paid* by the consumer. When and out of what are these 'loans' to be recovered and repaid?

This takes us back once more to the rapidly changing meaning of such words as 'money' and therefore 'loan.' We have only to restate the above process, bearing in mind the axiom that every bank loan creates a deposit, and it appears as follows. Existing financial policy finances industry at the production end by creating deposits which are at last recovered out of prices and destroyed. Here, on the contrary, it is proposed to finance industry at the consumption end by creating deposits, *which are used to reduce prices* and—how are they to be destroyed?

But why should they be destroyed? The very fact that we assume it to be necessary shows that we are thinking of 'money' in the old terms. It shows that we have forgotten the object with which we set out, which was to increase the purchasing power of the consumer. If we destroy the deposit (repay the 'loan'), we shall only end by bringing purchasing power back to its old level. What we have done so far is to increase the quantity of money in circulation without raising the price to the consumer. And this is exactly what we wanted to do.

It was only possible to do it because the productivity of industry exceeded the actual consumption of goods. Now if we envisage a condition of affairs in which the financing of consumption had already gone on so long that this was no longer the case—in which, therefore, every article which industry could produce

[1] *E.g.*, *Credit-power and Democracy*, *Social Credit*, and other books, which have been published by Cecil Palmer and translated into numerous foreign languages.

Those who read my previous article may remember how it was there pointed out that the time factor—the 'period of industry,' as I called it—which is so essential a part of an industrial civilisation, has never been properly understood. It is not sufficiently realised that, wherever a large proportion of the population is engaged in elaborately organised productive industry, the power to increase consumption depends ultimately on a *confused faith* in a still further increase of consumption in the future. For the inevitable interval between the initial financing of productive enterprise and the placing of the finished article on the market works in such a way that everything is referred forward to to-morrow. I added that it is now necessary for us to realise that 'to-morrow has come.'

We may fairly expect, then, that any sound scheme for the financing of consumption will contain, in addition to its provision for price regulation, some provision for counteracting the influence of this 'time-interval.' In this, too, it will differ wholly from schemes involving 'inflation.' When fresh or easier credits are issued for the financing of *productive* enterprise, the price of the finished article has usually risen proportionately before the article actually appears on the market. A wholesale financing of production is quite properly described, therefore, as inflation. Our process of directly financing consumption will have to guard against this; it will have to look backward instead of only forward.

We know, then, this much already about any feasible scheme for financing consumption: it must provide, on the one hand, for the price factor and on the other hand for the time factor. Suppose we provide for the time factor by starting at the opposite end. Instead of borrowing money (= creating a deposit) for the purpose of building a factory in which to make lucifer matches, we borrow money for the purpose of reducing the price of those lucifer matches already in existence. Then we have provided for both factors at the same time; for we have increased our purchasing power *at the moment of sale* (*i.e.*, economic 'consumption'), and we have done it *by means of* a reduction in price. It is hardly my part to work out the details. One line along which it would be possible to work would be an official undertaking to reimburse any retailer who could produce receipts showing what he had sold at the lower price level. It must not be forgotten that there is scarcely an industry in Europe or America which is not ready to produce more goods if it could only find consumers with the right price in their pockets. It must not be forgotten that there is—or there could be—plenty for all.

Presumably one would choose some more urgent necessity than matches, which are already cheap enough for nearly all, and

idea of the meaning of 'inflation.' For any scheme for financing consumption is quite certain to be stigmatised, both by those who do not understand it and by those who do not like it, as 'inflation.' This is an absolutely foregone conclusion. We shall do well, therefore, to ask exactly what inflation means. To inflate the currency is *to increase the quantity of money without increasing purchasing power*. By purchasing power we mean money considered, not by itself, but in relation to price. Thus, a man has 5*l.* to spend on boots which cost 1*l.* a pair. If you give him another 5*l.* and at the same time raise the price of boots to 2*l.* a pair, you have increased his quantity of money without increasing his purchasing power—*i.e.*, as far as that transaction goes, you have inflated the currency. But if you give him the extra 5*l.* and keep the price of boots down to 1*l.*, *or* if you give him nothing extra, but reduce the price of boots to 10*s.*, *then* you have increased his purchasing power.

If we express purchasing power in the simple formula $\frac{\text{Quantity of Money}}{\text{Price}}$, then inflation is an increase of the numerator which does not in the end involve any increase of the whole fraction. It follows that the denominator must increase proportionately. In other words, a rise in prices is actually a *differentia* of the term 'inflation.' This seems a simple enough point; nor would it be necessary to labour it but for the extraordinary confusion of thought which prevails over these questions. Indeed, one is sometimes tempted to believe that the power of grasping more than one idea at a time is gradually dying out of the human race. For it is quite a common thing nowadays to hear some gentleman with the ear of the public expounding in one breath the Quantity Theory of money and the impossibility of reducing prices by any means except the withdrawal of money from circulation, and speaking in the next as though the consumer would benefit by the 'lower prices' produced in this manner.

I trust, then, that I may be excused from transporting readers of *The Nineteenth Century* to the specious simplicity of a desert island in order to demonstrate that the problem of financing consumption is the problem of increasing, not money, but purchasing power. You have to increase the value of a fraction, $\frac{x}{y}$; it does not matter whether you increase x or decrease y, *so long as you keep the other figure constant*.

From this we may assume that any scheme that may be evolved for the financing of consumption must, if it is not simply a hoax, contain some provision for reducing, or at any rate for preventing the rise of, prices. What else may we expect?

absolute dependence of industry on banking policy is being realised on all hands; on the other hand, it is an open secret that banking prosperity, if it depends on the prosperity of industry at all, only does so in the very long run.

Now the main purpose of this article is to urge that we as a nation, as an empire, or as a community of many nations, should bring about consciously and of our own will those changes that are being thrust upon us in any case, in order that, working with knowledge, we may avoid the incalculable disasters which Nature will otherwise use to bring about the same end. Accordingly the first practical suggestion which I have to make is that an exhaustive inquiry be held as soon as possible into the whole question of the modern relation between finance and industry. Ideas on the subject are in the melting-pot: let us seize the opportunity to hammer them into shapes that are at the same time realities.

But here a word of warning:

Such a suggestion, as it stands (and it is being made in many quarters), may mean almost anything. Everything would depend on the personnel and terms of reference of the inquiring body; and the whole affair would be useless if it were conducted, as all economic inquiries have hitherto been conducted, solely from the point of view of maintaining a *soi disant* 'sound' finance. The terms of reference must include as their first and foremost item the effect of financial policy on *the interests of the ultimate consumer*. The financial expert or practitioner must be well represented, therefore, at this inquiry, but he must be represented in the witness-box, and not on the bench. I only say this because it is so easy to foresee such an inquiry being held and degenerating immediately into one more of the innumerable meaningless ceremonies of that name that characterise our post-war society. Nor are interests wanting that would be only too glad to guide it into such (to them) harmless channels. One foresees an interminable urbane discussion between big-endians and little-endians, between the credit 'expansionists' on the one side and the 'deflationists' on the other, or between those who advocate nationalising the banks and those who advocate leaving them alone. One sees six months or so spent very pleasantly by a group of nice happy gentlemen, and at the end of it the crucial issue never even raised!

In demanding an inquiry, then, what I am demanding is a public inquiry into the whole relation between the financial system and the interests of the consumer, *not* an inquiry into some single point of banking policy such as nationalisation or inflation, though these questions should of course be considered among others.

If our material salvation depends on getting a clear idea of the meaning of 'money,' it may depend still more on getting a clear

work of them. If England was the dog on which the world tried the machine age, I believe it will be found that America is the dog on which it is even now trying the leisure age. And if that is so, it must be possible to learn something from her blunders—but only if we manage to wake up and grasp the technique of financing consumption *before* we find ourselves already doing so willy-nilly on a large scale instead of *afterwards*. Something was said in the previous article of the habits of thought which, before all else, stand in the way of such an awakening. And one of the most important of these is the average man's idea of the meaning of the word 'money.'

In order to evolve a technique of financing consumption we should have to recognise from the start this simple proposition: that, *pari passu with the introduction of labour-saving machinery, the conception of money as consisting of 'savings in the past' becomes inadequate*. Money, *of whatever it consists*, is simply the means for the distribution of goods—as railway tickets are for the distribution of seats in railway trains. As more seats become available, more tickets are required, whether or no there may be any unused tickets from the past to draw on. Should the total number of seats increase, new tickets must be printed; should it decrease again, some of the existing tickets must be destroyed. In point of fact a change of this kind in our conception of the nature of money is taking place under our eyes. The chairman of the Midland Bank, for instance, has more than once explained publicly how 'every bank loan creates a deposit' and every repayment of a loan destroys one—a proposition which at once takes us right away from that hydra-headed prejudice that all the money existing in the world must have been 'saved' by somebody in the past. If we define money, along Professor Walker's lines, as something which, no matter what it is made of[1] nor why people want it, no one will refuse in exchange for his goods, we protect ourselves from this damaging preconception as well as many others.

The inevitable consequence of such a change in our conception of 'money' is an altered conception of the position of the banker in society, and thus of the whole relation between finance and industry. Those who are alive to the signs of the times will no doubt have observed how questions concerning this relation are beginning to crop up with increasing frequency. I refer the reader to such a document as the recent manifesto of the British Electrical and Allied Manufacturers' Association on the subject of Finance, and even the annual speeches of the bank directors themselves—notably Mr. Tennant—for the current year. The

[1] Including, therefore, cheques, in so far as they comply with the other conditions.

THE PROBLEM OF FINANCING CONSUMPTION

THOSE who read my article 'The Lesson of South Wales' in the February number of *The Nineteenth Century* may recollect the two principal conclusions arrived at—first, that industrial civilisation as a whole has reached an 'artificial saturation point'; and, secondly, that the necessary remedies are to 'finance consumption' and, correlatively, to 'organise leisure.' Industry appears unable to find any means of producing and delivering to the consumer a larger quantity of goods. It has reached, therefore, a saturation point. That this saturation point is not a real one, however, was seen to be demonstrated by the co-existence almost everywhere of *under-consumption*, *unemployment*, and a *hunt for markets*—the 'triangle of impotence,' as someone has excellently called it. On the other hand, the world-wide extent of the phenomenon proved that other proposed remedies, all of which are based on unqualified acceptance of the principle of international competition for markets and on the anticipation of our personal success in that competition, are no more than short-sighted palliatives. Attention was also drawn to the political complications inevitably involved and the obvious danger of war. An article by Lieut.-Colonel C. G. Maude, D.S.O., which supports this last conclusion with detailed arguments, has since appeared in the *Army Quarterly* (April 1929).

Now America has already recognised the necessity of financing consumption; the thing is actually being done there already, but only, as was pointed out in the last article, by various backstairs methods, of which their so-called 'consumer credit' (instalment selling) is one. The question I think we should ask ourselves, then, is this: Are we going to learn from America's mistakes at the beginning of the machine-using age, as the other nations of the world learnt from our mistakes at the beginning of the machine-making age? The Industrial Revolution took us unawares; we were the 'dog,' so to speak, on which the world 'tried' it. Hence the Black Country! The Continental nations learnt something from our mistakes; they put up industrial towns that were *planned* as such, and built railways with a strong suspicion from the start that, before they had done, their whole country would be a net-

single, married, or divorced, and there is surely no reason why these wholly irrelevant considerations should affect the career of, say, a girl in the Post Office Savings Bank. If the Government would announce that in future competence alone, irrespective of all sex and matrimonial distinctions, was to be the test both for admission to, and retention and promotion in, the Civil Service, true equality of opportunity would be a great deal nearer than it is at present.

The raising of the school-leaving age to sixteen would be the complement of the abolition of all legal restrictions upon employment, for it would give every boy and girl an opportunity to reach that matriculation standard upon which so much stress is being laid at the present time. Furthermore, it would have the advantage of enabling those who must earn their living at the earliest possible moment to have a wider choice, for there are more openings at sixteen than at fourteen, and the result of this could only be that in the future there would be far fewer square pegs in round holes in the offices and factories of Great Britain than there are at the present time. This reform would undoubtedly be expensive; but economy in education is generally short-sighted, and in the long run the country would benefit by the greater efficiency of the citizens in their various callings.

That equality of opportunity should be the goal of the social system is admitted by all parties, and it is equally certain that at the present time it does not exist here to anything like the same extent that it does in the United States, the Dominions, and on the continent of Europe. There can be few subjects upon which the three parties in the new House of Commons are likely to agree, but it is to be hoped that one of them will be the abolition of the present inequalities in employment.

CHARLES PETRIE.

has been called, before he is entirely independent of all outside sources of financial support, but whatever the period it is certainly too long for the man or woman without means of their own. In the arts alone is there true equality of opportunity, but that in no way affects the present argument, for artists, whatever the medium in which they express themselves, are born, not made.

It may well be objected that there is in existence a system of scholarships which enables any girl or boy, whatever their origin, to pass from the primary school to Oxford or Cambridge. This is, of course, true, but those who benefit by it are the students who have an aptitude for passing examinations, and in too many cases their best work is behind them by the time they have reached the top of the educational ladder. In short, the present system does nothing for those who mature late, and yet some of the greatest names in the world's history—Julius Cæsar and Oliver Cromwell are two examples—belong to this class. The scholarship of to-day, particularly that of an eleemosynary character, is far too often awarded for performance in the past rather than for promise in the future. Thus, although the boy or girl of poor parents can, if good at satisfying examiners, reach the final school at Oxford or Cambridge at the public expense, yet those for whom examinations are an unsurmountable obstacle must for the most part accept the first offer of employment that comes their way, in spite of the fact that they possess equal ability, and may have it in them to become far more useful members of the community.

If, then, the *carrière ouverte aux talents* does not exist in Great Britain at the present time, what is the best way to establish it—that is to say, to ensure that every boy or girl, whatever their origin, shall be given an equal start in the race of life? The measures to be adopted would seem to be two in number—namely, the abolition of all legal restrictions, and the raising of the leaving age at the elementary schools.

In connexion with the first suggestion, it is to be hoped that the Royal Commission to inquire into the position of women in the Civil Service will give a lead in the right direction. A decision on the part of the Government to place its female employees on the same footing as its male, by no longer taking official cognisance of the fact whether they are married or not, would have an important influence upon the policy of every public body in the country, and legislation could, if necessary, easily be passed to bring any recalcitrant authorities into line. Such a reform would not only tend to promote earlier marriages, but it would remove the temptation to establish irregular unions which exists under the present system. Nor is it easy to see what are the objections to such a proposal. An editor in Fleet Street does not accept or reject the 'copy' of a female contributor on the ground that she is or is not

There are, and always must be, natural obstacles to such equality that not even the most careful legislation can remove. Even if the State makes it its business to see that all citizens have an equal start in the race of life, some will line up at the starting-point with natural advantages over their competitors. The influences of heredity and environment are bound to make themselves felt, while in the case of women there is not only their health to take into consideration, but also the fact that, as already mentioned, in so many cases their employers regard them as temporary workers who will sooner or later leave them to get married. These obstacles are natural, and will always operate: what is more serious is that there are also artificial ones, and that in several cases they are peculiar to Great Britain alone.

In the first place it is impossible to ignore the fact that there is an under-current of caste feeling which originates in the public schools and at the older universities, and is perpetuated very largely by the women of that class. In justice, however, it must be admitted that this spirit is not so exclusive as may at first sight appear, for its foremost exponents are often the second generation of the *nouveaux riches*, so that it is true to say that in England to-day there is no charmed circle into which money cannot buy a way, and the knowledge that if he cannot get to the top, from a social point of view, his son may, has probably reconciled many a man to the existing order: nevertheless, since the war life has seemed to move faster, with the result that mankind thinks more of itself and less of posterity, and signs are not wanting that in many quarters serious dissatisfaction is felt with the present state of affairs. In other countries caste feeling does not exist to anything like the same extent. For example, the mother of the Cardinal Archbishop of Paris was a domestic servant, and the father of Signor Mussolini was a village blacksmith, but it is almost impossible to imagine a British Prime Minister or an Archbishop of Canterbury of so humble an origin. In the New World and in the Dominions such rises, which in England would be regarded as phenomenal, are fairly common, and every American boy has the example of such men as Lincoln and Garfield to encourage him.

There is also the expense of modern education to be taken into account. The genius will win scholarships, but in an age of increasing specialisation it is very difficult for the poor boy of an ability which falls short of actual genius to succeed in many employments. He can neither afford the time nor the money necessary for the long period of preliminary training, and he is unable to keep himself until his income at last balances his expenditure. It would, indeed, be interesting to know how many years it is on an average after a doctor has qualified, or a barrister

while there is very often a tendency on the part of the employer to treat his female employees as birds of passage who will inevitably leave him upon marriage. In these circumstances it is hardly surprising that when the time comes for promotion the latter should, all things being equal, go to a man rather than to a woman, the assumption being that the former is a permanent, and the latter only a temporary, employee. In many ways this discrimination, though natural, is extremely unfair, for a very large number of women must in the normal course of things never marry, and so they are subject to a handicap which they have in no way deserved. Among the higher classes of employment it matters little whether a woman is married or not, and in the arts it does not matter at all. The reason for this is not far to seek, and it is above all else economic. The woman barrister or the woman doctor, to take but two examples, can afford to pay someone to look after her husband and herself when she marries, while the working girl cannot, so that for the latter matrimony must mean in the vast majority of cases the abandonment of her previous occupation.

In addition to matrimony the female worker finds another obstacle in her path, namely, the aptitude which she displays for work of a routine nature. Unfortunately for herself, both now and in the future, woman has shown a proficiency and a conscientiousness in routine work which makes her quite invaluable in subordinate positions, and at that level a large number of employers seem desirous of keeping her. In this connexion it must be admitted that a great many girls display a woeful lack of initiative; indeed, the absence of this quality, which is so essential to success, is far more pronounced among women than among men, and the lower one goes down the social scale the rarer does it become in the one sex as compared with the other.

Taken as a whole the entry of woman into the labour market has not tended to help the poor man, for the lower occupational grades, in which he would normally start, are monopolised by women, and to commence higher up the ladder requires either money or influence. Female competition in the 'professions' merely stimulates masculine energy, but in the lower branches of industry it brings in its train certain evils which are worthy of very careful consideration. Women themselves have to face the natural and artificial obstacles of which matrimony is the cause, combined with an aptitude for routine work which will always tempt their employers to keep them in subordinate positions.

This brief survey of existing social conditions in Great Britain, incomplete as it necessarily is, does at any rate provide some data upon which to base an answer to our query whether there is true equality of opportunity at the present time.

a privilege which enables him to hold his own against all save the ablest of his less fortunate contemporaries.

During recent years, and in particular since the war, the whole question of employment in all walks of life has been enormously complicated by the growth of female competition. The causes of this development are various, and they need not be discussed here, but the important fact is that women are now struggling with men in the labour market, and it is clear that the present state of affairs is destined to continue for many years. Various attempts have been made to limit this female competition artificially, and it is one of these attempts—namely, the regulation that a woman civil servant must resign upon marriage—that a Royal Commission is to investigate. Such being the case, an understanding of the conditions that govern women's employment is essential before an answer can be given to the question whether there is equality of opportunity.

It used to be said, not very many years ago, that the rate of wages paid to female workers, at any rate in the lower grades of industry, was governed by the potential earnings of the prostitute. That there was a good deal of truth in this statement is proved by the fact that there has been a marked decline in the numbers of the professional prostitute during recent years, and as these were to a very large extent recruited from domestic servants, the rise in the wages of the latter since the war has undoubtedly prevented many girls from embarking upon a career of prostitution. On the other hand, the moral gain is not so great as might at first sight appear, for, according to a report of the London County Council, one of the chief factors in the decline of professional prostitution has been the growth of amateur competition, and this official opinion is indorsed by all who have any knowledge of modern social conditions; indeed, Mrs. Bertrand Russell is prepared to 'hazard a guess that, relatively to the population, fewer women retain their virginity till death than in the Victorian period or the Middle Ages.' The temptation to a girl to supplement her wages in this way is very great indeed, and the ban placed upon marriages in so many cases can but contribute to this undesirable result. Under the existing regulations a female civil servant is actually better off financially if she lives with a man than if she marries him, for in the latter case she must immediately resign her post, and it is difficult to resist the conclusion that the sooner the rule which places such a premium upon irregular unions is abolished the better.

From one point of view or another matrimony is the chief obstacle in the path of the woman worker, at any rate in the lower grades. In many cases, as we have seen, she is obliged to resign as soon as she gets married, and even where no such regulation

anything like as great in another twenty years. It is not so much that big business discourages the individual—indeed, the very reverse is generally the case—as that its very size renders it an extremely difficult task for the man who starts at the bottom to find his way to the board-room.

Furthermore, of late years business has begun to exercise an increasing attraction for that very class which has hitherto filled the ranks of the 'professions.' A glance at the occupations chosen by those who have just taken their degrees at Oxford or Cambridge shows that every year commerce and industry are becoming more popular. This tendency has the inevitable effect of blocking the path to those whose education of necessity terminated at the age of fourteen. Night classes and continuation schools of one sort and another can do something to remedy the inequality, but it is only a small proportion that has either the ambition or the application to resort to them after a hard day's work at the desk or the bench. The first need of the child of poor parents is to make a living, and thus the first job that offers is usually taken. The offspring of better endowed homes have time to look round, and so are less likely to pass their lives in uncongenial occupations. Since business has become so popular, one might even say so fashionable, with those who would have considered it beneath their notice a generation ago, success has become increasingly more difficult for those who were deprived of any special educational facilities in their youth.

Then, again, fresh barriers are in course of erection which will have the result of making business as much the close preserve of the middle class as are the 'professions.' Since the war there has been a growing tendency on the part of many firms to insist upon the passing of matriculation by boys as a necessary preliminary to a berth in their employ, and such a regulation is, of course, the very negation of true equality of opportunity. To pass matriculation in their sixteenth year is not beyond the powers of the vast majority of boys, but to do so at fourteen, the age at which the poor leave school, is quite out of the question, so that if this new regulation is to become universal it must have the most disastrous consequences so far as the children of the working class, from whom the captains of industry have so often been recruited in the past, are concerned.

In short, although the position is better in industry and commerce than in the 'professions,' it is becoming less satisfactory every year, and the same caste feeling is growing up. Educational advantages, which are the result of the possession of private means, are playing an ever more prominent part, and by enabling the middle-class boy to start half-way up the ladder they give him

whole, offer to the impecunious. There is, of course, the Civil Service, but here again the path of the poor is beset with difficulties. In the first place, it is not a career which is likely to appeal to the ambitious, and, in the second, its higher grades are very difficult of entry. In fact, the psychological factor has to be taken into account, for as the Civil Service is not likely, at any rate in its lower grades, to attract the man or woman of ambition, so those who do enter its ranks are unlikely to have the will to force their way to the top. At the present time, too, promotion is extremely slow, so that although the Civil Service, like the Navy and Army, in its lower ranks absorbs large numbers of the poor, it has nothing to offer them save security in the present and a pension in the future.

The result of this rapid survey of the conditions at present obtaining in the 'professions' is not very encouraging. In no single case do they insist upon a monetary qualification on the part of those who wish to enter them, but there is an unofficial one in existence all the same. The fact that an occasional genius will surmount this obstacle proves nothing, and only serves to point out the difficulties in the path of his less talented fellow men and women. The sole conclusion, therefore, to which an examination of the 'professions' can lead is that equality of opportunity for rich and poor alike does not exist in them in Great Britain to-day: the genius will rise to the top as in any occupation; but given any two men or women of considerable, but not extraordinary, ability, the one who has private means will have a decided, if not a decisive, advantage over the other who is not so fortunately placed.

When one turns to commerce and industry it is to find a far more reassuring situation, at any rate on the surface, though signs are not wanting that there, too, class distinctions based upon a system of education that money alone can buy are beginning to make themselves felt. When trade of any kind was considered degrading there was little chance that the barrier of caste would be erected, but of late years various changes have taken place which militate against the survival of any true equality of opportunity. In the first place, the private firm is everywhere giving place to the limited company. Gone are the days when the poor, but industrious, apprentice married his master's daughter, and eventually succeeded his father-in-law at the head of the business. Firms are not only increasing in size, but they are amalgamating, and the larger they get the less the individual matters, and the harder it is for him to get to the top. A certain proportion of the directors is drawn from outside, so that although at the present time there are many captains of industry who have risen from the ranks, it is extremely doubtful whether their number will be

of the argument ; in reality, however, Sir William Robertson is, like Sir Hector Macdonald in the past, the exception which proves the rule, and for the poor man there is no opening in either Navy or Army. In this connexion it is just possible that there may in the near future be more scope in the Royal Air Force ; but even this is doubtful, since flying is essentially a young man's work, and is consequently in the nature of a blind alley from an occupational point of view. The law and medicine more nearly approximate to the *carrière ouverte aux talents*, but here the handicap is imposed, first, by the necessity of an expensive training, and, secondly, by a long period of waiting before income balances expenditure. The same is true of the career of an architect and of several kindred professions, and although all are open to every man and woman who can pass the necessary examinations, yet it is not easy to see how those without private means can ever manage to wait until they are able to earn a livelihood at either calling. In one respect the position is even worse to-day than it was in the past, for examinations are considerably harder, while the regulations make it impossible for a lawyer or a doctor to work at any other occupation until his legal or medical practice yields even a bare competence. Of course a man or woman of real genius would contrive in some way to surmount these obstacles, but that applies to every profession in life. What is a matter for real regret is that given an ability which falls short of genius, the possessor of it is far more likely to reach Harley Street or the Bench if he has money of his own, as the saying goes, than if he has not. A private income is not absolutely indispensable, as in the services, but it is not far short of it.

In another category stand the ministry and teaching. In the former the poor aspirant may take courage from the example of Pius X., and also from that of many an eminent divine of the Church of Scotland, while the latter, although by no means too well paid, does at any rate offer a competence to those who engage in it. On the other hand, both are, or certainly should be, definite vocations, and this fact very considerably narrows the field ; but for those who feel that they have a special calling for the life of a clergyman or for that of a schoolmaster there is undoubtedly a greater opening, even if they have no private means, than is provided by the other so-called professions. In the Presbyterian ministry and in the Roman Catholic priesthood there are numerous instances of men of peasant stock rising to high rank, though in the Church of England, with its theory of a resident 'gentleman' in each parish, such examples are by no means so common. At the same time, as women are ineligible for the ministry—even in a convent the poor novice cannot rise—they are debarred from the opportunities which it does, upon the

an increasing number of middle-class parents are now finding that they cannot afford to educate their children either in the same manner, or for the same length of time, as they were themselves. The ultimate effect of this, of course, must be to shorten the period of apprenticeship at school and university, but the immediate consequence has been the impoverishment of many a household in the praiseworthy, if misguided, effort to educate the children along the lines laid down two generations ago. In short, the conventional middle-class education has become so expensive that it is now defeating the purpose for which it was originally established.

Such is the immediate historical background of modern British society, and in these circumstances it is safe to say that up to the present equality of opportunity has not existed. It has not been so much that a deliberate policy has been pursued of shutting the door in the face of the working class—had that been the case the present elaborate system of scholarships would never have been established—as that two or three generations of middle-class predominance have produced a caste which it is extremely difficult for the stranger to enter. The war has undoubtedly, for one reason or another, gone a long way towards throwing down the old barriers, but it is necessary to examine the conditions obtaining in the various kinds of employment before coming to any decision as to whether equality of opportunity is in this third decade of the twentieth century a fact or a fiction.

In nothing has the effect of the late war been so remarkable as in removing the distinction between those occupations which might be pursued without loss of caste and those which might not. There can be to-day but few parts of the country where an individual's means of livelihood make any social difference, and even the old prejudice against retail trade has perforce had to be abandoned now that Mayfair is cumbered with shops run by impoverished scions of the aristocracy. In these circumstances it is only natural that what used to be known as the 'professions' should have lost much of their old glamour, but for the sake of convenience they may be considered separately in such an inquiry as the present.

The slightest acquaintance with the conditions obtaining at the present time in the British Navy and Army is sufficient to show that, save in very exceptional cases, the services have nothing to offer the man who lacks either a private income or family influence, or both. For an officer of either to live on his pay and allowances may be possible, but it is only at the cost of leading the existence of a hermit. Promotion from the lower deck or from the ranks is, of course, practicable in theory, and the name of a justly famous field-marshal may be quoted in support

handicap, and even into our own time there survived a prejudice against those who were engaged in trade, at any rate of a retail character: on the whole, however, the French Revolution did usher in a new era in which birth counted for increasingly less, and brains and wealth for increasingly more, than in the past. In a few military centres and cathedral towns the old fetish was long in being abandoned, but the Industrial Revolution soon completed the work of the French revolutionaries, and henceforth birth, though still an asset, was no longer indispensable to success in any walk of life.

Unfortunately, the ultimate effect of the changes which followed the fall of the old order was to replace birth by wealth as the chief line of division between the classes, and the whole history of the later nineteenth century is the record of a middle-class attempt to entrench itself in the position whose monopoly by the aristocracy it had successfully challenged. The methods adopted were various, but they were alike in that they made a long and expensive apprenticeship essential to entrance into any of the 'professions.' It was during this period that education at one of the public schools, and at either Oxford or Cambridge, became the hall-mark of social respectability, and although such a career was never an absolute *sine quâ non* of success, yet those who had not been educated in this way were at a very severe disadvantage in the battle of life. As the century drew to its close boys were, so to speak, launched into the world at a progressively later age, and this, of course, militated against the chances of the working class, which could not afford the long period of apprenticeship that had become the rule. For the genius there were scholarships from the primary school to the best Oxford and Cambridge college, but he will always get to the top somehow, and it was the working-class boy of an ability above the normal, but yet not a genius, who suffered from the tendencies of that era.

The war effected a social revolution of which the results are only now beginning to be understood. It brought about a changed attitude of mind towards social values, and although more than one attempt has been made to restore the old order in its pristine vigour, such efforts have all ended in failure. It was not so much that class distinctions seemed of less importance during the years of the war, though to some extent that certainly was the case, as that the very middle class, which had erected such substantial barriers against the attacks of the proletariat upon what may be termed its employment preserve, could no longer afford to send its sons to the public schools and to Oxford and Cambridge, and so found itself excluded by the safeguards which it had established with so much care. Education both for boys and girls has become far more expensive of late years, and

EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY—FACT OR FICTION?

EQUALITY of opportunity has been described by some as the only practicable, and by others as the only desirable, form of equality, and ever since the French Revolution sounded the death-knell of privilege acquired by birth alone the principle of the *carrière ouverte aux talents* has been inscribed upon the banners of triumphant democracy. In these circumstances it is with something in the nature of a shock that one reads that a Royal Commission is to be appointed to inquire into the working of the rule which insists that upon marriage a female civil servant shall resign. In short, the existence of such a situation as that which is to be investigated cannot but raise the whole problem whether complete equality of opportunity prevails in Great Britain at the present time, or whether it is subject to so many restrictions as to justify the statement that it is in reality more honoured in the breach than in the observance.

The answer to these questions cannot be given offhand, for to understand the significance of modern tendencies it is necessary to consider the social changes which have taken place in the past, and in these matters history has a very curious way, in spite of the efforts of reformers, of repeating itself. For this reason, therefore, three periods call for examination—the pre-revolutionary era, the nineteenth century, and the war, with its far-reaching changes—before we are really in a position to view the existing situation in its proper perspective.

On its social side the chief legacy of the French Revolution was the removal of class distinctions based solely upon birth. It is, of course, true that even in the heyday of aristocratic power many a man fought his way to the top without the assistance of a noble name, but he was always regarded as something of an adventurer, and even the genius of a Burke could not overcome all the obstacles which were placed in the path of one who had risen, so to speak, from the ranks. It is equally certain that the fall of the Bastille did not immediately throw down all the barriers in the path of the *novus homo*, for the careers of Canning and Disraeli are proof that the absence of aristocratic connexions could still be a severe

unfortunate condition of things is due in large measure to the stiff-necked conservatism of lawyers and their coarse and uncultivated appetite for costs.

But I claim to have proved two things: first, that in its gospel the law preaches a message of conciliation, accord and concord, though the rubrics of its services do not lay down any procedure of observance; secondly, that there is a way out—namely, by the institution of lovedays with official daysmen whose duty it will be to attempt conciliation as a condition precedent to litigation. Courts of accord such as I propose have for over a century worked successfully in Denmark, and were championed by Lord Brougham when he pleaded for a legal reformer to arise who would unseal the crabbed book of our law and make it a living letter, no longer the patrimony of the rich, but at last the inheritance of the poor

The poor are very patient over the shortcomings of what lawyers themselves justly describe as their 'inferior courts'; but there is a limit to forbearance, and when that is reached, instead of orderly, well-thought-out and sensible reform we shall see old abuses swept away as in an avalanche, and good men and good things will go with them

EDWARD PARRY.

This looks to me as though the proclamation was not only a war-time measure, but a little bit of protection for city attorneys and the interests of the officials of the city courts, the kind of thing that often creeps into public measures at a time of public danger.

But lawyers as a class have generally opposed lovedays either in the form of mediation or arbitration. As for arbitrations, they long ago swept them into their legal system. Indeed, they have so transformed the old methods of the two daysmen and 'an Noumper' that a legal arbitration to-day is as much to be dreaded by a private citizen, and is often as costly and ruinous, as an ordinary law-suit. Lovedays, as such, are taboo as being destructive of costs. Perhaps old moral Gower with pleasant pen in hand had this in mind when he wrote in 1390:

> Helle is full of such descord
> That ther may be no Loveday.[31]

The fourteenth century was the golden age of lovedays when these were real conciliation courts or courts of accord. They were largely run by clerical daysmen, and when the Reformation came about they lingered on in the North of England; but gradually the lawyers came into their own again and the ideals of concord and accord were relegated to the lumber stores of pious opinions Even the word passed into disuse Shakespeare, it is true, uses the word loveday once

> You are my guest, Lavinia, and your friends.
> This day shall be a loveday, Tamora.
>
> *Titus Andronicus*, I., i., l. 491.

Here loveday has a double meaning. It is a day for the settlement of differences combined with a marriage day. 'Daysman' as a Biblical word has had a longer life But the verb 'to day' and the phrase 'doubtful daying'—meaning, I think, the doubtful efficiency of the result of a daysman's activities—are more or less obsolete. The pity is that the thing is obsolete, and the practical question for social reformers is, in what form can lovedays be best reproduced among us?

It is as true to-day as it was when, in 1621, Robert Burton wrote his *Anatomy of Melancholy*, that

> he that goes to law, as the proverb is, holds a wolf by the ears, or as a sheep in a storm runs for shelter to a brier, if he prosecute his cause he is consumed, if he surcease his suit he loseth all—what difference? [32]

This is the fate of the common citizen of to-day, and what emerges from this excursion into the ancientry of our laws is that this

[31] *Confessio Amantis*. See Halliwell's *Dict. of Arch. and Prov. Words*.
[32] Burton, *Anatomy of Melancholy*, 1845, Democritus to the Reader, p. 47.

I have been priest and parson for thirty winters past,
But I cannot solfa or sing, or read a Latin life of saints;
But I can find a hare, in a field or in a furrow
Better than construe the first Psalm or explain it to the parish.
I can hold a Loveday. I can cast a shires account,
But in mass book or Popes edict I cannot read a line.[19]

Sloth 'with the slimy eyes' may have been, from Langland's puritanical outlook on social values, a grossly illiterate, sensual creature. But, reading between the lines, I think he was popular with the farmers and labourers and a welcome companion in the field or at the table. The fact that he was an expert at coursing and a good finder of the hare leads me to the belief that he was a judge of coursing—perhaps the most delicate and difficult judicial task known to man That such a man should be called upon to preside at lovedays in an agricultural district is not, as Langland seems to think, a bad thing. He would bring to the dispute a knowledge of local habits, a rough-and-ready equity, and a quick grasp of facts, refreshing in an age whose lawyers could not come to grips until they had demurred, joined and rejoined, butted, rebutted and surrebutted.

Some of our earlier literary scholars have quite misunderstood these allusions to lovedays, calling them 'meetings for pleasure and diversion.' It is quite likely, however, that a loveday ended in a feast, when love was attained, and it is certain that Chaucer's Friar or Langland's Parson Sloth would give as much satisfaction to the company as toastmaster as he had as daysman

A good daysman, whether arbitrator or mediator or mixture of the two, must be a man of the world, though he need not be worldly Some of the ablest arbitrators in the nineteenth century, like William Housman Higgin, Q C., who was a favourite umpire among Manchester business men, were not only learned in the law and conversant with the facts of life and customs of business, but were especially well acquainted with the ordering and preparation of food, the drafting of a menu, and the relevance of vintages to the various clauses thereof.

And that Englishmen of the fourteenth century, like those of to-day, were prone to make concord in business an excuse for a feast is evidenced in public documents of that date. When Edward III. in 1329 was going to France the City Fathers issued a proclamation (a kind of D.O.R.A.) in which it is ordered that 'no one of the City, of whatsoever condition he be, shall go out of this City to maintain parties such as taking seisin or holding days of love.' Citizens were further exhorted, if they 'felt themselves aggrieved, to shew their grievances unto the Officers of the City and they will do them speedy right according as the law demands.'[20]

[19] *Piers Plowman's Vision*, p. 90.

[20] Riley, *London in Fourteenth and Fifteenth Century*, 1868, p. 273.

because the cost and delay of law as administered in the king's courts put justice beyond the reach of the poor much as they do to-day. This we learn from William Langland. *Piers Plowman's Vision* is not only poetry, but excellent descriptive journalism of the 'condition of England' question as it appeared to a Radical who wrote one edition of his book in 1362 and another in 1378-9. What he said about the law and the poor is terribly modern [16]:

To the poor the courts are a maze — If he plead there all his life,
Law is so lordly — And loth to end his case;
Without money paid in presents — Law listeneth to few.

For 'presents,' which may mean 'bribes' and have happily long ceased to disgrace our courts, we may substitute 'costs' to bring the verse up to date The following passage, too, would have to contain some reference to the recent development of legal aid societies to make it an accurate picture of to-day. Still, I do not see that the Bar Council could fairly quarrel with it:

There wandered a hundred — in hoods of silk
Serjeants they seemed — and served at the Bar
Pleading the law — for pennies and for pounds
Unlocking their lips never — for love of our Lord.[17]

And although Langland was an acolyte, and in that way attached to the Church, he was of opinion, apparently, that lawyers should reform their machine and adapt it to the needs of the poor, and he viewed with disfavour the Church aggrandising itself by allowing clerks to take part in lovedays and other worldly affairs. He writes very openly about this on more than one occasion:

But now is religion a rider — a roamer through the streets,
A leader at the loveday — a buyer of the land
Pricking on a palfrey — from manor to manor
A heap of hounds at his back — as tho' he were a lord.[18]

It is clear that Langland did not approve of the hunting rector. Yet it is equally obvious that on the countryside such a man would be, and in fact was, very popular among his parishioners as a daysman.

And that this was so is clear from Langland's description of Parson Sloth, which, though probably a highly coloured picture of a sensual priest, is interesting from my point of view as corroborating Chaucer's statement that a 'clerk' was a person who could give 'muchel help' at a loveday. In Sloth's confession he says:

[16] Bright, *New Light on Piers Plowman*, 1928: Professor Chambers' Introduction, pp. 14, 15.

[17] *Piers Plowman's Vision*, Everyman Library, pp. 20 and 43.

[18] *Ibid.*, p. 7; and see Wright's *Piers Plowman*, 1856, i., p. 191.

When the abbot returned from Lincolnshire he was very wroth. The townsmen, fearing they should be trounced for their riot, asked the abbot for a loveday, submitting themselves to him and proffering to pay damage. The abbot agreed to a loveday, but on the day appointed it appeared that the townsmen had decamped with their wives and children to London. There they complained to the king that the abbot had disinherited them of their rights, taken away their pastures, and would 'eat them up to the bones.'

The king seems to have referred the matter to the courts, and the abbot, having first excommunicated the townsmen, next issued a writ in the King's Bench, where, as the chronicler remarks somewhat wearily, 'after many cross-pleadings here too long to relate' the abbot got judgment for amercing the defendants in twenty marks.

Now observe the sequel. The abbot, being a good fellow at heart and having won the day, not only remitted the damages, but also assoiled the defendants from excommunication There seems no doubt that if they had attended on the loveday the matter would have been settled on similar lines. Personally, I suspect that the townsmen were egged on by some local speculative attorney to take the course they did, and I hope and trust he never got the costs of the many cross-pleadings with which he tried to obscure the issue.

The Church naturally approved of lovedays, not only because they promoted peace, but also because they gave opportunities for priests and friars to act as daysmen and thereby gain authority and power among citizens. Both William Langland and Chaucer refer to these things. In the description of the Friar in 'The Prologue' Chaucer tells us that

> In lovedays there could be muchel help,
> For there was he not like a cloisterer,
> With thread bare cope, as is a poor scholer
> But he was like a master or a pope [14]

This is a good description of the kind of man who would make a good business daysman—one gifted to talk to the parties, not only with shrewd common sense, but with authority, in the manner and speech of a 'master or a pope.' Lovedays were very successful in the North of England, where folk will always listen to a masterful spirit who begins his exhortation: 'Now, look here; I'm not arguin', I'm tellin' yer.'

And one reason why the people of the fourteenth century—Chaucer's 'Prologue' was written in 1389—were ready and willing to call in the 'muchel help' of the daysman friar was

[14] Chaucer, *Canterbury Tales*, 'The Prologue,' verse 260.

essential that the parties appointed a dayman; they might merely meet together and discuss things. If they agreed, the litigation came to a natural end; if not, the court proceeded to judgment.

That all the courts recognised the validity of agreements arrived at on lovedays seems clear from several passages in Bracton. In writing about defaults in actions between landlord and tenant and discussing the position of a claimant who has issued a summons to which the defendant has made no appearance, Bracton goes at considerable length into what will happen if, after default is made, a loveday is taken by the parties before judgment and 'no love be made.' Unless the claimant has been careful to 'take a loveday' without prejudice, as we should say, then if the loveday is of no effect he cannot make use of the default, since by taking a loveday he has 'tacitly renounced' his intention of proceeding to take judgment by default.

In the same way, if a defendant has taken a loveday he thereby waives his right to take the point that the original summons was unlawful, and there is much learning concerning the effect of a loveday on an 'essoin,' which was a lawful excuse for a default.[13]

Bracton wrote his great treatise on the laws and customs of England somewhere about 1250, and it seems clear that at the time he wrote the custom of parties to a dispute pausing on the threshold of litigation to 'take a loveday' was well established, and he refers to it as being done by consent or ordered by the court at the request of one or the other of the parties. But what is abundantly clear is that the law gave active assistance to parties who desired to settle cases and avoid litigation, and therefore at the earliest moment before costs were incurred the courts seem to have encouraged lovedays.

How the business actually worked in Bracton's day is illustrated by an account of litigation between the Abbot of Waltham Abbey and the townsmen who had a difference of opinion about common rights on the marshes.[14] The troubles occurred in 1246. The abbot placed his mares and cattle on the town marsh, or on marshes which the townsmen laid claim to, but the abbot contended these were abbey lands. It happened that the abbot and his retinue set out to visit the ecclesiastics of Lincoln, and whilst he was away the townsmen raided the marshes. 'Into the pasture they go,' says the chronicler, and he describes how they drive out the abbot's mares and colts, drowning three worth twenty shillings, spoiling ten more to the value of ten marks and beating their keepers who resisted them even to the shedding of blood.

[13] Bracton, vol. v., pp. 127, 217, 319, 405.

[14] See Fuller's *History of Waltham Abbey*, p. 262.

arbitrators, and if they fail to agree they in turn appointing an umpire to give a final decision, was in full swing; but I fancy the daysmen made a better effort to do their work without calling in 'an Noumper' than modern arbitrators do to-day.

But in earlier times daysmen, as we shall see, had been purely mediators, and a loveday was a day appointed for parties to endeavour reconciliation in order to avoid litigation. Naturally, there are no existing records of what happened at such lovedays, but that they were very common in the social life of the Middle Ages is abundantly clear from allusions in contemporary writings. The concluded agreements were recognised by the lawyers, effect was given to the accord arrived at, and the fact that the parties had agreed to a loveday had certain legal consequences.

It appears that from the earliest times the ruinous nature of law-suits and litigation has always been recognised by the common citizens, who have tried to find economical and efficient substitutes for law and lawyers. In this they have not succeeded. Perhaps they never will wholly succeed, for in certain human conditions litigation is the only known method of securing justice, in the same way as war is the only known method of withstanding tyranny and securing liberty.

At the same time, modern experience seems to teach us that nations and individuals need not continue to live in a continuous and permanent atmosphere of war and litigation, and that in experimenting in methods of peace and conciliation mankind may hope to preserve such small advances in civilisation as it has achieved.

That such experiments were made in the past is clear. In Anglo-Saxon times the reports of law cases show how rarely the parties pushed their differences to final judgment. 'A compromise was always effected where compromise was possible.' [10] In important disputes about the ownership of land you often find bishops engaged in the task of reconciling the parties and thus preventing law-suits and possible affrays after judgment.

In the Selden Society's *Borough Customs* it appears that in the manorial courts in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries lovedays were recognised. 'It is wont in every plea to give a loveday at the prayer of the parties.' [11] The practice seems to have been that if, for instance, an apprentice wanted to leave his master or made a complaint against him, the court would tell them 'to take a loveday.' [12] If they could not agree on the loveday, then a summons would issue, or if the apprentice refused to attend on the loveday he might be arrested. It does not appear that it was

[10] *Essays on Anglo-Saxon Law*, Adams, 1876, p. 26.

[11] *Borough Customs*, Selden Society Publications, vol. xviii., 1904, at p. 90.

[12] *Ibid.*, pp. 228, 229.

Having satisfied myself, and I trust my reader, that the institution of courts of accord or conciliation in our legal system is no revolutionary proposition, but really a reversion to Christian ideals and a useful conservative procedure, I propose to show that our ancestors had a very simple and practical method of establishing concord between disputants which was known to them under the pleasant title of *Dies Amoris*, or, as they called it, the loveday.

The word seems to have had a double meaning. It signified 'a day for a meeting with a view to the amicable settlement of a dispute; hence an agreement entered into at such a meeting.' [6] I first got in touch with the importance of lovedays in English law as precedents for modern courts of accord through reading the Book of Job. Job, according to the headnote of the chapter, in 'acknowledging God's justice, sheweth that there is no contending with him,' and in doing so draws an illustration of his unhappy position from legal procedure.

> For he is not a man, as I am, that I should answer him, and we should come together in judgment.
>
> Neither is there any daysman betwixt us, that might lay his hand upon us both [7]

Here you have two forms of legal proceedings referred to: the suit at law ending in judgment for one of the parties; the loveday where the parties appoint a daysman and he endeavours to bring them into accord and so determine the dispute.

Miles Coverdale, who uses this word 'daysman' in his translation of the Bible 1535, lived at a time when daysmen had not ceased to exist, although probably they were then approaching the position of arbitrators, in the modern sense of the word, rather than mediators. This we see from letters in the *Plumpton Correspondence* William Arthington, writing to Sir Robert Plumpton in 1489, says:

> Right reverent and worshipful master, I recomend me to your mastership, certifying you that John Pullan and I meett this day at Castley, which John brought with him Henry Dickenson and John Tomlinson to support him and to testify his talk. Sir, the dayes men cannot agree us so Mr. Mydleton is to make the end [8]

Another letter of 1431–2 refers to a squire and a man of counsel learned in the law to be appointed as daysmen, and if the said arbitrators do not accord before the feast of Allhallows, then 'to abide the award of an Noumper.' [9] It seems clear, then, that at this date the modern procedure of each party appointing

[6] *Oxford English Dictionary*.
[7] Job ix. 32, 33.
[8] *Plumpton Correspondence*, Camden Soc., 1839, p. 81, letter 53.
[9] *Ibid.*, Introduction, li.

They will be interested to note that in America, where the heritage of our common law is still honoured, the question of the inherent power of a court to attempt conciliation has been discussed in *Harrington* v. *Boston Elevated Railway*.[4] During the hearing of an accident case which was being tried by a jury the judge

> called the defendant's counsel to the bench, and not in the hearing of the jury, but while the jury were in their seats, told defendant's counsel that he ought to settle the case, that he ought to be willing to pay a certain sum to settle the case, adding that he did not mean that the court would set aside a verdict for twice that amount.

On appeal it was discussed whether this was a violation of article 29 of the Bill of Rights, which runs:

> 'It is the right of every free citizen to be tried by judges as free, impartial and independent as the lot of humanity will admit.'

The appeal court, the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts, held that

> the conduct of the presiding judge did not violate the justly strict and lofty standard of our constitution. It is not necessarily a transgression of judicial propriety to suggest to parties in appropriate instances the wisdom of a compromise of conflicting contentions. It is a suggestion which always should be ventured from the bench with caution. There are cases where the right or obligation at stake is not susceptible of concession without the profanation of principles which rightly may be held inviolable by one or more of the parties. Ordinarily a judge may presume in these days that the possibility of compromise has not been ignored by counsel or parties in cases where compromise is feasible or just.

It appears that in American courts the duty of a judge to promote conciliation is fully recognised in principle, and where objection was taken on appeal to a judge's endeavour to bring about a settlement—*In re Nevitt*[5]—the Circuit Court of Appeals said that the judge's

> earnest and systematic endeavours to effect a compromise of this controversy bespeak for him emphatic commendation. The policy of the law has always been to promote and sustain the compromise and settlement of disputed claims. It loves peace, hates broils and dissensions and discourages the prolongation of litigation.

I make no apology for quoting these American decisions at length. Though not binding in our courts, they only restate in modern language the principles of accord, concord and conciliation which have always existed in English law, and though of recent years these ideas have been dormant they are by no means extinct.

[4] (1918) 229 Mass. 421.
[5] (1902) 117 Federal Reports, 448.

No law forbids peace and accord, and therefore everyone may agree with his adversary and release and quit claim his right and his action.[1]

We find accord, and the legal effect of it, described in *Termes de la Ley* as:

> An agreement between two or more persons where anyone is injured by a trespass or offence done, or on a contract to satisfy him with some recompense; which accord, if executed and performed, shall be a good bar in law if the other party after the accord performed bring an action for the same trespass.[2]

One might also refer to the *concord* or agreement between parties who intend the levying of a fine of lands one to the other, and the quality of a *fine, finis* or *finalis concordia* acknowledged by a party before judges or commissioners, the effect of which was 'to put a *final* end to all suits and contentions.'[3]

Modern statutes like the Rent Restriction Acts sometimes forbid citizens making a concord, the Legislature supposing in its unwisdom that it knows better than people themselves what is good for them. Apart, however, from parliamentary interferences, citizens are entitled in law to agree their differences and arrive at accords which the courts are bound to record. Therefore, if the people demanded that our courts should be primarily courts of accord and should insist upon conciliation being attempted before litigation was permitted, they would only be asking that lawyers and judges should devote their energies to old-fashioned and respectable English legal principles that have been too long neglected.

No doubt it will be objected by Dodson and Fogg, and other pushing practitioners, that the use of courts of law for the purposes of conciliation has so long been abandoned that it is to-day utterly obsolete. Indeed, I have heard it contended that a judge has no legal right to suggest compromise and settlement, and that courts of law are only concerned with litigation. I believe this heresy is prevalent among many lawyers who regard their profession more as a lucrative trade and business than as a faculty conferred upon them for the performance of public duties.

There is nothing that Dodson and Fogg react to more respectfully than a decided case in the Court of Appeal. The broad grounds of truth and justice may provoke a smile of derision, but the headnote of a judgment on all fours with the case in hand, which threatens the certainty of costs, is, to lawyers of this class, a writing on the wall warning them that on the day of allocation they may be weighed in balances and found wanting.

[1] *The Mirror of Justices*, chap. xxxix.; *Of Accords*, Selden Society Publications, p. 118.

[2] Tomlin's *Law Dictionary*.

[3] See titles. 'Concord,' 'Fine,' Tomlin's *Law Dictionary*.

CONCERNING LOVEDAYS

When I wrote *The Gospel and the Law* and pleaded for the introduction of conciliation courts into our legal system, the idea was received by my fellow-lawyers as Quixotic, alien and unpractical. Not one of them seemed to appreciate that the right to promote conciliation was an inherent power of our courts, and no one seemed to call to mind that in primitive times it was practised throughout the country with business-like results. As in art we have to go back to the earliest painters for beautiful, simple, and perfect work, inspired by spiritual ideals rather than a love of gold, and practised by devout men who understood the first principles of their job, so in jurisprudence we must revert to the methods of our ancestors if we wish to rid our law courts of the scandal of excessive costs and the dishonour of a legal system under which 'laws grind the poor and rich men rule the law.'

Although it might not be possible to cite a modern English reported case as an authority for the proposition that it is the duty of a judge to promote conciliation and compromise, yet anyone who is familiar with the happenings in our courts knows that, in fact, judges constantly intervene to persuade litigants and their advisers to come to a settlement rather than pursue a litigation that may end in the utter ruin of both the parties. This is often successful, but unfortunately under our system it can only be attempted after large sums have been already spent on preparations for warfare.

I am well aware, too, that all wise and honest lawyers endeavour at the earliest to promote conciliation, but their righteous endeavours are too often thwarted by professional brethren, lewd fellows of the baser sort, with lower ideals and more prehensile instincts. It is for this reason that I find it necessary to recall the sane methods of our forbears, who named a loveday, appointed a daysman as a mediator, and sought conciliation as a condition precedent to litigation.

The curious may be pleased to observe the ancientry of the principle of conciliation in English law. Andrew Horn, who compiled *The Mirror of Justices* at some time prior to his death in 1328, truly says:

tactfully brought round to it realises this as well as anyone. Ceremonial soon ceases to worry, falls into its proper place, and assumes a meaning. There is a delightful and true story of a remote village church I know of in East Anglia. The normal service there was sung Mass; but the aged vicar died, and to tide over the emergency a deacon from a neighbouring parish came over for a few Sundays and conducted sung Mattins. The verger shook his head at this temporary change. 'I don't like these new *High Church* goings on,' he commented.

Catholicism does not necessarily go hand in hand with slackness in visiting. The slack parson, whether Catholic or Protestant, will be a slack visitor, and *vice versâ*. For every Catholic who shirks this important part of his duties you will find many who visit energetically.

The future of the Church's influence in the villages, as in the towns, depends, in my opinion, on a sane Catholicism, introduced with sympathy, love, and consideration. There is, and will always be, a real need for a soul-doctor in every village, and that need can never be satisfied by the hearty, easy-going, ethics-without-dogma-and-not-too-much-of-them type of parson whom the writer of the first article wishes to see installed in our vicarages. In many villages, no doubt, the rot has gone too far, and the best equipped vicar may have no chance of getting at those who have drifted right away from the Church. But that situation has arisen before in the history of our Church. The remedy of the Wesleys was Revivalism. Catholicism has its equivalent in the itinerant friar or the mission-preacher sent out by a religious community. There are many signs of an impending wave of vocation to the religious life, which in the Catholic Church at large has always manifested itself just when the need is greatest. It may be that in a few years' time there will be a great increase in the number of male religious communities, and that these will find that one of the chief tasks which they are called to shoulder is the winning back to the Church of the masses, rural and urban, who have been allowed to drift away in the present difficult years.

DOUGLAS LOCKHART.

The modern parson has to compete with the snappy popular journalist in the art of winning attention, and it is not surprising if he fails to rise to the required heights. I do not suppose that this type of service was ever in history a source of inspiration and strength to the average country church-goer ; it did all right for a generation less critical than the present, and that was about all. The modern man, perhaps half consciously, is discovering its inherent defects. Can it be seriously urged that a religious system, of which this is the *chef d'œuvre*, really has the power to awaken men to the consciousness of sin, to bring them to repentance, to supply them with supernatural power of amendment, and to lift them into ever closer union with God ? That, after all, is or ought to be the real aim of religion, and the system which is unable to achieve it is a failure.

Compare with this old-fashioned type of church one in which the Catholic faith and practice have been carefully and sensitively introduced. The villager gradually learns the meaning of worship, as he learns to take part in the Lord's own service as the chief act of the Lord's own day. The doctrine of the Real Presence helps him to follow it in its steady march of meaning to a climax of mystery, awe, other-worldliness. He learns the practical bearing of the right worship of God on right conduct towards his neighbours ; uncharitableness and enmity appear in their true light to the man who has learned the implications of the Sacrament of Unity ; and who can for long remain complacent about his private life while he kneels at the threshold of the Holy of Holies ?

There is no 'spiritual aloofness,' no cold inhumanity, about the Catholic parson who is accustomed to hearing the confessions of his flock. A prime requisite of the confessor is sympathy. Who can so well give and win love as the man who has seen into the very souls of his parishioners, who knows their best and worst, and whose incessant duty it is to stimulate the best and heal those sins which constitute the worst ? Rural England has its sins, as well as industrial England. There is just as much need for the true doctor of souls, and the refashioning of life and character produces practical results just as splendid and amazing.

Beauty has as strong an appeal for the countryman as for his Cockney cousin. When the village church has been transformed in accord with Catholic ideas, he finds that there is a pull about it outside service times, and by degrees he may learn to go in and pray and find joy and peace there. But the Protestant village church simply does not cater for casual prayer, and there is something very depressing and even repelling about it on weekdays. Few experiences are so beautiful and impressive as a simple sung Mass in an old country church, and the villager who has been

he is justified in accusing the parson of having destroyed what religion there was in that parish.

But there are a great many more churches in the country where different methods have been followed, which show that Catholic innovations, where supported by plain, definite teaching, are by no means essentially obnoxious to country people. I cherish the memory of an Oxfordshire village, the vicar of which would be termed an extreme Catholic. A very large proportion of the very small population of the village attended the early Eucharist and communicated. There was a sung Eucharist later in the morning, and again the church was well attended. There was a Nonconformist chapel in the village, but to the best of my recollection its congregation did not exceed six or eight persons; yet the chapel is the natural rendezvous for malcontents from the church. There are hundreds of churches like this through the country. It is not a question of 'less High' attracting better than 'more High.' Acceptance of Catholic ways depends almost entirely on the manner in which they are introduced, and love and sympathy are the secret of successful introduction.

The second writer calls for the old-fashioned services, but here the first writer would probably answer him effectively. The truth is that churches where these continue are as hard hit as any in the matter of congregation. Anglican Protestantism was dead in the villages a great many years ago, but people went on attending its shrines because there was nothing better to do. The march of invention has changed all that, with the help of a break-down of old conventions And is it to be wondered at? Analyse the old-fashioned type of morning service in an average country church: psalms indifferently sung to well-worn Anglican chants; a number of collects and prayers, of a Cranmerian literary beauty, no doubt, but also of a Cranmerian unintelligibility to the modern villager; a small repertoire of hymns with tunes just a trifle too catchy and well known; and a sermon of greater or less merit. Now, Mattins, as a service of reflection, can be of real value to the fully instructed churchman; but its value is enormously reduced if it is sung. Say the psalms seated, and you will find them a treasury of devotion; sing them to Anglican chants, and this virtue of theirs will practically disappear. To the average church-goer many Old Testament lessons are utterly meaningless. Only the man who has really made some study of the Old Testament will derive profit from them. Mattins, then, is a service for the few. For the many, as commonly rendered, it becomes a soothing or tedious prelude to the sermon, according as the 'worshipper' is old or young. Everything depends on the sermon, then, if the service is to 'make good' and justify the expenditure of time and attention. But this is just where the failure is too often complete.

THE CHURCH AND THE VILLAGE:

A Reply

Two articles appeared in the May number of this Review dealing with the above subject Was the Church exercising its rightful influence in village life? If not, why not? Both articles were coloured by a profound pessimism. In the view of one writer, the failure of the Church in the village was due to changed conditions, economic and social. The parson may still, perhaps, do good work in the village, but as a man, not as a parson; he must discard sectarian loyalties and not attempt to get people to church who do not want to go. The other writer put the blame for the Church's failure on 'High Church' practices and lack of visiting, which seem in his view to go together. Let the parson visit assiduously and give the villager the old-fashioned type of service, and all will be well again.

The object of this article is to give a rather more optimistic view of the future, and incidentally to defend the High Church school against the charge of destroying rural religion.

In the first place, the writer of the second article takes for his type a church where Anglo-Catholic practices have been introduced hurriedly, tactlessly, and without explanation of the reason why things are done It is an unfortunate fact that there are some priests who will not be patient and content to hasten slowly. They come, perhaps, from some famous and popular Catholic church in London to a rural parish which appears to them to be languishing in a wilderness of withered Protestantism. The adults are given up as a bad job; a few young people are caught and trained as servers; the services and interior appearance of the church are quickly changed beyond recognition, and in a month or two the new vicar is able to write and inform his London friends that he now 'has got everything' in his new sphere of action. Everything—yes, except a congregation. It is one of the tragedies of the Catholic movement in the Church of England that it has suffered as cruelly from the indiscretions of some of its supporters as it has from the persecuting zeal of its opponents. Where our critic finds such a church, and there are quite a number,

to his uncle the Duke of Exeter, speaking of the French. And later, in the scene with the Duke of Gloucester and with Fluellen, he declares: 'We give express charge, that in our marches through the country, there be nothing compelled from the villages, nothing taken but paid for, none of the French upbraided, or abused in disdainful language.' And though he prove ardent and fiery, he is none the less modest and ready to accept the decisions of Providence, whatever they may be. When he is urged by his brother, the Duke of Gloucester, not to advance as the French may approach in great hordes, he replies, smiling: 'We are in God's hand, brother, not in theirs.' And when, after the victory of the English at Agincourt, Montjoy, the herald of the French, appears and tells Henry 'The day is yours,' the king replies: 'Praised be God, and not our strength for it!'

God is the victor, not Henry. In his concern to present the king as a national hero Shakespeare depicts him as an instrument of the Almighty.

> *O God, thy arm was here,*
> *And not to us, but to thy arm alone*
> *Ascribe we all!*

All the horrible and bloody details of the fight, all the assassinations, all the massacres, are swept away And in Shakespeare's evident wish not to offend the French he voluntarily omits what in the chroniclers' relations happens to turn against them. Dealing with a terrific struggle that had pitted the two nations together in arms, and had reddened with blood the fields of France, Shakespeare acts with such tact and such sympathy for the French that he too seems to have been a precursor of the 'Entente Cordiale'! His play concludes with these prophetic lines uttered by the King of France:

> *that never war advance*
> *His bleeding sword 'twixt England and fair France.*

Had the English withdrawn when Joan of Arc invited them to do so, these words might have been placed on the Maid's lips. But history is history. The records bear witness, nevertheless, to the fact that, already in the past, the clever foresight of a heroine on the one hand, and the genial divination of the world's greatest poet on the other hand, converged in an unmistakable tendency towards the realisation of that understanding between the two countries which was to be consummated completely only some five centuries later.

ANGE GALDEMAR.

with the English, not yet victorious as he was in France—with the French, Joan of Arc took up the idea, as is proved by her letter to the Duke of Bedford.

It is noteworthy that in the Maid's desire of an *entente* between France and England, in view of a crusade, religious sentiment dominated, as it dominated the whole chapter of history with which we are dealing. Everything was done in the name of God. The King of England had been persuaded, in a speech delivered in Parliament by the Archbishop of Canterbury, to undertake the invasion of France. The war with France became in itself a kind of crusade. Shakespeare renders this fact most strikingly at the beginning of *Henry V*. And when, leaving Southampton, the king lands at Harfleur, he speaks of conquering the land in the name of the Almighty. He claims, to be sure, his due from the dynastic point of view, putting himself forward as the rightful heir to the throne! But the important thing is that this invasion is prompted to him from above.

If one keeps this in mind, it is not difficult to guess how Shakespeare understands and explains the conquest of France by the English king. It becomes evident that the poet is dreaming too of a final *entente* between the two kingdoms. Is it not obvious that in Shakespeare's opinion the two countries, the shores of which

> *look pale*
> *With envy of each other's happiness,*

are bound to live in complete sympathy and harmony? For this, no doubt, France and England must be placed under the domination of a single sovereign, and this sovereign be English. But, as the latter has historic claims to sovereignty, the fact that he already rules England cannot prevent him from trying to extend his sway over France. It is on that very cry of war on France that England becomes a fatherland. The different portions of the nation awake and rise under the spell of that cry. And England, equipped and armed, transports herself to the neighbouring country.

Now reflect for a moment on what happened some fifteen years ago. This historic landing of the English forces on French soil at Harfleur, does it not remind every reader of Shakespeare's play to-day, from a certain point of view, of the landing of the British forces at Calais and Boulogne, and Dieppe and Cherbourg, during the World War? Fifteen years ago the English came as allies to the French, and no doubt in 1415 they arrived as invaders. But Shakespeare presents them as sympathetic and courteous. Henry deals with France as a country he is going to conquer by persuasion rather than by force. 'Use mercy to them all,' he says

them to buy his crown. 'I know no ways to mince it in love,' he adds, 'but directly to say—I love you.' And he concludes with a kiss, adding with *esprit*: 'You have witchcraft in your lips, Kate; there is more eloquence in a sugar touch of them, than in the tongues of the French council.'

But once more I put the question, was she really beautiful? Heinrich Heine says that she was fond of smart accoutrements and exceedingly clever in playing with her fan. If this be accurate, it would go far to convince us of her attractiveness. Princesses who indulge in *coquetterie* are generally adorned by beauty. Note that in the epilogue to *Henry IV*. Shakespeare announces his next play, promising the public to make them 'merry with *fair* Katharine of France.' There is, indeed, excellent proof that Shakespeare has not embroidered. In confirmation of Katharine's beauty we have the explicit testimony of a contemporary, no less authority than Monstrelet himself. The Burgundian chronicler relates how the princess was presented to the English king at Meulan. She had come thither from Pontoise with her mother, the Queen of France, the Duke of Burgundy, and a suite of 1000 followers. Almost immediately the King of England was announced coming from Rouen and Mantes, and, being presented to her amid the formal display and courtesies of the time, he kissed her hand. 'She had been taken there,' says Monstrelet, 'in order that the King of England might see her, as he was very anxious to marry her, a thing quite natural as she was *moult belle dame, de haut lieu, et de gracieuse manière*.' Why seek further evidence? Monstrelet's testimony as to her beauty is typical. We find Shakespeare in agreement with history, so that the whole sweet scene just alluded to seems logical and plain.

The alliance of the English king and of the daughter of the King of France, whose kingdom, on the latter's death, was to pass into his hands, did not last long: Henry V. died two years afterwards. But he left offspring, the boy—half English, half French—who reigned over England and France. However, this too—this double sovereignty—was of brief duration. Henry VI. was even deposed later on as King of England. Katharine's progeniture nevertheless—the progeniture of a second marriage—was to flourish, when the Houses of Lancaster and York had been extinguished, in another reigning branch of the English kings. Widow of Henry V., she married the Welsh Owen Tudor and became thus the grandmother of Henry VIII. Thus the consequences of the arrival in England of a French princess continued to be felt after having been arrested for nearly a quarter of a century.

Such was the romance of Katharine of France and of Henry V. The King of England not having been able to undertake a crusade

struggle went fiercely on, as has just been seen. But an alliance, of private character, had been entered into between an English king and a princess of France, the very daughter of the French king, own sister of the Dauphin. And as it was against the latter that the war was being waged, the contest was virtually one between two near relatives, two brothers-in-law. It could not last long, and the victories of Joan of Arc, which sapped the influence of the English in France, were to end this temporary domination.

Let me note, quite by the way, that Shakespeare's *Henry V.* calls Katharine of France '*la plus belle Katharine du monde*.' Was the princess really pretty, and is the unparalleled beauty attributed to her by the great poet merely the charm she possessed in her lover's eyes? Everybody knows that in his patriotic drama Shakespeare has idealised Henry V. Making an adroit selection of his many gifts, the poet presents the king as a national hero. He is the 'mirror of all Christian kings'—what such monarchs should be, and especially what a prince who enjoys the unrivalled privilege of reigning over the two leading kingdoms of the world, England and France, ought to be. Whether the portrait be true or not historically, Henry seems worthy of the good fortune which visits him, specially worthy of being victorious at Agincourt, for he is modest in his triumph and sympathetic to the vanquished foe. Shakespeare never struck a more constant note of patriotism than in this drama, and as he is logical and a master of his art he has deftly prepared his hero in his former plays in the portrait painted of the king while Prince of Wales: the young prince's folly and dissipations are blended with heroic dignity and most noble sentiments

Furthermore, as the king is gallant and chivalrous, he is tender and generous. He is full of sympathy and respect for France. His tenderness to the princess to whom he is to be engaged is delightful. The final scene between the king and Katharine is a most engaging illustration of this trait. The episode is all the more piquant as the princess, though grateful and quite conscious of the honour paid her, has all the keen appreciation of a woman and allows her innermost feelings to burst forth with vivacity and charm. The king compares her to an angel, and she exclaims in her frank language: '*O bon Dieu! les langues des hommes sont pleines de tromperies.*' On hearing that '*the tongues of men are full of deceits,*' Henry merely smiles, but he hastens to protest that he, at all events, is an exception! If the princess could only understand English better, he says, she would be able to judge of his sincerity, and find him so simple, so straightforward, and so candid, that she would conclude he had sold his

Burgundian Enguerrand de Monstrelet, relates how Henry V., having urged the doctors who were attending him to tell the truth as to his real state, the said doctors thereupon confessed that he had not more than two hours to live.

> Then the said king [writes Monstrelet] asked for his confessor and other ecclesiastical members of his household and ordered that the seven penitential psalms be recited. And when they came to *Benigne fac, Domine*, and uttered the words *muros Jherusalem*, he bade them to stop, and said in a loud tone that, awaiting death as he was, he wished to declare that it had been his formal intention, when peace would have been restored in France, to sally forth to the conquest of Jerusalem,—should it please God who created him to suffer him to live out his full time.

And so saying, he soon breathed his last.

Now, these words of the English king as he lay dying in France at Vincennes, near Paris, had spread all over the country. They were a topic of common conversation among the French. They had come to Joan of Arc's knowledge when, contemplating her scheme, she dictated her letter to the Duke of Bedford. Only seven years had elapsed since Henry V.'s death, and though the actual King of England was only a boy eight years old, the Maid knew perfectly well that, should the *entente* be concluded, the scheme would be pursued in his name by the valiant English troops

It may well be that it was out of this letter, which was read two years later at the Maid's trial at Rouen, that Shakespeare more than 150 years afterwards, when writing his play *Henry V.*, got the idea of putting the following words into the king's mouth in the delightful scene with Katharine of France, the princess to whom he was on the point of being engaged.

> King Henry. If ever thou be'st mine Kate, (as I have a saving faith within me tells me—thou shalt,) I get thee with scambling, and thou must therefore needs prove a good soldier-breeder: Shall not thou and I, between Saint Dennis and Saint George, compound a boy, half French, half English, that shall go to Constantinople, and take the Turk by the beard? Shall we not? What sayest thou, my fair flower-de-luce?
>
> Katharine. I do not know dat.
>
> King Henry. No, 'tis hereafter to know, but now to promise: do but now promise, Kate, you will endeavour for your French part of such a boy, and, for my English moiety, take the word of a king and a bachelor. How answer you, *la plus belle Katharine du monde, mon très chère et divine déesse?*

And the wedding took place and the boy was born—half French, half English. The year after the boy ascended the throne under the name of Henry VI.

But alas, it was not the birth of the *entente* dreamed of by Joan of Arc. The English refused to withdraw from France and the

[illegible] principle,' he adds, 'La Pucelle d'Orléans, the victorious enemy of England, has been destined to receive her deepest commemoration from the magnanimous justice of England.'

Now, among the innumerable reasons why England should do homage to the Maid there is one that she herself ignores and one that, when stated, may even cause surprise. The startling fact in question is that had England consented to withdraw her forces from France 500 years ago, the Maid was quite ready to conclude with her an alliance with a magnificent object in view—in fact one of the most momentous of the time. And when one examines the point in question closely, one is struck by the fact that if the alliance had taken place Joan of Arc would be acclaimed as an ancestress of the famous pact known as the 'Entente Cordiale,' which a little less than five centuries later was to prove so beneficial to the whole world in saving France, and at the same time England, from the consequences of a barbaric invasion. Let me explain.

Too little attention has been paid to the message the Maid addressed a few weeks before the raising of the siege of Orleans to the King of England, through the intermediary of the Duke of Bedford, then regent of France, or, in his absence, of his lieutenants, the Earl of Suffolk, Lord Talbot and Lord Scales In that message Joan of Arc declares that should the English troops agree to withdraw from France '*they might come with her where the French will do the greatest deed that ever was wrought for Christendom.*'

This is a direct invitation to conclude an alliance in view of a crusade. Contemporary rumours confirm this interpretation. Joan of Arc's dearest desire was to reconcile the ruling Christian princes in this glorious common task Her mission accomplished in France—namely, the crowning of the Dauphin as king—she would have taken up the cross and set out to the conquest of Jerusalem, leading in her wake all the troops of Christendom. The Turks were threatening Constantinople. The ruling princes were alive to the necessity of a great effort against the Moslem power. They recalled thereby the days when Philippe Auguste, King of France, and Richard the Lion-Hearted, King of England, joined forces to hunt the infidels from the Holy Land.

Joan of Arc's idea of an alliance between France and England for so grandiose a purpose was the more timely that it had been recently the King of England's idea as well to undertake a crusade to Jerusalem. Henry V. was, indeed, biding the time when, the conquest of France accomplished, he would be free to act. Not having been able to carry out his plan, he had alluded to it on his death-bed. The best-known chronicler of the time, the

I shall make no reflections on the circumstances of her death, they are too clamorous to be swelled by the voice of history. If all-wise Providence ever designs to avenge the perfidy, the cruelty, the injustice of particulars upon a whole nation, well may the English read, in the miseries that soon after befel them, their punishment for the death of this matchless virgin, who, being no native under their government, and taken in fair war, could neither legally be tried by their courts, nor put to death by their award.

Coming from such a source this was suggestive enough to make the English reflect on Joan of Arc's real personality. But the great outburst was to come half a century later when Robert Southey published his brilliant poem on the Maid. Poetry enlivens what it touches, bathing its themes in a special light. For the first time Joan of Arc was presented to the public as a heroine in an epic poem. More than a century has elapsed, yet, in spite of the facile criticism that this early work may evoke, Southey's verses still remain the best poetical homage that Joan of Arc has thus far inspired in the literature of the world. Her real personality had then already become partially defined in London. Southey himself gives fresh proof of this in his preface. He says:

In these modern times, all Paris has run to the theatre of Nicolet to see a pantomime entitled *Le Fameux siége de la Pucelle d'Orléans*. I may add, that, after the publication of this poem, a pantomime upon the same subject was brought forward at Covent Garden Theatre, in which the heroine, like Don Juan, was carried off by devils and precipitated alive into hell. I mention it, because the feelings of the audience revolted at such a catastrophe, and, after a few nights, an angel was introduced to rescue her.

This passage is a striking indication of the way English sentiment towards Joan of Arc had changed. Thomas de Quincey, who some fifty years later wrote a most vivid pamphlet about the Maid, was to give the reasons for this change of attitude:

There have been great thinkers, [he writes] disdaining the careless judgments of contemporaries, who have thrown themselves boldly on the judgment of a far posterity, that should have time to review, to ponder, to compare. There have been great actors on the stage of tragic humanity that might, with the same depth of confidence, have appealed from the levity of compatriot friends—too heartless for the sublime interest of their story, and too impatient for the labour of sifting its perplexities—to the magnanimity and justice of enemies. To this class belongs the Maid of Arc. The ancient Romans were too faithful to the ideal of grandeur in themselves not to relent, after a generation or two, before the grandeur of Hannibal. Mithridates—a more doubtful person—yet, merely for the magic perseverance of his indomitable malice, won from the same Romans the only real honour that he ever received on earth. And we have ever shown the same homage to stubborn enmity.

And he cites England's most powerful enemy, Napoleon. 'On

their respective conceptions of the real personality of the Maid, whether that personality be considered as mystical—Joan of Arc being held to be a genius inspired by God—or whether it be marked as merely human, albeit animated by a radiant and overwhelming patriotism. The fact is that all France, religious or independent, is united in worship of the Maid. Joan saved her native land from invasion. That suffices! She is, in a word, the embodiment of France. Thus it is that annually, as Joan's fête-day comes round, her memory is honoured as none other. This is particularly true this year, the fifth centenary of her great achievements. A sort of *union sacrée* is created round Joan's name, just as in 1914, when the Germans, invading Belgium, began their march towards the frontier of France, all hearts beat in unison.

Joan of Arc has become the personification of the soul of France. Such a worship honours a nation. In taking this feeling into account, and in deferring to it, foreign nations do themselves honour. First and foremost among them stands Great Britain. My aim for the moment in this brief article is to show that England, of all nations, has the best reasons to appreciate such a homage, and the best pretexts for doing justice to such feelings.

The evolution of England's attitude towards Joan of Arc—who for years and years was looked upon as a witch—has evoked abroad the sincerest admiration. It bears witness to certain of the noblest traits of the British people, it illustrates the calmness, the sincerity, the candour which the whilom enemies of France uniformly bring in the examination of historical facts, the British surrender without demur to the truth when the truth is clearly revealed to them, and they are bold enough to proclaim the truth even though the truth in question shatters ancient prejudices. This is an admirably courageous trait, and there is no country in the world that appreciates more keenly this noble characteristic, this intellectual probity, than the France of to-day.

The truth about Joan of Arc has been a long time coming to the light. It was only when the elements of the Maid's trial at Rouen were disclosed that the world discovered how completely and how long it had been misled. But in England, even before that—in England, with that eagerness for truth so characteristic of the British race—honest verdicts and courageous statements had been formulated.

One of the first British historians bold enough to assume an independent position was William Guthrie, who in his *General History of England*, published as early as 1747, wrote deliberately of Joan of Arc :

TWO PRECURSORS OF THE 'ENTENTE CORDIALE' — JOAN OF ARC AND SHAKESPEARE

France, in homage to a great memory, is now commemorating the fifth centenary of Joan of Arc. The culminating point of the ceremonies organised by a grateful nation will be reached next month with the celebration of the coronation at Rheims of the King of France. The solemn recognition of Charles VII. as the real and lawful sovereign of the realm in a country invaded and still at war was, indeed, the crowning feat of the young girl's wonderful *épopée*, and it was solely due to her contagious enthusiasm and to her indomitable energy. Meanwhile, the famous ride from Vaucouleurs, the little town in the department of the Meuse whence Joan started, has been recalled progressively, stage by stage, since February last. The French townspeople and peasants *all along the way have communed with fervour in the glorious memory of the valiant Maid.*

Nor has Paris been unmindful. In April last Joan figured in a magnificent pageant at the Grand Palais, a pious festival organised under the direction of Madame Weygand, the wife of the late Marshal Foch's leading companion in arms during the reat War. This festival lasted three days and was attended y the President of the Republic. Last month, too, on May 8, he raising of the siege of Orleans by the Maid was commemorated ı the town itself by glorious and appropriate demonstrations, of character both religious and civic, attesting once again the everence cherished by the entire people of France for the youthful nd victorious warrior. And, finally, a few days later, on May 12, oan's own day, the Fête de Sainte Jeanne d'Arc, which is celerated annually on the second Sunday of May, Paris once again id homage to the national heroine of France, a homage which hoed far and wide throughout the French towns and villages.

The characteristic of this veneration is its universality. Joan Arc's glory and prestige are conterminous with the French ople. They are felt and appreciated wherever the French ngue is spoken. This is true of the members, one and all, of e entire French nation, whatever their ideals in politics and

fiscated and nationalised as a first measure, and later all land is to be nationalised.

All property connected with production belonging to large landed estates, including machinery, is to be confiscated.

All large estates, particularly model estates, are to be handed over to the management of the workers.

Allotments of land, particularly those cultivated by tenant-farmers, are to be handed over for the use of the poor and the almost poor.

The prohibition of the sale and purchase of land is to be enforced and breaches severely dealt with.

Usury is to be combated, all debts of the poor country dwellers annulled, credit schemes advanced, and collective agriculture encouraged.

(3) *Trade and Credit.*—Private banks are to be nationalised, banking centralised, and the Central State Bank made supreme.

The wholesale trade, including all its stocks, machinery and buildings, is to be nationalised and handed over to Soviet officials. Foreign trade is to be monopolised, and State debts, home and foreign, are to be repudiated

(4) *Censorship.*—All printing plants are to be nationalised. The State is to have a monopoly of newspaper and book publishers.

Big cinemas, theatres, etc., are to be nationalised.

(5) *Housing*—All big house property is to be confiscated, and the workers to be given the homes of the rich.

Palaces and large public and private premises are to be placed at the disposal of working-class organisations.

(6) *Working Conditions*—The working day is to be reduced to seven hours or less. Workers are to be given the management of industry.

Now we know what is ahead of us !

F. A. MACKENZIE.

	Rs.
Bank notes	1,090,692,500
Treasury notes and metal coin .	937,149,800
Total . . .	Rs.2,027,842,300

Coverage:	Rs.
Gold in coin and bullion . .	178,559,000
Platinum and other precious metals	44,362,000
Foreign bank notes . .	78,456,000
Drafts in foreign exchange . .	2,758,000
Total . .	*Rs 304,135,000*

Coverage in percentage, 15 per cent.

The Soviet State budget gives the actual and estimated figures for internal State loans during the years 1927-8-9. It must be remembered that the expenditure given here includes a very considerable repayment of short-term loans. While the rate of interest on the loans varies, the general average, including everything, is in the region of 12 per cent. It is this very high interest, and the increase in the cost of big industrial enterprises beyond the original estimates, that are crippling the new industry.

Internal State loans.

1927–28	Revenue .	Rs 525,000,000
	Expenditure . . .	Rs 247,000,000
	Expenditure in percentage of revenue . . .	47 per cent.
1928–29	Revenue . .	Rs 800,000,000
	Expenditure . . .	Rs 293,000,000
	Expenditure in percentage of revenue . . .	36·6 per cent.

What is the real world aim of the Communist leaders who are governing Russia to-day? Last year in the draft programme of the Communist International they issued their scheme for capitalist States such as our own. The non-workers are to be completely disarmed and weapons concentrated in the hands of the workers. Then a great economic revolution is to follow.

(i) *Industry and Transport.*—All large industrial enterprises, railways, waterways, air transport services, telegraphs, telephones and wireless services are to be confiscated and nationalised.

(ii) *Agriculture.*—All large landed properties in town and country, including any belonging to the Church, are to be con-

> Of late it has become the fashion to preserve silence on the policy o reserves. Although silence is golden, and we are short of gold, in this cas we must not play the game of silence. We have not only no reserves, bu we have difficulties in providing adequate supplies ; the queue has becom a form of life which considerably disorganises the life of our productio . . . I have the impression that the Supreme Economic Council, in drawin up its five-year plan, has forgotten the policy of reserves altogethe *Economic Life* reports that the excessive demands put on the budget b the five-year plan impair its practical character. For a plan to be im practicable is a somewhat serious fault. . . . Our bow is at a very hig tension. To increase this tension still further, and to increase the good famine still more, is impossible. . The acuteness of the goods shortag must certainly be alleviated, and not in some remote future, but during the next few years. The first step in this direction must be made at once. . . . We have not yet realised our ranks in the manner required by the reconstruction period We are much too centralised We must ask ourselves whether we cannot take a few steps in the direction of Lenin's commune State. This does not by any means signify letting go the reins. . . . Over-centralisation in various directions has led to our losing additional forces, means and possibilities, and to our being deprived by bureaucratic hindrances from realising all our possibilities. The grain supply crisis has been a signal warning to us of great dangers. These dangers are not yet overcome, and much work is required before they will be. Elements of bourgeois degeneration are creeping into the pores of our gigantic apparatus. And these are perfectly indifferent to the interests of the masses, to their lives, their material and cultural progress.

This speech brought about Bukharin's disgrace.

The movement of the Communist Party leftwards is also shown in the renewed activity in some foreign countries. This is particularly marked in border States like Latvia, where under the shelter of the trade agreement the Soviet industrial agencies are working strenuously, if under a thin disguise, to create such conditions as will help Russia to reabsorb the country.

The financial position of Russia reflects the economic distress. One of the most significant signs has been the marked fall in the value of the chervonitz during the past year. The Russian Government maintains the chervonitz at par value inside Russia itself by legal compulsion. No free exchange of Russian and foreign money is allowed. People are free to bring or to send as much foreign money into Russia as they desire, where it can only legally be exchanged at par value. They can take Russian money out of Russia, but no foreign money, save under almost impossible conditions ; Russian money, once taken out, cannot be returned. Despite, maybe because of, all this, it is now possible to buy chervontsi at one-third their nominal value in the "Black bourses" of the capitals of the States on the Russian border. The Soviet currency returns on January 1 last showed the following position :

[illegible] roubles. With this has come a passive strike of managers and technicians, more especially in the coal industry. The sensational trial and the death sentence on the [illegible] engineers last summer had an unlooked-for result in that it made many skilled men afraid to continue in responsible posts. Industry is too much dragooned by the secret police. Imprisonment of managers for economic inefficiency (*i.e.*, failure to show a profit), which the managers say is often due to the labour regulations imposed on them, drives good men away. Some technicians have joined the ranks of the ordinary workers; others conduct their departments by rote, mechanically carrying out the orders of their Bolshevist chiefs and leaving the responsibility to them.

The remedy of the Government for the heavy burdens following forced industrialisation is to increase the pace and to enlarge the process. The much-discussed five-year plan for the development of economy proposes to invest during the next five years 15,000,000,000 roubles on industry generally, and vast sums more on agricultural and electrical development. Forty-two new long-distance electric stations (including the water-power works of Dneprostroy and Svirstroy, the peat-fuel power works in the Viahera region, and the power works in the Moscow coal district and the Donez basin) are to be completed. The coal output in the Donez basin, the Ural, and the Kusnetzki basin is to be enlarged from 35,000,000 tons to 75,000,000 tons. The output of chemical fertilisers is to be increased fifty-fold, while the socialised section of the peasant enterprises is to be enlarged until it includes 22,000,000 persons.

Within the Soviet State it is considered almost treason to criticise this new industrial policy. Some of the men who have been bold enough to do so have been sharply taken to task. The most *remarkable example is Bukharin, for long the favourite* ounger *son of the* Communist *Party.* When *Lenin*, in his final stament to his colleagues, dealt with the character of the party aders, he picked out two only among the younger Communists · praise. Bukharin was the chief of the two, and of him he said: ukharin is not only the most valuable and biggest theoretician the party, but also may legitimately be considered the favourite the whole party.' Bukharin, as editor of *Pravda* and as ief of the Communist International, played a leading part in congress of the party last year. Soon after he issued a very ak statement about existing conditions, and in particular illed at the five-years plan. He declared that the Soviet State a half-beggared country, and that the proposal to employ erything available as capital investment is somewhat sense-. Where were the reserves?

dollars) of [illegible] roubles. The direct State investments averaged [illegible] roubles a year, apart from electrification. These vast sums have been raised partly by very heavy taxation and partly by loans subscribed by the workers under very heavy moral pressure. Large-scale schemes for electrification, the irrigation of enormous areas, and the establishment of fresh metallurgic and chemical works are among the enterprises that have been set afoot. And yet if industrialisation is to be judged by production, it must be pronounced so far a failure. There has been an improvement in some lines, notably in the output of petrol. But in metals, textiles, coal, engineering, and machinery the gap between supply and demand is greater to-day than two years ago, and is growing.

Everyone in Russia knows this. In the iron and steel trade it is officially claimed that 82·3 per cent. of the demand was met in 1926. In 1927, even according to official figures, only 80 per cent. was met, and in 1928 only 71 per cent. The railways blame their failure to provide adequate transport to the inability of the metallurgic industry to deliver them necessary material; the metallurgists blame the coal trade for failing to supply them with necessary fuel. In the building trades a deficit of 20 per cent. in supplies necessary to meet the authorised programme is officially admitted. The real shortages are generally believed to be much greater. Even a member of the Politbureau was recently forced to ask the Supreme Economic Council if its members expected to build real factories with dream bricks and imaginary steel girders.

How can this growing lack of supplies be reconciled with the claims officially made for greatly increased output? According to official returns the production of iron and steel has doubled in three years. Where have these extra quantities gone? The authorities explain the shortage by greatly increased demand; it was a critical Communist leader who talked of 'mere bureaucratic juggling with figures.'

The output in numerous factories has shown a marked slackening off during the past winter, owing to several causes. The free sale of vodka, although it may yield enough revenue to pay for the defence forces of the republic, takes heavy toll in decreasing the efficiency of the workers. The adoption in large numbers of works of the seven-hour day has helped to cut output. There has been a widespread slackening among the workers themselves, which has reduced the output of coal 30,000,000 poods below the estimates, and has increased the cost by 7 per cent., which has brought a decline in the Urals of between 8 and 10 per cent., and has lowered the output of even the Putiloff Works in Leningrad, the show place of Communist management, by

prices. They hoarded and hid, or sold to private dealers. When the Government refused them the use of the railways for their private grain crops they carried them on their backs from place to place. One outcome of this was, before long, the queues of people outside the bread shops in many cities.

It was hoped in many quarters that the Government, warned by what had taken place, would this year make concessions to the producing peasants. Kalinin, himself of peasant stock and long the champion of peasant rights, was regarded as the man who would bring betterment. But at the beginning of April Kalinin published the thesis of the report to the Russian Communist Party dealing with agriculture that was to be presented to the congress almost due to meet. This thesis made it clear that no modifications could be expected. The small and the middle peasants were to be relieved of taxation and helped in many ways, but the *kulaki* were to have the burden on them increased. Every effort was to be made to promote the growth of co-operative village farming enterprises, and these were to be helped with tractors, grain, and in every other possible way.

Underneath this policy lies the aim of the Soviet Government to transform the whole conditions of peasant life. Independent farming communities must be a menace to Communist ideas. A wage-earning and industrialised peasantry, working in big State farms of from 40,000 to 60,000 acres, would lend themselves better to Communist ideas. Can this Communist policy of rural transformation succeed? It is regarded with suspicion and distrust by the overwhelming majority of the peasants, and it has long been an axiom of students of Russian life that the peasant in the end must prevail. The general passive resistance of the country dwellers made Lenin stay his hand; who, then, is Stalin that he can hope to succeed where Lenin failed? Yet he would be a bold man who saw no hope of success in the Communists' plan. Working with a united front against the scattered and disorganised population, they can advance their policy of re-absorbing the land, by stages in such a way as to prevent any general resistance. The real difficulty of the Government will rather be to find trained, honest administrators of the big State-farming enterprises, and to provide the necessary capital and reserves to carry them through good seasons and bad.

Industrially the Soviet State is still failing, despite enormous expenditure, to produce goods in anything like sufficient quantities for the national demand. The policy of industrialisation has been adopted with almost feverish enthusiasm. 'We must industrialise ourselves at the utmost possible speed,' is now the *cliché* of Communist orators. Between 1923–4 and 1927–8 the Soviet investments in national enterprises totalled (according to Communist

fleeced, their selling co-operatives taken from them, many of them were imprisoned, and some killed.

What is the *kulak*? The name suggests a big, grasping village tyrant such as the Alexandrian Russian-novelists loved to limn. If there are any such to be found in Russia to-day, I for one have failed to discover them and have failed to learn of any who have. The official definition of the *kulak*, told in the formal phraseology of State documents, shows a very different kind of individual. The peasant and his wife living without children, who earn an income of 20*l.* a year, are, according to the official figures, *kulaki*. The family of average size that is in receipt of more than 40*l.* a year comes under the same heading.

The new peasant policy, which is responsible for much of the recent trouble, has been described more than once by Stalin himself. Early last summer he delivered a speech before the Sverdlovsk University dealing with this matter. He admitted the difficulties the Government experienced in obtaining grain, although the area under cultivation had once more reached the pre-war level when there was a large surplus for export. Stalin pointed out quite correctly that the change in the nature of the ownership of land since the war was against yielding a large surplus. Before the war 47 per cent. of the grain put on the market outside the villages was grown by landowners, and 34 per cent. by large farmers. But the landowners had now gone and the Soviet Union had become a country of small peasant farms, the peasants placing only 11 per cent. of their produce on the market. The abolition of the large farms, and the lack of properly developed collective undertakings, had been bound to lead to a considerable falling off in the amount of grain available for the market.

Stalin's remedy was: (1) change the system of small, split-up peasant farms to great united collective farms, provided with the latest machinery and capable of marketing the maximum quantity of grain; (2) extend and strengthen existing Soviet farms and promote new ones; (3) systematically improve the producing capacity of small and middle peasant farms. 'We cannot and must not support the large individual *kulak* farmers,' Stalin declared.

But while Stalin was planning his changes the most industrious among the peasantry were staying their hand. The active man, who could easily have farmed twice his present holding, hesitated to do so because he knew that this would make him an object of suspicion and distrust to the local authorities. The result of this is seen in the figures of production for 1928, when the yield fell to 97·5 per cent. Moreover, large numbers of the peasants refused to sell their surplus grain to the Government authorities at official

conditions, and the result was that Lenin, recognising the impossibility of coercing four-fifths of the nation, yielded, launched the new economic policy, gave the peasant freedom to trade in his own crops, and re-established limited rights of private possession.

The Soviet Government never, however, abandoned its hope of realising its dream of replacing a comparatively independent peasantry by an organised, industrialised, and centralised agricultural community. Co-operative farms were actively encouraged without very satisfactory results. The peasants who worked in groups were apt to fix their labour to the measure of the least active. The illness or laziness of one member of the co-operation would often be an excuse for all to do nothing. 'Why should I work while he is sleeping soundly?' Ivan Ivanovitch would ask philosophically. For some time, while the Government hoped and worked for the coming of big farming, it also, under the policy known as 'facing the villages,' encouraged or permitted the individual peasant to increase his output. In some districts the regulations against employing labour were winked at or ignored. The active farmer could 'adopt' his labourer as his son; the laws about adoption in Russia to-day are very easy. Then, when he wanted this labourer's services no more, the adoption could be cancelled. If increase in production is to be regarded as a proof, this policy was a success. Taking 100 as the average, the yield in the R.S.F.R. was—in 1925, 107; in 1926, 108·2; and in 1927, 103·6.

At this time it seemed that Stalin, now in supreme place, would adopt a policy of moderate reform, and would allow considerable modification of Communism, as he had already done earlier when People's Commissar for the Outer Nationalities. Trotsky made his main attack on Stalin and on the old guard around him because of this (The idea that Trotsky is standing for a modified Communism is altogether wrong. He is a Communist of the most orthodox kind.) Trotsky pointed out that Stalin and those working with him were building up a new middle class, which would in the end be able to demand political power and might well overthrow Communism. Stalin renewed his campaign against Trotsky more bitterly than ever, but he saw the force of Trotsky's argument. The Congress of the Russian Communist Party in 1927 laid down as the main part of its coming programme a strictly Communist peasant policy. The big farmer, the *kulak* (fist) as the Communists nicknamed him, was to be destroyed by heavy taxation and by limiting in every possible way his freedom of dealing in grain. Early in 1928 the Moscow Government showed that these were to be no mere paper resolutions. Campaigns were begun among the more prosperous farmers in the Ukraine and elsewhere. Their crops were con-

[illegible] of the machine are everything, while others, however imposing they may appear to the outer world, count for but little.

The position of Trotsky sufficiently shows this. Trotsky was the second biggest figure in the Communist revolution, the creator of the Red army, the leader in the wars against the Whites, and the popular idol. Holding supreme control of the armed forces of Russia, and initiating various lines of new policy, he seemed to tower like a giant over other men. His writings were text-books of the revolution, his portrait was shown in every Communist club and office, and to mention his name was sufficient to arouse enthusiasm. When in November 1924 I visited several cities in Siberia during the three days' public holidays in honour of the revolutionary anniversary, illuminated cartoons of two men, Lenin and Trotsky, were seen everywhere, with the bearded face of Karl Marx as a very poor third. Stalin's portrait was not seen at all, yet already Stalin had secured supreme power, and Trotsky was nearing his political end.

To-day the figure of Trotsky is being eliminated as far as possible from revolutionary history. Even propagandist films, like *October*, depicting the fighting in 1917, have been scissored to cut Trotsky out. Official histories—and in Russia there are no others—have been rewritten to show him as a waverer and a weakling. All the forces of the most powerful propaganda machine in the world have been employed to destroy his reputation. They have been largely successful. Trotsky's actual power and influence inside Russia have disappeared. His name still attracts the discontented, but the discontented can do nothing.

The difficulties in Russia to-day are agricultural, economic, and financial. Of these the most important are the agricultural, because agriculture is the basis of Russia's economic life. Eighty-four per cent. of the population live on and off the land.

When the Soviet Government first acquired power the State assumed possession of the whole of the soil, great estates were broken up, individual holdings were re-divided, and stocks of grain and fodder owned by farmers were seized, of course without compensation. The farmers were compelled to surrender the greater part of the fresh crops that they raised, being allowed to retain only a small quantity for themselves. The immediate aim of the authorities was to transform the peasantry into small-holders, each family cultivating its own land without the aid of hired labour. The ultimate aim was to reunite these small-holders into big co-operatives or to merge their land in large-scale State farms. Lenin knew that small farming is of necessity wasteful; hence his dream of replacing the small farmer by the State. The peasantry interrupted the peaceful development of Lenin's programme by refusing to raise crops under Communist

THE NEW CRISIS IN RUSSIA

SOVIET Russia is passing through another economic crisis. The shortage of supplies and foodstuffs in the cities and in various rural districts, the sharp decline in the value of the chervonitz, and the unrest among sections of the peasantry are largely due to the endeavour of the Soviet Government to enforce stricter Communist rule. The policy of modification, initiated by Lenin in 1921 and carried on more or less erratically until 1927, has been as far as possible abandoned. The Communist Party is once more actively endeavouring to destroy private trade, to check the growth of an independent and prosperous peasantry, and to curb religion. The campaign against the peasantry has caused a decline in the grain crop, on which Russian prosperity mainly depends. The industrial programme has directly brought about a heavy increase in taxation, an accumulation of short-term debts, and a failure to produce the manufactured goods necessary to supply the national demand.

Running parallel with the economic crisis is a political disturbance of much less moment. The autocratic methods of Stalin, the real dictator of Communist Russia, have led to protests and revolts within the Communist Party. A number of the former leaders of the party with Trotsky at their head have striven to oppose the dictator, but in vain. Trotsky, broken in health, position and power, is an exile in Turkey; Radek, the most brilliant journalist and pamphleteer of Communism, is isolated in Siberia; Kamenev, yesterday the chief administrative leader of the Soviet State, has shared the same fate. Bukharin, a few months ago the leader of the Communist International, has been deprived of his editorship of *Pravda* as a punishment for pointing out the dangers of Stalin's economic policy, although he is still allowed to retain his membership of the Central Committee of the party. Rykov and Kalinin, two of the leaders of the old guard, suspected of unsound tendencies, have humbly recanted and have become Stalin's advocates. Five years ago it would have seemed impossible that leaders such as these could have been driven out of the party or subdued without splitting Communism. Events have proved that in this organisation the machine and the con-

Japanese feeling of spiritual kinship with all created things. Yet, otherwise, they only have the other-worldly idea of some indefinable Nirvana to look to. In this dilemma the gospel of the Kingdom will afford the one big positive idea they need.

Yet, even as I say this, I also feel some despair. For who will teach it?

ERNEST PICKERING.

Buddhism, except in nomenclature. The pious Buddhist, with his '*Namu Amida Butsu*' ('Save us, O Amida Buddha!'), is scarcely to be distinguished, in the matter of religious ideas, from the students who write as follows :—

I am a Christian and have been relieved out of sin by the cross.

As for me, I am a Christian. I believe eternal life by Jesus Christ.

The whole position is rather difficult. Even the most religiously inclined young Japanese is usually imbued with a great distrust of foreign religions, especially with their presumed capitalistic associations ; and yet Japan shows little capacity for producing any positive religious ideas of her own. But she has a wonderful gift for adapting foreign ideas to her own needs.

One attempt to deal with the difficulty finds expression in a work (*Japanese Customs*, by William Hugh Erskine) advocating the absorption and Christianisation of Japanese customs, rites and ceremonies. The missionaries, however, are reluctant to adopt this plan, fearing to compromise, especially as they doubt, and with reason, whether any good would result. In any case, the plan is too one-sided to commend itself to the Japanese. Accordingly I venture to think that the right way is for Christians to show a real Christian spirit, and to persist in sowing the seeds of their religion and leave it to the Japanese to accept what they will and gather their harvest under the name of whatever religious master they choose. It may be disheartening to the missionaries not to be able to count up their communicants and see an increased attendance at church, but (although this may not impress the missionary boards) the main thing is the development of fundamental religious life.

Moreover, it is futile and probably presumptuous of Christianity to attempt to teach Japan anything on the old evangelical lines. If Japan wants that (and these students certainly do not) she can get it from her own Pure Land Buddhism.

What Christianity has, and what young Japan especially needs, is that positive, fruitful, and comprehensive body of teaching that is based on the idea of the Kingdom of God on earth. Unfortunately the so-called Christian peoples have not yet made it sufficiently clear to the East that they have such a body of teaching. But I can conceive of no better soil on which it might fall than on the minds of these young students, who are both willing and eager to learn so long as they do not suspect proselytism. They are already predisposed to a devoted loyalty and a widespread charity, but know not where to look for the expression and fulfilment of their feelings. It is only, as a rule, from despair that they are beginning to embrace Marxian Socialism, for that, with its materialism and class war, runs counter to the

In my own opinion, there is no need of becoming either Buddhist or Christian, because we all have our conscience.

Christianity and Buddhism agree that he who does good things in his life may go up to heaven, but when he does evil things to the Hell. . . . I remember the words of Toyohiko, 'The Christian feels unprogress as a sin but Buddhists not.'

The next quotation is significant, not only for its originality, but also for its frank conclusion :

Christ and Buddha are such great men that we must respect them for their nobleness. . . . God is a man whose life is right through the ages, and we must do our best to make the world so ideal that we might be safe absolutely in it, and the God play with us cheerily

Suicide is bad and dishonourable for the fact that if he was useful or had not done all his duty, many relations suffer from his death.

I do not want to write any more. Let us live the real useful life !

On the whole, it is neither Buddhism nor Christianity (as they know it) that the students want.

Religions are to be *reformed* radically. A new religion is to be founded. Our young men are waiting the appearance of a new religion, which is the question that demands immediate attention.

I shall have failed utterly in presenting the case for these students if it has not become abundantly clear—(1) that they are fruitful soil for a religion making the utmost demands on their devotion, so long as it has an intellectual and moral content definitely related to modern conditions ; and (2) that they are searching after a positive and optimistic religion. The religious tragedy of Japan is that with such a wealth of religious feeling they have been able, of themselves, to produce so few religious ideas. They are moved to tender love and yearning aspiration by the simplest social relationships and the most delicate natural beauties. They have aspired, but the religion that has come to them has only brought a poignant increase of feeling without any sure hopes. And aspiration without hope spells pessimism. But yet this pessimism seems altogether out of keeping with what the Japanese actually are and actually do. One student, whose whole essay shows remarkable ability, declares what I firmly believe is the truth of the matter

We Japanese, in spite of our religion, are careful not to forget the Japanese spirit. The Japanese are originally optimistic, so the Japanese instinct cannot melt into the pessimism of Buddhism.

The temper or instinct of the Japanese not only cannot be reconciled with Christianity and Buddhism, but also cannot be reconciled with any of the *foreign* religions.

The greater number of those Japanese who do accept Christianity accept something that differs little from popular

[illegible] of help from the temples and the priests. The general attitude is represented by a student who says, 'The decline of Buddhism is principally due to the degeneracy of the priests.' Their only help is the emergence of novels and dramas dealing with religious problems. A young Japanese writer, Kurata Hyakuzo, recently produced a most popular work entitled *Shukke to Sono Deshi*,* which has been translated by Mr. Glenn Shaw as *The Priest and His Disciples*. It is a dramatic presentation of the life and teachings of Shinran, the Japanese Luther of the thirteenth century But, although a student recommended it to me, its extreme Pure Land Buddhism, with more than a tincture of ultra-Pauline Christianity, has had little effect on the students. A book to which many students seem to have given some attention is a novel by Mr Matsuoka entitled *Hojo wo Mamoru*, which may be translated as 'Holding the fort for religion.' The book tells how the hero, a priest's son, desired to see all the temples destroyed and the priesthood abolished, but who, when he had learnt that even if one temple is destroyed another one like it will be built (' the ancient idol on his base again '), came to the conclusion that what he himself and the people needed was a new heart

Now, many of these students have expressed their curiosity about, and some great sympathy for, Christianity ; and in what follows I wish briefly to consider the possibility of Christianity doing anything to satisfy the religious needs of young Japan.

One or two of the students are avowed Christians (I will refer to this fact later), several seem to be Christians rather than anything else, and none of them display any *odium theologicum*.

Christianity has considerable believers who believe that after their death will be able to go up to heaven Some Christians are very good men ; to my regret, some are dishonest Some modern boys and girls uses the chance of going to church to meet each other. They misunderstand the love which was advocated by Christ In this point the believer in Buddhism is in earnest . *I suppose it will be the first question that we have some distrust about the Revival of Christ and that Christ had born of a Virgin.*

* *This book was published about nine years ago The simple faith and* [illegible]*ndless, unworldly charity it advocated led to a movement very like those* [illegible]*mmunal experiments that sprang up in the West about the middle of the* [illegible]*teenth century.* For a short time the students could talk of, and cared for, [illegible]thing else ; but within a year or two the movement collapsed, owing to its [illegible] incapacity to meet either the demands of reason or modern social needs. [illegible] the present time there is a still comparatively young man, Toyohiko Kagawa, [illegible], both by his numerous books and social experiments, is creating the impres[illegible] of Christian Socialism. But this impression seems limited, in the main, to [illegible] foreign population. I search in vain for any enthusiasm towards this ardent [illegible] Christian among the younger generation of Japanese. The sad fact is [illegible]t the young intellectuals think that any Christian is necessarily bourgeois.

more than [illegible] with the [illegible], or rosary, and the utterance of the magic words, *Namu Amida Butsu*. The Shingon sect, the most intellectual sect in 'Japanese Buddhism,' teaching the manifold appearances of the Buddha and, as the end of all our striving, reabsorption in the Absolute, is somewhat better than the average, but it darkens knowledge by the proud use of esoteric Sanscrit texts. Practically the only widespread teaching these youths seem to know of is the myth of Jigoku and Gokuraku. The following are typical of their attitude towards this:

Buddhism has a pious fraud, the problem of Hades and Paradise (Jigoku and Gokuraku) When a man is dead, he must be led by demons (oni) before Emma Sama (Lord of Hades or King of Death). There Emma Sama examines him, whether he is good or bad When good, he will be permitted to go to Paradise, when bad, he is forced to go to Hades. In Hades, he must suffer from many, many cruel torments worse than that of writings of Dante.

I see no difference between Emma and policeman. . Jigoku is a most amusing fairy tale.

Amongst the students there are those who attempt to find some consolation in a more spiritual Buddhism; but there is other evidence that, for the most part, this is only because it suits their present despairing mood, rather than that it satisfies their religious desires. The quotations I shall give represent the high-water mark of Buddhist allegiance These students also object to Christianity and the religion of ancient Egypt on the ground that they are both concerned too much with personal immortality.

Our religion is to sacrifice all present things for happiness in the future, for becoming a Buddha after death

We Buddhists regard little if our soul is immortal or not, but we regard how to die as important It is preached in Buddhism to attain higher perception by Vimukta (in Japanese, Gedatsu) which lead men to the absolute, cutting off the excess of worldly passion and concerns and leaving off the life in the dust of the world I don't care if the soul is immortal or not

Buddhism does not wish the immortality of the soul, but means the extinction of the useless, individual avarice which only makes our life miserable

We can never accept the existence of God

In this world, there filled with a large number of wrong matters, evil things and agony, it is proper consequence that we have a pessimism. And the very miserable pessimism for such a real phase of human life is the most instructive lesson for a modern people in an ecstasy of progress. . . . Our future is, of course, due to the present conduct. There is nothing else than we should make our future for ourselves.

Yet even those who, through habit and temperament, are seeking a religious life within Buddhism certainly have no ex-

Japanese character, but I am convinced that what is most charming in it springs definitely from deep religious feelings.

But now comes the interesting fact that these students—in most cases those who have given the surest evidence of deep religious feeling—are, on the whole, inclined to declare that Japan is irreligious and that they themselves have no religion. What, of course, they mean is that they have no religious ideas. This is true enough. Rich though Japan is in religious feeling, she is singularly poor in religious ideas, and religious feeling cannot persist indefinitely in a void of religious ideas. Whatever Shinto and Buddhism may have meant once, they have now become a scheme without a content. It is this fact that accounts for the somewhat despairing attitude of these youths. They are religious without knowing why, and so assume that they are not. Reaching out and grasping nothing, nothing at least that can touch their modern intelligence, they assume that neither they nor their countrymen have any desire for religion, when all that is lacking is something to satisfy a very real desire. In speaking of Christianity, whether favourably or unfavourably, they one and all assume that Christianity has something to teach its young people, and one youth deplores the lack of Sunday schools on the Christian model; although, he says, a few Buddhist priests here and there are beginning to form them. The following quotations are representative of the students' opinions about the present position of Japanese religion:

Generally in Japan religious customs can be seen only among the old people, and religious festivals and ceremonies lack the mental side, and, strictly speaking, nowadays there is an alarming drift towards formalism and externalism in Japanese religion.

It is plain that there is no race who thinks of death and life after death with so painful interest and eagerness as Orientals, above all, Japanese.

When I am older I will think about religion.

On the whole, young people do not think about religion, and when they get older they begin to think of death. At that time they find relief in religion.

If we are happy there is no need of religion.

I think that religion has a close relation to life, but in Japan there are many men who have no religion. Those who believe in religion in Japan are old men and women, so they go to the temples earnestly. Young men of our country almost have no religion. I have never, alas! listened to religious sermons nor read any book on religion.

It is indeed astonishing on what a poverty-stricken body of ideas Japanese religion, especially amongst the old people, is nourished to-day. At the temple services there is little more than the utterance of a few hackneyed *sutras*, unintelligible even in many cases to the priests themselves; in the family worship, apart from the expressions of family piety and affection, little

[illegible]. This latter (the Japanese All Hallows' Eve) shares with New Year's Day the distinction of being the most popular Japanese festival. I will content myself with one quotation, not because these festivals are less significant to the students than the others, but because foreigners are fairly well acquainted with them, especially *Ura-bon*.

The Buddha's birthday celebration is held on the 8th April. On that day Buddhists celebrate it and drink the tea of Heaven. The most great festival of Buddhism is *Ura-bon* or Feast of Lanterns on 13th, 14th, 15th of August. Then, people believe, the dead soul come back to his home, and so every night, for the guidance of the dead, a high lantern is lighted in the sky. Many entertainments are offered on the altar for the dead soul. Those who are married already come back to their native house and welcome the ancestor's soul. I say this time is the most pleasant time, because all the family people, the dead and the living, can meet together.

The objection that, to all appearance, this festival is almost entirely a secular entertainment is to some extent met by the statement of one of the students that, although *Ura-bon* may awaken sad memories of some dear one recently dead, they feel they must be happy, or else the dead would be made sad by the sadness of the living.

The two following quotations sum up admirably the general effect of the temple and shrine on the minds of these youths:

When the sun is about to set over the western mountains and the breeze to blow all over the lonely still country, I always hear a profound, lonesome sound resounding in the country and gently mixing with the silence around.

'The temple bell,' I murmur 'This day is over. That is the sound of the temple bell.'

Surrounded by trees, Moriaji (the temple's name) stands highly. In the bell-tower a young acolyte, shaved head, white clothes, black sash, stands, with a long wooden bell hammer in his hands, facing the large bell.

He occasionally strikes the bell with hammer. The sound resounds through the bell-tower, temple, trees, rice-fields, then the country houses.

The day begins with bell and ends with bell, always and for ever.

Many a Shinto shrine stands everywhere, and most of us have the heavenly faces passing before them.

When we are sad or glad we go to the shrine or to the temple graveyard to tell these things.

All the preceding goes to show that Japan, as represented by these students, is permeated with feelings that are profoundly religious, intense and tender family affection, devotion to the community, a sense of divine presences and of the fleeting character of earthly things. These youths are what they are because of the religious atmosphere in which they have been brought up. I have no time now to write in detail about the

Imperial shrine at Ise and every important family affair to the family shrine or altar, so, very often, important local and sometimes personal affairs are told to the local *ujigami*. Here is the description of a local Shinto feast:

On that day the Shinto priests take the ablutions and put on full dress (white or red of ancient Japanese style). When they enter the hall, there will arise old hallowed musics which consist of drums and flutes. That ancient music makes the prayers' hearts very pure. After that the master priest recites his prayers, the good fortune of the country and the happiness of the people, lucky harvest and, etc. Meanwhile in the shrine garden *kagura* (Japanese dances) will be performed by the several maidens. They must, of course, be virgins. Oh! how melodious and graceful the dancers are! It must be a great pride to the maidens to be chosen as the dancers.

The festival day is very happy for the people who live in the neighbourhood of the shrine. They put on their fine dresses and take some money with them and go to the shrine.

For children, oh! how happy day it is! They will await the day as the Western children do for Christmas. They walk to the shrine singing and smiling all the way and, arriving there, they can buy cakes and toys, and can see the shrine dances and moving pictures, etc.

Their returning will be after sunset. In a twilight they come back to their homes with their hearts full of happiness and talk to their parents and grandparents about the festival.

The God's festival of our village is celebrated on 25th of April, when the cherry blossom are blooming. . . . I used to be awaked by the tone of the drum from the shrine and I used to have my new clo thes put on by my mother or sister. . . . The breakfast is sweeter than usual one. . . . On that day all the students of the primary school are taken to the ground by their teachers and pray.

Others tell how on these occasions there are wrestling contests and archery matches 'for the encouragement of *Bushido*'; whilst it is pleasant to read how teachers will take their pupils, and sometimes masters their apprentices, to pray for the divine blessing on their efforts. The general impression one receives is that of communal happiness and friendship.

In the thick trees there is the shrine. From many years, when our ancestors, generation before generation, play together and win in the minds mild emotions and respects for the district. I always remember the old times in the tutelary shrine. I murmur, ' 'Tis our ancestors' merry place, and will be our descendants' merry place.'

The Buddhist temples are sometimes associated with what look like local festivals, but these are what we may call Buddhist saints' days. It is due to a mingling of both Buddhist and Shinto influences that the Buddhit temple at Asakaka is the great amusement centre at Tokyo. The two great specifically Buddhist festivals throughout the country are Buddha's birthday in the spring and *Ura-bon* (generally called the Feast of Lanterns) at

He goes on to say that a service very like this is held also each evening. Once a month, as a rule, a sermon is preached. Most of the students tell how their parents or grandparents attend the monthly sermon and also, in some cases, the daily mass.

But it is at the various festivals that both temples and shrines play their most important part. There are three classes of festivals in Japan: (1) national, (2) local, and (3) Buddhist. The national festivals, New Year, *Kigensetsu* (foundation of the empire), etc., are not associated particularly with any shrine, except notably with the imperial shrine at Isé, where is enshrined *Amaterasu Omikami*, the divine ancestress of the imperial family. These festivals belong to Shinto, and the chief celebrant is the Emperor himself, who as the father of the present generation, so to speak, sacrifices and prays to the fathers of the past generations. The secular side of these festivals is most in evidence, but nevertheless there is a widespread custom among the Japanese of visiting the Shinto shrines in their own neighbourhood on these occasions. But these devotional visits are usually paid at a very early hour of the morning, particularly so, of course, on New Year's Day. Here is one student's account

> As soon as we have heard the boom of the bell speeding the old year, we start for the Shinto shrine of the God of War which we always reverence.
>
> The temple stands in the wood about 20 *cho* (about 1½ miles) from my home. There on the road snow laid several feet deep and we suffer very much
>
> Then we near the garden of the shrine Passing through the venerable wood, we strike with an indescribable sensation. People who go and come crowded there, and both sides of the path many torches were kindled and numberless lanterns which was gathered from every division, young men's leagues and societies, throw light brightly over the road.
>
> Then we cleansed the hands with water and the hearts from sins, and prostrate ourselves at the shrine and offer a fervent prayer, the peace of the country, the family in peace and so on

The shrine to the late Emperor Meiji in Tokyo is crowded on special occasions, and I learn from the students that every Japanese tries to make a pilgrimage to the antique imperial shrine at Isé once in his life.

The local feasts are all Shintoist The local shrine is the dwelling place of the *ujigami*, or gods of the locality, which are often crystallised in some great local or national hero. One youth who is evidently a budding anthropologist is inclined to refer the local *kami* (divinities) to fox spirits, which animal has played, and still plays, a curiously important part in local superstitions. Be that as it may, there is an annual Shinto feast in each locality, sometimes on a very large scale. Also, just as all affairs of vast national import are referred by the Emperor to the

The same student goes on to tell how the 'memorial' days of the dead are celebrated in the house, with abstinence from all animal food, offerings of vegetable food and flowers at the household shrine, visits of the priests to recite *sutras*, and also visits of the family to the grave. These memorial days are fairly frequent during the first year, and then the intervals between them are gradually increased, but not until seven years at least have elapsed is the memorial day merged into the general memorial day of the ancestors.

The two following extracts are made chiefly to show the tenderness of the family affection so characteristic of Japan:

Soon she [his sister] had to go the black world under the ground. My mother and sisters wept bitterly all the time. The coffin was placed on the glittering adorned stand. A long, long procession went slowly toward he temple. Men walked silently through the evening atmosphere. Red, white, and blue streamers were carried by people. The procession reached the temple, and the priest guided the soul of the dead to the other world by saying a requiem. After it was over, the last of her came and she was buried under the grave. . . . After the funeral, for seven days, my family every morning visited the temple and the grave, and presented flowers and cakes to my dead sister.

I still remember that when my parents lived, and I was still a child, I went accompanied by my father and mother to my ancestors' grave, and we presented flowers, joss-sticks and offerings; on the way home we visited the temple and prayed Buddha for a while. But now my parents are both died, and I always go to the grave every vacation to pray my parents who are pleasantly living in that Paradise.

By far the greater part of the religious ceremonial is purely domestic, but nevertheless the temple and the shrine play a much larger part in the religious life of the people than most foreigners realise. At the Buddhist temples there are also regular daily ceremonials. The temple is not only the place where the priest officiates, but also the place where he and his family live. When a priest greets a visitor on the temple steps he is welcoming him at one and the same time to his home and his church. Accordingly the daily temple ritual is both domestic and public. The following was written by a student who is a young priest of the Jodo sect:

Buddhist images are set on the seat of the image of the Buddha in a Buddhist temple, so-called '*Mido*,' a few priests who hold the Buddhist mass live in the priests' quarters, called '*Kuri*.' They offer about a grip of rice that is boiled in one or two brass vessels before the *Mido*, and then offer lights and read sacred books in the early morning. By this time many believers visit the temple and listen a few priests read sacred books, sitting behind the priests. When it is noon, the priest comes into the temple and brings back that grip of rice, which he offered, to the *Kuri* and eats it. But please note as their custom that they never eat it with any fish. [This means 'with any kind of meat.']

following is by no means an uncommon experience for the student in lodgings:

> We hear in the early morning the ringing bell which is in the old woman's hand of our lodging-house, who sits down neatly in front of the family Buddhist shrine.

Not only is there this daily ceremonial, but on such occasions as a marriage or a funeral the ceremony in the house is the most important, if not the only, one. A marriage ceremony is nearly always an entirely domestic affair, except for the formality of sending some friend to register the fact of the marriage, and is usually just as solemn as any church ceremony could be. To see, as I have, the young couple silently kneeling in front of the household shrine whilst the priest or a family friend announces their marriage to the ancestral *Kami* gives one the by no means false impression that they are actually being sacrificed on the altar of family duty. A funeral is not more solemn; in fact, one can easily get the idea that the Japanese think a funeral the happier occasion of the two, somewhat in the spirit of that ancient pessimistic tribe of Scythians described by Herodotus, who greeted birth with sighs and death with songs. Whilst a wedding is, as a rule, entirely domestic, a funeral is almost so. The following extract about a funeral ceremony is rather lengthy, but it sums up nearly everything the students had to say about it:

> The dead is put to lie, the head towards north. Around him the folding screen is stood. In the Buddhist household shrine there is *ihai*. In front of *ihai* they stick joss-sticks and candles, lay cakes, flowers and many other small things which the dead had used very often and earnestly. Parents, brothers and sisters do not sleep all the night, sitting by the corpse. Other near relations also do this.
>
> They speak to one another of the incidents, episodes and anecdotes of the dead, and regret from the hearts the loss of the dead. The sweet smell of the joss-sticks produces singularly oppressive sense in their minds. Women are sewing white clothes which will be used to-morrow. Then the dawn comes and it is the funeral day.
>
> Buddhists believe that the dead after death must have an endless journey to the west. A white pall is put on his body, *amigasa* (braided hat) on his head, *waraji* (straw boots) on his feet and has a stick in his hand. The dead is prepared to go on a journey completely. Before the lid is closed they put many rice-balls into it and many favourite things, and besides a great number of small papers on which is written 'Namu Amida Butsu.' The dead has a *juzu* (rosary) on his hand or neck and several coins. The reason why the corpse has coins is this, that in such long journey's way, demons are always there and demand him the money. If he does not give them the money, demons tincture him very badly and do not permit him to pass there.
>
> The funeral procession leaves home late in the afternoon: always it is twilight. At the temple, priests recite the *sutras* in the dim mournful thin light of candles. . . . Then the corpse is carried to the grave. [Usually, what is buried is the ashes of the corpse previously cremated.]

purity, anything to do with death being regarded as a defilement by Shinto. The Buddhist domestic sanctuary is called a *Butsudan*, and consists of an image of Amida-Buddha and a place for keeping the *ihai*, the tablets on which are written the names of the dead members of the family, usually for three generations back. These names are posthumous, for it is not at birth that a man receives a religious name, but at death, very much in the spirit of the evangelical Christian hymn, 'We shall have a new name in that land.' *

Usually each household contains both Shinto and Buddhist sanctuaries, and, as the following quotations show, the family rites differ somewhat, according to which sect the family professes the greater allegiance.

In every house there is a Kami-dana where we every morning pray thankfully.

Getting up in the morning some of us do ablution, and before the shelf or Shinto tablets clap the hands.

The foregoing are more of a Shinto character. The clapping of hands and also the ringing of a bell are the customary ways of calling the attention of the Kami or the Buddha to the prayer or praise that is about to be offered. This is rarely spoken, and silence is more sincere than speech, which is frequently nothing more than the repetition of *Namu Amida Butsu*, which phrase, by the Jodo sect especially, is used much in the same way as the name of Jesus by evangelical Christians—namely, as a pass-word to salvation. The mention of ablution is interesting. An important part of the Japanese washing each morning consists in a very noisy and (to foreign ears) very offensive business of throat-clearing; but this, as another student definitely states, is all in the process of cleansing one's body and mouth before the morning ritual at the shrine. The next few extracts are more typical of Buddhism.

In the morning only my father prays to the gods and the Buddha, and in the evening my mother and my sisters light a lamp at the shelf for Shinto tablets and the Buddhist household shrine. On the first day of the month my mother dedicates some rice and puts the pine tree and the sacred tree of the Shintoists (*sakaki*, *i.e.*, *eurya ochnacea*) into a vase for the gods.

Its devotees [the members of the Jodo sect] offer two bowls of rice which are called 'Buppan,' and tapers to Buddha. After that they take the service to Buddha every morning. At the noon they take away Buppan and eat it. In the evening they offer tapers and take the service to Buddha as they do morning. This is the courtesy of the devotee for Buddha each day.

Another student tells how his old grandmother lights her candles and prays for half an hour each morning and evening, whilst the

day of the week; rarely if ever will you hear such expressions a "Last Monday" or "Next Sunday," but almost always a day i indicated as the 1st, 6th, or 16th day of the month. So the Sunday is over and done with before a Japanese Christian i aware of it; once more, he fails to appear in the pew, and th missionary, looking round the almost empty church, despairs a much as any minister in England or America.

In the quotations I shall make from the students' essays I hop it will be clearly understood that I have not made my selectio with any idea of building up a case. What case there is th students themselves have made, and my work is nothing mor than to present it briefly and adequately, with occasional explana- tory comments. I shall present their thoughts exactly as the were written, except in one or two instances where I have bee compelled to straighten out some wild grammatical tangle without, however, altering the meaning by the merest shade.[1] I shall begin with what they have told me about the genera religious life of Japan in so far as it touches their own experience The household shrines they speak about are of two kinds, due t the fact that the Japanese mind has been mainly formed unde the influence of two different attitudes towards life, Shinto and Buddhism. In the dim distant past these two attitudes were s completely fused that even a later attempt at separation stil leaves the Buddhist very much of a Shintoist and the Shintois very much of a Buddhist Roughly, the distinction between th two is that Shinto, largely reinforced by Confucianism, represent what may be called the religion of the family, the locality and th State, the worship of the ancestral spirit of Japan; whils Buddhism accords more with the average Christian idea of a religion, as it is almost entirely concerned with the life afte death. But when one student says that Shinto is more popula in the big cities and Buddhism in the country districts, he mean little more than that in Tokyo, for example, there are more o those people who, in the words of James Russell Lowell,

> . . . just work semi-occasionally, or else don't work at all,
> And so their time and 'tention both are at Serciety's call,

and also indicates the chief reason why foreigners, who rarely se the life of the country districts, so readily conclude that th Japanese have no religion But in this matter Tokyo is not Japan, any more than London is England or Paris France. The Shinto sanctuaries are called *O Miya* (shrines), and the domestic sanctuary *Kami-dana* (the God-shelf); whilst the Buddhist sanctuaries are called *tera* (temples), and they alone have grave-

[1] Anything in square brackets in the quotations is my own explana- tion.

Part of my self-imposed investigation has consisted in wandering about the country, watching the behaviour of those who did visit the temples and shrines, occasionally holding a [illegible] conversation, by means of an interpreter, with a few priests, and taking note, as far as possible, of the meaning of certain festivals and ceremonies and the way in which they were observed. But all this, even when supplemented with much reading, scarcely helped me to touch the fringe of present-day Japanese religion.

Then one day I conceived the idea of asking between 100 and 200 of the students to whom I teach English to write down for me all they could about their own religion and that of their country. These students are between eighteen and twenty-one years of age, and, as they come from all parts of the Japanese Empire, are representative of innumerable local cults and traditions. Moreover, since it is from them that the future leaders in every department of Japanese life must of necessity be drawn, their thoughts and feelings are of peculiar significance. Also, they are at, what is to me, a most charming stage of ingenuous enthusiasm and generous hopes, eager to express themselves, filled, for the most part, with a courteous and friendly desire to please the first Englishman who has ever taught them, and yet wonderfully honest in their utterances.

Had I been a missionary, I fear, neither they nor my professorial colleagues would have expressed themselves so unreservedly on the subject of religion. The missionaries' position to-day is by no means an easy one, because, for one thing, Japan is in the full tide of developing a strong national consciousness, and the students especially are reluctant to accept the religious teaching of foreigners, which teaching, moreover, is regarded by the more socialistically-minded youths as the religion of a capitalistic society The students also hesitate to discuss religion with the official representatives of Christianity, because they are afraid of being asked to go to church on Sunday. One of them thus describes his experience with a missionary whom he met on holiday: 'He was very kind and we had many interesting conversations on religion. But, in end, I did not wish speak Christianity with him more, because he troubled me to come to church.' Even many professing Japanese Christians cannot be made to understand the sacrament of church-going and Sabbath Day observance. For the Japanese lack utterly what, in the West, we call the church idea, and our Jewish inheritance of one specifically holy day each week is quite foreign to their scheme of times and seasons. Their year is measured in months rather than weeks, and their native religious festivals fall at no regular intervals. Although the Western calendar has been adopted, and although their language contains words for week and each

CHRISTIANITY AND YOUNG JAPAN

When I first came to Japan, not only could I see few signs of Christianity, but scarcely any evidence of any sort of religious life. True, I saw innumerable Buddhist temples and Shinto shrines—on the official register there are, roughly, 80,000 of the former and 200,000 of the latter—but they struck me mainly as interesting and, in many cases, magnificent survivals of a dead or dying faith. But, in the endeavour to be fair, I put myself in the position of a Japanese visitor to England, and had to admit that in all probability he would feel exactly about England as I did about Japan, except that he might have been awakened to a dim feeling that there was some sort of a religion somewhere, associated, in a way beyond his comprehension, with the absence of certain amusements, the closing of shops and the difficulty of getting food and drink on one day out of every seven. Incidentally, it is probably the fact that in Japan they can buy most of what they want and go about their amusements as usual that inclines some foreigners to believe that the Japanese have no religion. Sabbatarianism is still inveterately regarded as a religious essential by Westerners, even by habitual Sabbath-breakers; and it is, moreover, one of the main obstacles to the progress of Christianity in Japan

Reflecting, therefore, that a cursory, external consideration would be just as unfair to Japan as to my own country (for I still believe that there is a vast amount of religion in England), I decided that the only way to discover the truth was to enter, to some extent, into the minds of the people themselves. Anyone will admit that this is a difficult enough thing to attempt in any case, but especially so in the case of Japan, which not only is an Oriental country with a religious, social and political history strikingly different from anything in the West, and with a language and a system of writing so bewildering that scarcely one foreigner in a thousand who make the attempt ever becomes even moderately familiar with them, but, in addition, has so rapidly assimilated many of the externals of Western civilisation, that one scarcely knows where to begin in order to find the real Japanese mind.

Communist agitator, whose system promises a short way with moneylenders.

Any adequate presentation of the Christian message to India must take into account the vast and difficult range of problems thus brought into existence. The West has given to India her industrial system, which, in the view of most advanced Indian thinkers, is proving much more of a curse than a blessing because of the emergence of these dangerous problems. It is urgently necessary that we should at the same time show to India that there is a solution to these problems attainable through the grace of the Spirit of Christ. Housing schemes, baby clinics, night schools, lecture series, social institutes, and many other agencies are bitterly needed ; but the Spirit of Christ will undoubtedly lead forward His Indian disciples to a deeper vision still and to more effective activity in relation to the problems presented by industrialisation.

In conclusion, I wish to emphasise my conviction that all consideration of the task of presenting the Christian message to India is essentially secondary to, and dependent upon, the work of the Spirit of God in the hearts of His people. If we pray aright and follow Christ wholeheartedly, His Spirit will lead us forward unhesitatingly upon the right path of service for this great, beautiful, and intensely lovable land.

JOHN S. HOYLAND.

[illegible] mother, who was lying under a [illegible] blanket in an open field, had only a few hours to live. There were two children, aged perhaps three and five, who had not been attacked by the disease, but had absolutely no future to look forward to except starvation; for the caste system, which in ordinary times would have succoured them, had utterly broken down.

Another memory is that of a village hard hit by famine in the Mandla district of the Central Provinces, in 1921. As I entered the village a terribly emaciated man came from a house to tell me of his trouble. Before he reached me he fell in the road, and in a few minutes was dead.

Another memory is that of a time of cholera. When I awoke one morning (it was hot weather, and I was sleeping in the open air) I found near my bedside a bullock cart with the driver dead of cholera within it. He had died on the road during the night, and his bullocks had brought him on till they stopped near where I had been sleeping.

As one thinks of these and many similar incidents the feeling rises very strongly in one's mind that the best of all ways of presenting the Christian message to India is that of the Good Samaritan.

Another class of problem with which we must reckon is that presented by the rapid industrialisation of Indian life. The movement of the Industrial Revolution, which was extended over perhaps a century in the case of our own country, is being compressed into a very few years in India. The factory system is being developed with great rapidity. The industrial towns are growing enormously fast. Very great numbers of unskilled labourers are leaving their villages and drifting to the already overcrowded slum areas of the great cities. In consequence there are developing appallingly insanitary and anti-social conditions in many of these towns. In Bombay during a recent year the infantile death rate was 666 per 1000; and, though things are now somewhat better in this respect, the fact remains that the slum conditions in Bombay give a very poor chance of life to any child born therein. The leaving of the village implies the breaking of the old associations with fellow-caste members, and hence the breaking of the old caste sanctions, which enforced—at any rate, in a rough and ready fashion—a certain definite standard of morality. Living expenses in the city are very much higher than in the country, and consequently a very large number of the workers (probably the great majority of them) become hopelessly indebted to moneylenders, who are often Afghans. Hence arises much of the Hindu Musalman hatred, which leads at frequent intervals to embittered rioting in the big industrial centres. Hence also the mill hands become admirable material for the

In these respects, however gravely the missionary may fear an undue tampering with the fundamentals of Christian faith, he will probably be well advised to stand aside and permit his Indian friends to go in their own way about their task of finding the Eastern Christ. We may not be able to agree with all that they do, but we must show them our sympathy and our love, and pray earnestly that the Divine Spirit may guide them aright.

As one stands and looks back at sixteen years of missionary life there are certain impressions which remain very vividly in one's mind. One of the chief of these is that of the extraordinary attention, and even eagerness, with which a class of seventy or eighty college students (chiefly Brahmans) listened day after day in an intolerably crowded and stuffy room to the simplest exposition of the Gospel of St. Luke.

Another impression is that of a crowded gathering of students who had called the missionary to speak to them about Christ on the occasion of the great annual worship of the Hindu god Ganpati. The gaily decked idol which they had been worshipping was there close at hand; and yet the students listened with courtesy and real interest to the exposition of Christ's teaching.

Another impression is that of the extraordinary demand which there is for entrance into the high school and college with which I have been connected. The students know that they will be expected to attend Christian instruction, yet this seems to make them all the more eager to be admitted. In many cases their parents genuinely believe that the idealism and character-building given through missionary education is not to be found in any purely secular institution. In this connexion some words may be quoted from a great Hindu reformer:

> Missionary education opens the mind and heart to all that is good, true and beautiful, come from whatever quarter of the globe it may, and urges the individual to a lifelong endeavour transforming the existing state of things to a condition nearer the realisation of his ideals.

But more vivid even than the impressions just recorded are those of a very different type of work. One memory is of a certain village in a northern district of the Central Provinces during the great influenza epidemic of 1918. India was at that time worse hit by the disease than any other country in the world. The Central Provinces were worse hit than any other province in India; and the district of which I am speaking had a higher death rate than any other district in the Central Provinces. The village lay in the midst of glorious jungle. When the missionary reached it he found that all the able-bodied inhabitants had fled. There were left only a few who were sick or dying. One little group is especially memorable. The father had already died. The

this they were, I think, very seriously mistaken. One has only to remember the grotesque and comic elements in the old miracle plays, which meant so much in the life of mediaeval England, to realise that this kind of risk at least must of necessity be taken if a strong and independent Indian Christianity is to emerge.

Another example. Under a recent devolution scheme control of primary education and evangelistic work has been handed over to a branch of the Church in the Central Provinces. During the first years of the new *régime* some missionaries were rather dismayed to find that a considerable number of schools were closed in order that funds might be available for the formation of a band of trained singers, who would go round from village to village singing Christian lyrics, and would thus bring into the service of Christ a religious agency which from time immemorial has been a feature of Hinduism. Here, too, a wiser attitude, I think, would have been to recognise that the Church must be strenuously encouraged in any effort, undertaken at whatever cost, to bring Indian methods of work to bear upon the task of evangelisation.

A well-known Christian thinker in South India believes that the Indian Christian Church of the future will have to consecrate in the service of Christ many features of Indian worship—*e.g.*, the adoration of images. Here, again, freedom will have to be allowed, however serious may be our apprehension lest what we regard as dangerous errors creep into the life of the Church.

On one occasion, after I had preached a sermon on the fatherhood of God, an Indian Christian professor, a man of ripe Christian experience, came to me and said: 'What you have said about the fatherhood of God is true, but some day when India has learnt what Christ means she will teach the world the significance of the motherhood of God.'

There are not a few Indian Christians who regard it as essential, if Christ is rightly to be interpreted to India, that portions of the Christian Scriptures should be, to use an unfitting word, 'Bowdlerised.' For example, they feel that considerable portions of the Old Testament, especially the imprecatory psalms, should be omitted, and in the New Testament—to take one example only—the reference to the fatted calf, which has proved a very serious stumbling-block to countless Hindus, should be suppressed. There are other men, true Christians, who would go so far as to say that India will never have much interest in the historical portions of the Old Testament. They would like to see substituted for these a selection from the highest elements in the ancient scriptures of India. Others would wish to see Christianity Indianised by naming Christ by some more distinctively Indian title than the *Lamb* of God—a name which meant much to a pastoral nation, but means nothing at all in India.

[illegible]

every year that Westerners, however devoted and loyal, will never succeed in discovering or interpreting the Eastern Christ. This enterprise must be carried through by Easterners. It is of course true that the material with which we have to work in many branches of the Christian Church in India does not appear at first sight to be very well adapted to the performance of this great task. The great majority of Indian Christians are from the depressed classes, and tend to become unduly Westernised in their outlook, since their own Indian culture has treated them so badly in the past. One of the main tasks of the missionary is none the less that of training these Christians, in spite of all discouragement, for the fulfilling of this great duty, the finding of the Eastern Christ. He will sometimes have to become unpopular, both with the Christians and with his fellow missionaries, because he insists so rigorously that Christianity, if it is going to speak to India, must speak in Indian terms There is still far too marked a tendency for the Indian Christian Church to take over wholesale from the West, not only such superficial (but still important) matters as dress and nomenclature, but also methods of worship, denominational organisation, and so forth.

The Indian Christian leaders who are genuinely in touch with the great heart of their country are all too few in number. There are perhaps less than a score of them, who are known throughout India. There must be hundreds more of such men before we can hope to see a genuinely Indian Christianity emerge which shall be capable of discovering and manifesting Christ the Easterner.

We must be prepared in this connexion, more perhaps than in any other, to permit our Indian friends freedom to make mistakes. I have heard it said by an acute and friendly observer that what Indian Christianity needs most of all is a real Indian heresy. This may perhaps seem rather an extreme statement, but the thought behind it is sound. The most healthy of all signs in Indian Christianity would be a ferment of thought and a desperate resolve to re-express Christianity at all cost for the Indian mind.

To take one or two concrete examples. One of the churches with which I have been connected showed a good deal of initiative and keenness in expressing the Bible story to ignorant villagers by means of dramatisation. The most successful of the New Testament dramas which they worked out and acted was one on the parable of the Prodigal Son. Missionaries were invited to one of the first performances, and were somewhat dismayed to find that mixed in with the parable as it is given in St. Luke were certain comic scenes connected with the career of the younger son. These were conceived in the spirit of broad farce. Some of the missionaries (to put matters bluntly) were deeply shocked, and in future strenuously discouraged any repetition of the drama. In

not all of them Christians, who love Christ and mirror Him forth in their lives with a power which completely puts us to shame. No one who has come into close contact with Sadhu Sundar Singh can fail to recognize something of the meaning of the Eastern Christ, or can doubt the immense future possibilities of the world's learning fresh truth about Him as India comes to apprehend Him rightly.

In the sphere of action, also, there are many ways in which India will teach us the true meaning of Christ. An instance may be found in the way in which the campaign against 'untouchability' was carried on in South India a year or two ago, when the method of passive resistance was applied by men, most of whom did not call themselves Christians, in an eminently Christian way for the righting of scandalous injustice at a place called Vykom.

There is no joy to be compared with that of seeking and finding in company with our Indian friends the beauty and splendour of the Eastern Christ

Every missionary must work out for himself the manner in which he is best able to fulfil the task of presenting Christ to India. As has been suggested, everything depends on the spirit in which this task is approached Without teachableness, humility and love our efforts will be worthless. There are some who will find that they are called to present Christ in daily action through service done for the poor and needy, and especially for the sick and diseased There are some who will find that they can best present Him in discoursing on matters of philosophy and doctrine There are some who will find that the work of education is for them the right method, and that the central point and focus of all such education will be the daily period in which they go through with their class, in the simplest possible manner, one of the Gospels I myself have come to the conclusion that, from the intellectual point of view at least, the most fruitful of all methods of presenting Christ is the quiet reading with one's students of the Gospel of St Luke. As they study that incomparable book I believe that there is formed in their minds, better than by any other method, that portrait of Christ which will abide with them through their lives, and which will influence very powerfully their thought and action, making them, though they may never call themselves Christians, disciples of His, and disciples who are truly concerned to found His Kingdom.

There is another principle which is of fundamental importance in all efforts for the presentation of the Christian message to India. It is this: whenever possible, and in every possible way, Indians should be permitted and encouraged to do the work themselves, in their own way It is more and more obvious

in the thoughts of the Indian mind, as well as of deep and lasting friendship.

Even from our students we have many opportunities of learning. In fact (and this especially applies to the work of Scripture-teaching), the more earnestly one tries to express Christ to them, the more will one obtain new and valuable insight from them into the truths of Christ, even though they may never become members of the Christian Church.

There is much to be learnt also by the missionary from Indian literature—*e.g.*, from Tagore's recently published *Letters to a Friend* and from Mr. Gandhi's *Autobiography* and *Satyagraha in South Africa*. In this connexion it will scarcely be necessary to mention the writings of Sadhu Sundar Singh.

Humility and teachableness will go far to aid the missionary in his task of presenting the Christian message, but they are nothing without love. There are some missionaries who maintain that it is impossible for them genuinely to love Indians. Fortunately such missionaries are very few; and the rest of us, I think, will agree that Indians are extremely lovable. They are very responsive to affection, and they make loyal and devoted friends, from whose character we may learn much of the spirit of Christ. If we cannot love them, we must certainly not continue to be missionaries, for without genuine love for the people to whom we are sent our service will be dust and ashes.

I think of my best Indian friends—of those tried fellow-workers with whom through a course of many years I have been engaged in school or college work; of those with whom I have been associated in times of crisis, famine, cholera, or political trouble. I think of a group of students with whom I struggled all night long to save one of their number from a terrible disease: I think of one now himself long since dead who came to help me when I was myself alone and very ill. One's friendship with such men may very probably have meant little or nothing to them, but to oneself it has meant very much. Above all, one has learnt from them more of the meaning of the universal Christ.

It is well to remember that it is possible to train oneself in love, not only in the avoidance of everything that would give offence or hurt sensitive feelings, but in the genuine affection of one's heart for those whom one would serve. Above all, this gift of love is to be sought and gained through prayer. So only will it be unforced, pure and genuine.

If he approaches his task in the spirit of humility, teachableness and love, the missionary will find that he gets infinitely more than he gives. His task is that of helping India to find Christ—Christ the Easterner, whom the West has never rightly understood. Again and again the missionary will come across men,

The whole situation is summed up in a great saying of the most distinguished of all Indian statesmen, the late Mr. Gokhale: 'I am more interested in religion than in politics, and I intensely revere Jesus; but He is handicapped with His connexion with the West.' More recently another distinguished Indian has said with striking emphasis: 'India rejects Christianity, but accepts Christ.'

Hence the missionary now goes, and must recognise that he goes, as the representative of a discredited order—a civilisation which has led directly to world warfare, a religious system which failed to prevent that appalling catastrophe, and which therefore cannot claim to exercise anything approaching a sufficient influence upon life. In brief, the first qualification of the modern missionary must be humility.

Closely connected with the necessity of humility is that of teachableness India is prepared to accept Christ, but not Christianity; therefore it behoves the Western representative of Christ first of all to learn from India the right setting in which he shall endeavour to paint before her a portrait of his Master which shall teach her to love Him and to follow Him better than we have loved and followed Him in the West.

We must learn the Indian point of view, appreciate the Indian outlook on religion, on social, political, and industrial institutions. We must endeavour to comprehend how our Master, who was Himself an Easterner in an Eastern environment, can be made most Eastern and least Western in His appeal to those Easterners who, once they are given a chance, are going to understand Him better than we do Obviously this is an immensely difficult undertaking for us Westerners, deep in whose bones there lies the eager, forceful, intrusive, domineering spirit of the modern West. But the lesson of teachableness must be learnt by each one of us, or we are unfaithful to our Lord. In this connexion it will be of immense advantage to the young missionary if he spends the first part of his service as an inmate of an Indian household. As I look back to the months which I spent in the home of Principal Rudra, of St. Stephen's College, Delhi, I regard those months as in many ways the most valuable I have spent in India.

The young missionary will find that he has great opportunities of learning the Indian point of view from the Indians who teach him their language; and a real effort should be made to adopt the spirit of the Indian *chela* (disciple) towards the *guru* (spiritual preceptor) in this relationship. The *chela* must above all be humble, ready to serve as well as to learn from his *guru*. If the effort is made to adopt this spirit, it will be possible in after years to look back to the hours of labour spent with the language teacher as a time of exceedingly valuable illumination

Such sentiments are no doubt crude, but they most emphatically exist, and it is of the first importance that the missionary to educated Indians should take into account their existence. It is of little avail for him to speak of the great Western ideal of progress as better than the ancient static institutionalism of the East ; for the Indian will at once say to him (if he is a man who speaks out his thoughts) : 'Progress towards what ? Towards the universal suicide which we saw in the war ; towards the industrial system which the largest of Western nations has repudiated ; towards the type of domestic and social relationships which we see in the cinema films with which Hollywood floods our country ? We do not want that kind of progress.' If the missionary speaks to him of the universal fellowship in creative activity for God, which is the meaning of the Christian Church, the Indian says . 'Do not talk to me of that ; for in the war, were not the Churches of the various nations praying to the same God of Love that their armies might effectively destroy each other ? '

The missionary can do nothing unless he is willing to confess that we in the West have failed to understand Christ and to apply His teaching to an organised society. Here is the sort of argument with which we are faced to-day .

Those of us who have some acquaintance with the conditions in Europe know that religion plays no part in their life, least of all in England. It is not a good model to hold up for us who see in England a country given up altogether to irreligion, with immorality plying its ugly trades in the most public way and unashamed Ninety per cent of its 'Christians' never attend church, and those that do, merely attend, for such are the observances in Christian churches that the service could take place even if the audience went to sleep, as they frequently do It is a mistake to let us learn the history of Christianity in Europe if the missionary wishes us to respect their religion It is said that until the Reformation Christianity was dominated by monks, parasites who lived by begging, lying, persecution , since then by capitalists, parasites who live by robbing, lying and warring. 'Banish the Gods from the skies and capitalists from the earth,' cry the Socialists and Communists. And these are the results of winning a country for Christ It may not be the inevitable result of embracing Christianity, in fact we know it ought not to be, for the religion of Christ is a noble doctrine as far as it goes , but this is the inevitable result of accepting the organisation which stands for the government of Christ's religion on earth. A recent writer says that the spectacle of the Churches of Europe sending up frantic appeals to the same God to give hell to each other in the recent war, so ludicrous were it not so pathetic, is the best proof, were a proof needed, that Christianity has sunk back to the tribal level of a negative morality from which Christianity elevated it to the height of a universal religion centuries ago. The Churches have indeed failed their Christ.[1]

[1] From the *Indian Social Reformer*, October 6, 1928.

of India by the war, it is clear that Western civilisation, however outwardly prosperous and powerful it might seem, was yet in reality a system fated to end in the mutual destruction of the nations in a vast orgy of suicide. The matter was summed up as follows by one of the most moderate and enlightened of Indian publicists:

> To thoughtful Indians the war seemed not an abnormal incident in contemporary history, but an apt climax of an acquisitive society that had accumulated enough wealth to be torn in conflict for its possession, a society moreover that made competition the basis of its social religion, and physical force the basis of all its settlements. . . . Science, it seemed, had resulted in enhancing human suffering rather than in mitigating it. Newton and Watt and Darwin had ended in poisoned gas and tanks.

The East cannot separate in its mind religion from secular civilisation; and since the war it has become common for educated Indians to cite the war as proof that Christianity has failed, and failed on a colossal scale, to make good its claims to be considered as an effective religion at all.

To quote again (from the *Indian Social Reformer*, a Hindu-edited paper of very enlightened views): 'The Christian missionary has no chance of getting a hearing now unless he distinguishes between Christ and Christianity and between Christianity and Western civilisation' It is, of course, an extremely difficult task to convince the educated Indian that Christianity can be separated from Western civilisation It can only be accomplished by the missionary's frankly and freely acknowledging to him the un-Christlikeness, even the anti-Christlikeness, of much in the West, especially of the Western State system, and by his taking up the attitude that the West needs the help of the East in finding the true meaning of Christ.

It is common to hear reference made in the West to the disillusionment which followed the war, especially in regard to political affairs. However bitter this disillusionment may be in the West, it was probably much greater in the East. Before the war India was immensely interested in many aspects of Western life and had a great belief that the West might bring to her many very valuable benefits. This feeling has now all but disappeared —at any rate, amongst the vast majority of nationalistically minded Indians Few are now found (apart from a very small body of moderates, headed by Tagore) who are willing to admit that the West has really anything to teach India. On the contrary, the majority are deeply concerned lest India be corrupted beyond repair by the pervasive forces of Western civilisation. As a great living Indian philosopher has expressed it: 'There are men in the East who spend sleepless nights in cursing God because He has allowed these civilisers to get into their lands.'

THE
NINETEENTH
CENTURY
AND AFTER

No. DCXXVIII—June 1929

THE PRESENTATION OF THE CHRISTIAN MESSAGE IN INDIA

The position of the Christian missionary in India has entirely changed during the past fifteen years. Before that time it was still possible for him to stand before the people as the representative of a higher culture and of a successful world order, as well as of a religious system which claimed innumerable conquests in every part of the world and in every relation of life.

The war changed all that. To-day the missionary finds that he can accomplish nothing unless in his contact with educated Indians he is willing from the start to adopt an attitude of teachableness and humility, and to confess that Western civilisation has failed to establish a world order which can be regarded as Christian, as stable, or as genuinely beneficial. To quote the words of Dr. Garfield Williams, which are eminently true: 'At the end of the war the Westerner had for the educated Indian hardly a shred of reputation left.'

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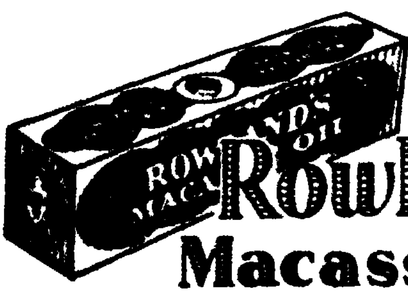
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◇ ◇ ◇

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NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER

1877 1929

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9 JUNE No. 628. Vol. CV

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Dublin edition of *The Tea-Table Miscellany*, 1729, i., 77, indexed at the end with others as 'the words by Allan Ramsay.' Further, it occurs in the London edition of 1730, p. 63, and in the 'ninth edition' of 1733, p. 66. And there, having come to the period when Ramsay is stated to have edited this 'old ballad,' I rest my correction.

Yours in sincerity,

DAVIDSON COOK.

Communications should be addressed to the Editor of the NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER, 10 & 12, *Orange Street, Leicester Square, W.C. 2*

Letters as well as articles will be considered for publication, but letters should be confined to criticism or amplification of articles which have already appeared in the Review. No anonymous contribution is published.

CORRESPONDENCE

ALLAN RAMSAY'S 'OLD BALLAD.'

To the Editor of the NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER.

SIR,—Mr. McGrath, dealing in the April number of *The Nineteenth Century* with Percy's famous song *O Nancy, wilt thou gang with me?*, says 'his debt to an old ballad, *The Young Laird and Edinburgh Katy*, which Allan Ramsay had edited in 1733, is yet more obvious, even in the first two lines:

> "O Katy! wiltu gang wi' me,
> And leave the dinsome town awhile?"'

I cannot understand where the writer of the article on 'Thomas Percy's Bicentenary' got his erroneous idea that the two lines he quotes are from an 'old ballad' edited by Allan Ramsay 'in 1733.' *The Young Laird and Edinburgh Katy* is a double-barrelled song of Ramsay's own composition. It begins:

> 'Now wat ye wha I met Yestreen
> Coming down the Street, my Jo,
> My Mistress in her Tartan Screen,
> Fow bonny, braw and sweet, my Jo.'

The second of the four eight-line stanzas opens with the words re-echoed in Percy's song. The second piece, entitled 'Katy's Answer,' is well known and begins, 'My Mither's ay glowran o'er me' Now, though Ramsay frequently tinkered old songs and ballads, he usually registered and acknowledged the parentage of his own lyrical offspring, and 'the Young Laird and Edinburgh Katy' are undoubtedly his twin children. They were printed with his initials appended and included among his own songs in the tables which he compiled to enable readers to differentiate between them and 'Old songs' and 'Auld sangs brush'd up' and 'Old songs with additions.'

The date, 1733, given as the year of Ramsay's editing of the supposed 'old ballad' is very much out of gear with the bibliographical facts. Even the Edinburgh booksellers, in spite of the accurate data given in Gibson's *New Light on Allan Ramsay*, persist in cataloguing the 1721 quarto as the first collected edition of Ramsay's Poems, oblivious of the fact that the many separately issued pamphlets were assembled and issued with a collective title-page dated 1720. In that rare volume the song which partly inspired Percy's *Nancy* appears on p. 85. Again, it is in a still rarer volume—to wit, the first edition of the first volume of Ramsay's *Tea-Table Miscellany*, 1724, p. 121, the only known copy of which was recently captured for America at 280*l*. in a London auction-room. The song is also in the

That the [illegible] over-population cannot be doubted. It is the most effective instrument for keeping down the population, and at the same time improving the race, which could well be devised. Excess of women is prevented by the exposure of a certain number of female infants. That little selection takes place with regard to women is not of much consequence, as the selection of males is so rigorous. Only the strong and the brave reproduce, and the strongest and bravest have the pick of the women. Both polygamy and polyandry are practised, and this makes the selection of the fit even more intense. The only danger of the system appears to be in the over-development of the warlike instinct, and the consequent production of such races as the Masai and the 'Five Nations,' which, in their day, overran vast tracts of land in Central Africa and America respectively. I incline to the belief, however, that such races are a blessing rather than a curse.

Alas, all this happiness seems to be nearing its end. Excepting only the most fortunate land of Ethiopia, all Africa is under European rule, and now Ras Tafari has been made the ruler of Ethiopia with plenipotentiary powers. He is a wise and enlightened man who will soon further consolidate the empire and make intertribal war impossible. Then will the last of the strongholds of human happiness have fallen, and Africa, like India, will become a land of over-population, of sickness, starvation, misery and peace.

JOSEPH OMER-COOPER.

but, during the ages, are lacking in all forms of culture. The women dress becomingly in a bodice and long skirt of white cotton with a few beads, but no barbaric superfluity of ornament. The men wear the white shirt, trousers and shamma, which is the usual dress of the more cultured races throughout the Abyssinian Empire. They are a most industrious people and excellent farmers, growing cotton, durra, wheat, barley, 'teff,' coffee, and many herbs and spices used in brewing and making the hot sauces which they love. Both in industry and in agricultural skill they are superior to most, if not all, other Abyssinian races. Their houses are well built and excellently thatched, and the climate is delightful. Increased possessions have of course brought a certain measure of worry and discontent—a few sick may also be seen; but, on the whole, they have a not unpleasant life. They are a healthy and happy people, well built, upright, and honest. Of their customs I know nothing save that they do not as a rule put butter on their heads, and that the more distinguished of their warriors record their achievements by erecting, near their dwellings, a horizontal bar of wood to which they attach a strip of calico for each man, lion or elephant they have killed. The only one of these I saw displayed over sixty such stripes—a gallant record!

At intervals of a few years the Arrusi arrange a war with the Gourargi. This, it seems, has a fixed duration, usually lasting for one year. Both tribes are subject to the Amhara or 'Abyssinian,' as we know them, though Ethiopian is the more correct name. These are a Christian people, with a fair measure of culture, and so discourage all wars but their own. Fortunately they are an avaricious race, and cannot resist a bribe, so that, when the Arrusi and Gourargi have agreed that a war would be to their mutual pleasure and advantage, each tribe pays a suitable sum to its Ethiopian governor and all is well.

In European countries trade suffers severely as the result of war. These primitive races, wiser than ourselves, have succeeded in avoiding such a calamity. When at peace a large part of the Arrusi trade passes through the Gourargi country. The former require cotton cloth, spear heads, and grain for their beer, and supply in exchange butter and hides to the latter, who are traders at heart. The barter takes place in the village markets, and if these were not held the Arrusi would have no beer, a serious matter in times of war, while the Gourargi would be short of butter and lose financially. Such a state of affairs would take half the pleasure out of war, and could not be tolerated. The remedy is simple and effectual: warfare ceases on the market days, and the women attend as usual. Trade is not disturbed by

[illegible]ing is almost continuous along the borders. Small parties of horsemen meet, apparently by arrangement, and throw spears at each other. The whole fight is a most sporting affair. Like all Abyssinians, the Arrusi have no idea of gripping the horse with the knees, and, to make matters worse, ride with the big toe only in the stirrup. Dressed in their finest clothing and carrying two or three spears only, they fight with their horses at the gallop. Though they do not grip their horses and bump wildly up and down, they have wonderful balance, and are no mean horsemen, being able to hurl the spear with considerable accuracy while at full gallop. Played as a game with sticks instead of spears, this sort of fighting is one of the most popular amusements throughout Abyssinia, and, having attempted it myself, I the more admire and envy the skill of the natives. After the spear is thrown the thrower, who has never checked his horse in the least, attempts to recover it, if he has missed his aim, and should he succeed continues the chase: if he fail, he wheels his horse and himself becomes the fugitive, his opponent having now the advantage. So the fight goes backwards and forwards until one party is driven from the field. It is a noble sport, where skill and daring win the day; I know none to equal it. The Arrusi appear to enjoy it wholeheartedly, for a small party I saw engaged in this way all looked remarkably pleased with themselves. The dead, not as a rule very numerous, are collected as trophies, and the young bachelor who carries back such a proof of his courage is feasted, anointed with butter by the village maidens, and allowed his choice of a wife. There are, of course, no 'wounded.' The spear is a clean weapon, and those who are hit and escape have merely a cut to heal. The whole thing is carried out in a most pleasant manner, and must strongly resemble a tournament of the days of chivalry, save that in these fights there are naturally no spectators.

Warfare with the Danakil, though excellent in its way, is not enough to serve the needs of the Arrusi country as a whole. They are fortunate, therefore, in having as neighbours, on their western marches, the Gourargi, an agricultural hill tribe, who also take pleasure in a good fight. In this they are an exception to the rule that an agricultural people are of a miserable and cowardly disposition, and there can be no doubt that they have derived much benefit, both moral and physical, from the proximity of a race of warriors.

The population of the Gourargi highlands is considerable, and the people have developed a fair degree of culture owing to their respect for the old, the producers of all culture wherever it is found. The Arrusi, who honour not their fathers or their mothers

[illegible] the hate and the [illegible] of the [illegible] and [illegible]. Such a sport is fit only for politicians. It is a [illegible] destruction of the beautiful, a disgusting slaughter of the best. Even were this not so, war would still be horrible to us, for it would bring with it poverty, long-continued sorrow, and the maimed, the crippled, and the blind.

We have grown so fearful of death that even chivalrous warfare seems a curse. The civilised man clings to life with a tenacity unknown to the savage. No creature in all the world loves his life with such an emotional abandon as the sickly, half-starved, and wholly unhappy product of the slum. Loving life so well for ourselves, we love it also for our parents, our children and our friends. Death, to the civilised Christian, to whom it spells release from labour and the eternal joys of Paradise, is the most terrible of all calamities. The happiness of the individual is a matter of little importance, but his life must be preserved at all costs. This inordinate love of life is the most terrible of all the afflictions which have been forced upon us by the abnormal conditions and false moral values of civilisation. The savage has no such fear of death, and, not fearing it for himself, he does not fear it for others. Sooner or later death must come: why, then, make a fuss about it? There is no hardship and no suffering in being dead. So to us war is an unmitigated horror, but to the savage the most exhilarating and delightful of sports.

The remarkable social code of the Arrusi makes war to them a necessity as well as a sport. Arrusi women may all anoint their heads with butter. The men may only do so when they have proved their manhood by killing an elephant, a lion or a man: a leopard, I am told, may sometimes do as a substitute. The elephant has been extinct for some time in the district, and the lion is so rare that not more than one or two have been seen for years. Even the leopard is scarce. The only available test of manhood that remains is man. Man-hunting, however, seems to be subject to certain restrictions: men of their own tribe are protected from indiscriminate slaughter. Travellers are, of course, legitimate game, but are not plentiful. The killing of Europeans has lately been discouraged owing to the drastic punishment meted out by Ras Tafari to the offending tribe when a Frenchman was speared in their district a few years ago. Under peace conditions, therefore, there is little opportunity to qualify for a buttered head. This, at first sight, does not appear to be a serious matter; butter on the hair may be pleasant and may reduce the number of the lice, but these things do not make it a matter of grave importance. It is so, nevertheless, for the fate of the whole community hinges upon it. No man can marry until his head be buttered.

[illegible] the whole time I spent in this happy valley I saw no man, woman or child sick or deformed ; all were of good stature, straight-backed, clear-eyed, of fearless bearing, never furtive or cringing, and, though imbued with the timidity of all dwellers in the wilderness, a brave, a dignified, and a courteous people.

Their troubles are few. The taxes they pay are light, else would there be small hope of collecting them ; and apart from this the Government does not worry them with tiresome laws and restrictions. The flies are also a trouble, for the smell of rancid butter on clothing and on hair attracts these noisome creatures in myriads, but, accustomed to them from infancy, the Arrusi do not appear to suffer much annoyance. Save during a year of exceptional drought, or of some cattle plague, food is abundant. All that their hearts desire they have ample leisure to enjoy. There is no poverty, no starvation or hunger, no lack of any necessity, no discontent nor misery in all that place.

This delightful state cannot be attributed to climatic conditions, nor to the geographical position. Many other parts of the world are as fortunately situated, or more so. Large parts of South Africa and India are almost identical in physical conditions and yet contain no happy valleys. Though in the land of the Arrusi there is nothing but health and happiness, in a similar area in India little but misery, starvation and disease can be found, and conditions are rapidly becoming as bad in parts of South Africa. The manly bearing gives place to a mixture of insolence and cringing ; avarice, cunning and cowardice are the characteristics of a people miserable in physique and debased in spirit.

Race may account for something, but racial characters are not immutable ; they are the product of conditions and customs rather than their cause. The Arrusi come of a worthy stock, yet, I think, of no better than our own ; but we, as a race, have neither their blessings nor their virtues. Sickness, poverty, crime and misery are self-evident amongst us : not 1 per cent. of all our race are possessed of health and courage, and the material blessings their hearts desire—a condition almost universal amongst these African savages.

The secret of all the blessedness which the Arrusi possess and almost every other race has lost is neither of race nor of country—it is war !

To us war is ugly, menacing and useless, productive of nothing but misery. Our wars are a mechanical and unmeaning slaughter in which the strong and the brave suffer most. The bomb, the shell and the machine-gun are no respecters of persons, and what little selection they make is devoted to the extermina-

A HAPPY VALLEY OF WARS

In Abyssinia there are a people, the Arrusi Galla, living in the 'Rift' Valley, around the shores of Lake Zwai and in greater numbers to the south and east of that lake, who are exceptionally happy. They live almost entirely on milk, and possess great herds of beautiful cattle. Only rarely do they attempt any cultivation, and what little grain they grow or obtain by barter is used for the brewing of beer. As they are moderate drinkers, their wants are easily supplied. Their houses are simple, but well suited to the climate, which is dry with hot days and cool nights. Their clothing is also simple and appropriate. The men dress in a single cotton 'shamma' or shawl soaked in butter, which covers the head and falls almost to the ground. This is frequently girdled at the waist by a belt of plaited hide, and a leopard skin, thrown over the shoulders like a cloak, is sometimes worn. A long hafted spear is always carried, and serves as a staff, a cattle goad, a pocket-knife and a weapon. Sometimes a large knife is also worn, and when mounted they often carry a round leather shield: as ornament a ring or a few beads suffice. The dress of the women is even simpler, consisting of a single leather garment which may cover the upper part of the body, but usually forms a skirt only. This is held in place by a leather belt, which with necklaces and bracelets completes the dress. A few pots and leather rugs are all the furniture needed or desired. The barter of unwanted hides and surplus butter is enough to supply them with everything they want. Money is a curiosity rather than a necessity. This state of affairs causes difficulty to the traveller, who finds that he can buy nothing. The people have all that they need, and value their food more highly than anything with which he can provide them. In this country of cattle it is impossible for a traveller to obtain a pint of milk.

Both the men and women are well developed, with dark brown skins and a Semitic type of face. The men are often most handsome, with fine black beards. Neither tilling the soil nor gathering together unnecessary possessions, they have little work to occupy their time. They walk or ride and sit for hours in silent thought, apparently wrapped in contemplation of natural beauty, which,

[illegible] cannot, are we any the better ?

Sensible people not seldom betake themselves to this somewhat fantastic pleading. Few of them could resist the delightful raillery of *Punch* some twenty or more years ago in an article entitled 'In Defence of Vegetables against Vegetarians: Meeting in St. James' Hall.'

Let us notice how a sense of humour brings contending factions into harmony. It is because English people believe in the causes they adopt that they enjoy hearing them genially ridiculed by their opponents. At the same time an attack on certain opinions may easily be weakened by extravagance—which only has to be plainly stated to be detected. So here. We did not really need that science should convince us that sensitiveness to pain varies enormously in different kinds of living things. Any dentist could testify to the fact among human beings. Why not, then, among the lower orders of living things ? It is foolish to argue as if dogs did not feel pain more than molluscs, and molluscs more than cabbages. The moral question, into which we cannot enter here, is not concerned primarily with the infliction of pain, but with the destruction of life, which, in so far as it is unnecessary, is mere wantonness and brutality.*

Other arguments sometimes advanced are not arguments, but pretexts. They would never have been heard of were there not in very many minds profound prejudgments of the whole question of food resting on anything but reason and defiant of common sense and common prudence.

The truth is that discussion on the whole subject becomes acrimonious and barren unless it is confined to large matters of principle and not to the paltry and uncertain requirements of each individual's bodily health, as to which an incredibly stubborn prejudice prevails. If we foolishly concentrate on our own health we fall into divers maladies, not only bodily, but mental too. In the higher reaches of the subject, however, especially on the influence of mind upon matter, there is reason to hope we are on the verge of important discoveries

E. LYTTELTON.

* In a paper by the late well-known naturalist and charming writer E. Kay Robinson in his magazine *Country Side* about eight years ago reasons were given for believing in a low degree of sensitiveness in animals and fish. The magazine is now edited by two very competent successors, and is warmly to be recommended.

[illegible] which is visible and the brutal [illegible] we practise [illegible] that which we manage to hide? There are many people—[illegible] a large swarm of them all round us—who lavish money, [illegible] energy, and much silly babblement for the suppression of [illegible]section, and meanwhile stubbornly refuse to understand that vegetarianism is advocated and practised in the hope of diminishing by a little the hideous horrors of the daily butchery of our fellow-creatures and of their transport over the sea. They really believe—if people who act like automata can be said to have a belief—that by sneering at food reformers as faddists they have settled the question; whereas by using words they do not understand they shirk the plain duty of considering it. Moreover, by the use of ridicule they indicate a lurking instinct within them that the practice ridiculed has something in it. If they were convinced—truly convinced—that vegetarians are fools, and that in their crusade there is really nothing but what Plato called 'smoke and nonsense,' they would not go so far as to laugh at them. It is, in short, irrational, to the point of blameworthiness, genuinely to profess certain principles and then to jeer at people who are trying to put them in practice.

What has been said is of course not the only defence of vegetarianism. Bernard Shaw bluntly but quite truly said it makes for the higher life: meaning, presumably, that it is an antidote to grossness of mind. There are many thousands of young men in this country of ours who shrink from speaking of such a matter, but are in reality longing for this antidote. They dimly feel that all bondage to sensual appetites is unnatural and is fraught with calamity. To abstain from flesh as much as possible is to give powerful aid to the subjugation of the lower desires; and to that combat some 60 per cent. of men are called whether they like it or not. There are scores and scores of fathers, thorough John Bulls, who hope and strive and sometimes pray that their jolly youngsters may be saved from the dark abyss. Deep down in themselves they are aware that the less stimulating the diet the better; but some strange perversity of ignorance debars them from even considering this simple and comely safeguard—so tremendous is the spell of the herd instinct on us all, especially when its promptings encourage what Ridding called our laziness, craziness, and haziness. It would be far better if some of us would openly and quite honestly acknowledge that the perception and practice of truth are to us not desirable, because they involve a little inconvenience; a little straightness and clearness of thought—a little steadfastness of purpose.

There remains one objection to our plea concerning kindness

[illegible] and [illegible] of a natural gift, [illegible] which is to tempt the consumer to go on [illegible] after desire has been stayed. Thus sweets—to the middle-aged often deleterious—come after the solids and are crowned with kickshaws deftly alternated one with another to stir afresh the flagging desire for more pleasure. The question worth considering is whether we have not all conspired together to order our lives on an acknowledged sham. If we were sincere in our regrets for slight but steady excess, continued through years after all excuse for it has vanished, we should deal with our dinners as men to whom appetite is subordinated to something higher. As a humble suggestion to this end we might turn our meals round. Beginning with the kickshaws, we should then revel in ices and aspics; then go on to the salmon and end with the venison or rump steak. Whatever else happened, the total reached, before we set off meditatively to our night's rest, would be certainly below what it now is. But what it now is is markedly less than it was 100 years ago; and even the intake of the professional classes then was not to be compared with the steady, deliberate excess revealed in the eighteenth century country-parson's diary.

For superfluity of victuals has been manifestly less in evidence than before the war. A City dinner, though still an impressive fact, is not what it was. Compared with the elephantine proportions of 1880 the modern banquet, though sumptuous and more than sufficient for its avowed purpose, is a poor, shrivelled affair—the sorry husk of a once adipose magnificence Yet it is really rather rash to build consolation on the Homeric maxim that we are better than our fathers were. The aldermen of 1880 might have vaunted their asceticism, if they had learnt from Motley how Charles V. devoured a whole capon set with spices at 5 a.m. in bed, and at noon sat down to a dinner of twenty courses! The habits of people in old times are often made the excuse for present-day folly. They add, no doubt, to the difficulties we all encounter when we try to *act* wisely, but they give no warrant for our thinking all askew.

So much in regard to the quantity of food which it is desirable for each individual to determine as adequate and not excessive for himself. It would be a gain for the national life if we refrained, anyhow, from talking what we know to be nonsense.

About the quality—the question of vegetarianism—the same imperative and urgent need exists for more honesty in thought and word. Life is marred by gross contradiction between our opinions and our action, especially when it is yielded to unconsciously. How is it that women can cherish all sorts of loving

[illegible] Everybody admits this in theory [illegible] soldiers. Perhaps if they were fewer than they are they would be.

[illegible] from the United States are startling. We hear of luncheons in New York advertised to last four minutes! President Roosevelt, who ate largely and talked excitedly throughout, averaged only six bites for each large mouthful of meat. Andrew Clark used to insist that no constitution could stand it. As a reaction, a sect of 'Fletcherites' was formed who—so report says—met once a year to join in a meal which consisted of one farinaceous dish, every mouthful being chewed seventy times. The ceremony concluded with an anthem in praise of chewing!

But, to return to the two subjects which we have treated so far together, it is time to state certain conclusions which may be drawn from a sober interpretation of the facts to hand. First it is plain that, whatever view is taken of the question, much ordinary talk on the topic is extraordinarily foolish and random. The strongest convictions people hold are based on nothing better than the verdict of the senses; hence where cash allows there is almost for certain a considerable excess, for as long as health holds out eating will be pleasurable. But even that statement, which sounds moderate enough, should be qualified by another truism—namely, that as age advances less food is required. A great propagandist of that principle was a grand old man, the late Archbishop Temple. Further uncertainty belongs to the generalisations often bandied about in conversation, owing to the nearly established fact that one person can thrive on much less than another. Again, John Doe, we will suppose, works hard and successfully till sixty, then breaks down. If there has been anything out of the common in his *régime* the breakdown is ascribed to that far more generally than was the good health before. Whatever is said ignores the immense but obscure influence of heredity.

In short, in regard to the 'right' amount of food there is very little which should be thought of as certain. What little there is points to a strong probability that most people in a position to do so eat more than they need, and begin to diminish their rations far too late. The very frequent testimony of individuals, even when it tells against themselves, is as strong evidence as any. One of them, a master of forcible English, expressed it thus: 'My difficulty about food is that at every meal I satisfy my appetite at the first course, and then go on as if nothing had happened.' On the same side of the question is the answer given by some ten wounded 'Tommies' in a private hospital. They were asked if they had ever known anyone, who could afford the expense, who did not eat more than he needed. They all replied

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible].

Unfortunately this way of dealing with the question is at variance with the principle avowed. Few people would admit that they are gluttons; but in fact gluttony begins when the motive of eating is not health, or energy or service, but pleasure. It is not the amount of food nor its properties that ought to be the primary question, but the purpose we have in view in eating at all. If that is ignored we soon find ourselves flouting the very principles we openly profess.

Thus, take the pleasure-seeker. He knows that the pleasure of eating depends on the vigour of appetite. But if he exceeds in amount, appetite fails and pleasure goes. There are many other drawbacks, but he is only concerned with the one—the loss of pleasure. Yet it will be years before he will listen to any warnings. His ideal is low—very low. But while he professes it he ignores it. Again, suppose the ideal is not the pleasure of eating but the less animal delight in feeling well and being energetic. The first condition of following this quest with any sincerity or success is a certain amount of self-mastery which is never easily attained. The late Frederic Harrison was a byword for vigorous healthiness all through his long life. It is reported of him that he only knew one practical rule—namely, to rise a little hungry still from every meal. Result. Tennyson once met F. H. out walking and looking the picture of ruddy-faced health and *joie de vivre*. After a few minutes' talk the poet walked on, grimly remarking, 'I daresay I could get along without a God if I had a digestion like that.' Among the devotees of health there are not many who dream of denying their palate-appetites for a moment—still less day by day

Again, how few people understand that any excess of food above the minimum necessary cannot add to the body's strength, but inevitably diminishes the energy!

Meantime there are others—some of our very best—who instinctively or on principle shrink from ever troubling about their health. They are perhaps engaged on strenuous work and detest, not without reason, anything like introspection. So profoundly unscientific are they that they have never realised that there is any connexion between mastication and health. Yet it may be broadly said that no food that is not full of poison is unwholesome if it is chewed on a super-Gladstone scale, say, on that of Horace Fletcher of the United States. Again, the ideal amount of food for each individual depends on the chewing: a small amount if unchewed will do mischief; but an excessive amount is checked by eating slowly and by the increased nourishment extracted. The worst policy possible is to eat largely and

[illegible]

But is that so? Have the flesh-eaters nothing on their side except the delusion mentioned above which they can [illegible] to be solid fact? Yes, there is one physiological but interesting line by which we separate normal from abnormal cases of health. By abnormal we mean those who, owing to some morbid or exceptional condition, require a stimulant. Andrew Clark, for instance, in 1890 used to prescribe a flesh diet in cases of indigestion. Again, after a severe operation the patient requires a copious and stimulating *régime* to give Nature the chance of rising superior to the prostration caused by the shock.[1] Walther, again, at Nordrach combined the open-air treatment for consumption with an enormous amount of food, against which we were told something like a mutiny arose, as even the English patients were weighed down with the burden of surfeit. When John Doe comes across evidence of revalescence on these lines he clings faster than ever to the carnivorous tradition and adds a pork chop to his luncheon. Tender-hearted ladies who if they once looked into a slaughter-house for ten minutes would never touch meat again join the motley horde of mockers, each thankfully persuading herself that, whatever else may be in store, there is no occasion yet for her to change her cook.

There are thus in the conventional attitude towards food symptoms which make it difficult to credit our fellow-countrymen as a whole with rationality of judgment. In respect of excess they freely admit they are to blame, but show a stubborn determination not to change their habits. Whether flesh-eating and all its hideous accompaniments are either necessary or right they refuse to consider, but take refuge in jeering.

But it may be said you cannot lay down any law. People differ widely from each other. We are not all able to live on an exalted plane.

The mass of men have been, and will continue to be, pleasure-seekers; but 'to go against fashion, to flout the traditions which have made England great, incurring a good deal of inconvenience and some expense, is not pleasurable, but painful; and as there is much uncertainty in the matter I shall not think of

[1] As operations are said to be increasing, it should be known that the one occasion when plenty of stimulating food is really necessary is a few days after an operation when appetite prompts to it and revalescence is beginning. Now meat is a strong stimulant because of the poison it contains. But the effectiveness of a stimulant depends on its novelty. A vegetarian who has abstained from meat for (say) thirty years stands a good chance when the day of trial comes. Now the uric acid, mischievous to the normal body, plays its part and helps forward a rapid cure. The same is true of alcohol, tea, coffee, narcotics, opiates, sedatives, etc.

[illegible] —a strength of capacity which at first blush would seem to a mathematician to be a sheer impossibility. Hence the world at large and the mathematicians are at one.

But it is time to ask what the expression 'too much' means. Too much for what? The answer which would be given in public would be 'too much for the general health of the individual'; but the individual himself means 'too much to ensure the maximum of enjoyment,' his one test being physical sensation. Let us consider first what we know as to the effect of food on health.

Two minutes' reflection might convince any demi-semi-educated person that the subject is far too obscure to give scientific warrant for any positive statements whatever. We are dealing with a daily recurring miracle—namely, that the ingestion of a certain amount of stuff (mostly quite dead matter) into our bodies through the mouth gives the sensation of increased strength and energy. But all the time the general health may be deteriorating, and if, as often happens, the mischief is met by an increased diet it grows worse. For there is much that is fallacious in all sensations—mental, spiritual, and physical. Obviously this is true of eating. There is an immediate effect of food in that it stimulates the nervous system for a short time. But stimulus is followed by a reaction—not always perceptible—of fatigue. The ultimate effect, however, is not produced for several days—that is, till the substances consumed are changed into blood and assimilated, building up waste tissues and helping to maintain, not increase, the general strength.

Now John Doe knows nothing whatever of this marvellous change, but confuses the immediate effect on the nervous system with the later repair of waste tissue. He mistakes the transitory effect for the ultimate benefit, and then goes on his way letting that delusion corroborate another still more deeply pernicious which it is perfectly hopeless to eradicate. It is the fundamental conviction that because an ox which feeds on grass is very strong, therefore a man by stuffing himself with the twice-dead flesh of the animal will add some of its strength to his own. An impartial observer might suppose that if food is so important for muscle, the aspirant would imitate the ox in his feeding, and, instead of turning the noble beast into a gory mass of animal tissue, would ask if fruits, herbs, and greens were after all not the best and most natural food. Instead of which, what happens? He calls the vegetarians faddists and goes his way with a smile on his face, as from a problem solved! A faddist is a man who, on a point of not first-class importance, thinks and acts differently from the majority. The majority dub him with a name implying that he is wrong; while all the time acknowledging that they

FOOD AND FADS

Of all topics of conversation which are continually in our thoughts, there is none which provokes so many wild utterances as Food. Other subjects stir people under stress of emotion to much unguarded talk; but only for a season: whereas year after year food is the universal theme of discussion all over the world. By 'unguarded' we mean interlarded with positive assertions which not only the speaker knows to be very doubtful, but all the hearers as well. These assertions concern the physiological effect of food on ourselves and other people at large.

One cannot live long in England without hearing it said that we all eat too much. But how startling the paradox! If a stranger, or even a friend, hints to his fellow-citizen that he—the latter—over-eats, the relation between the two is at once strained. If the charge is pressed home there supervenes what is commonly termed a row.

The explanation is that when uttered in the form of an accusation it galls; as all accusations do which are felt to be true. When the affirmation is made in the form of a confession the motive is plain. The speaker, being a little ashamed of himself, wishes to hear others admit the same fault, as it is a kind of consolation to know that we are not alone in our misdoings. If we were habitually, instead of very rarely, quite honest, A. when accused would say to B., 'To be sure I do; and it would please me to learn that you do the same.' But a dialogue on these lines must be very rare.

In view, then, of this agreement among the best witnesses—individuals accusing themselves—it was interesting to read a mild controversy in *The Times* which opened with the emphatic generalisation that all Englishmen are under-fed. A very sensible letter appeared the next day qualifying this and pointing out that a very large number of people eat too much in bulk but yet not enough in nutrition. No sooner does the 'man in the street' catch the sound of this word than he anxiously inquires what food is more nourishing than what he already eats—secretly determined to adopt it *if it suits his taste*, but if it does not, to avoid it as long as he lives. For it is quite possible, in this obscure department of

[illegible] true is merely the appearance of a thing, not the thing itself. What you see when you look at a pie is the delicate brown colouring of the crust, but that is not the pie itself. The pie itself, its inward essence, you cannot see, and you will get no real satisfaction from it until you get under the crust of it. So you may look at life from the outside until you are, in a manner of speaking, black in the face, but you cannot really know what it is like until you get inside it.

The only complete privacy which a man without a home of his own enjoys is the privacy of his mind, but he cannot take full advantage of that until he has a home. It is therefore a man's mind which a home houses more than his body. He might shelter from the weather in any cave or shed, or, like the lower animals, become hardened to exposure. It is because men have minds that they have homes, not merely because they have bodies. I imagine that if ever man did evolve from the same stocks from which apes evolved the point when he became a man was when he began to build a house. Under God's heaven he was a worm, but under his own roof he was a god. A house is an inside, and in a literal sense it is inside life, because all life and eternity are outside it. A home is a little world, but it is not an intolerably large one like the universe; rather, it is a tolerably small one. It is far more interesting and satisfying and safe, and makes life more extensive to see it from the inside than from the outside.

That is why sociologists and professors of various sorts sometimes never learn secrets of life which are known to all ordinary men, and why sometimes the learning of the common man transcends the learning of the student. The student sees life from the outside, and may or may not deduce the truth about it from his detached standpoint, but the common man has inside knowledge of it. To use a phrase of Mr. Chesterton's, he has been taken in by it. Samuel Butler was above all a homely philosopher. He started from homely truths and came back always to them. He did not go outside life in order to think, and never had academic and abstracted people a more doughty opponent than he.

HUBERT E. O'TOOLE.

[illegible] and [illegible] public problems [illegible] ... the public problems are only the private ones writ large, [illegible] no larger or smaller in any real sense than those to which they are accustomed?

When we talk of human life in the manner of the academic philosopher we seem to be dealing with something remote and dull, but when we talk of men's lives in the manner of the dramatist we feel that we are considering something vast and vivid. The dramatist gets on the most intimate terms possible with humanity. He does not invite you to climb with him to the top of a mountain, but rather asks you to go and live in somebody's house for a while. It is only people who see them from a distance who think that the problems of home life are small, and it is only people who see them at close quarters who know that they are the largest problems of all, just as the more intimate the terms on which you live with people the larger and more interesting they become—every one like a character in a novel.

In truth I imagine that it is not in the large world that the human mind expands, but in the small home, and that the home is the counterpart, the material projection, of the mind; for as none may follow you when you retire within yourself, so privacy is a *sine qua non* of home life also. The legendary Englishman whom Mr. Shaw ridiculed does not wish his home to be considered inviolable because he is a misanthrope and desires to be always alone. As well say that any man is a prig and a boor because he does not take anybody and everybody into his confidence and make a common of his mind. The Englishman may conceivably have an idea that he has a natural right to privacy and that the person most competent to decide who is to enter his home, and who is not, is himself. He may have an idea that the exercise of that right has a beneficent influence on himself and gives him a sense of manly independence. He may have an ineradicable idea that promiscuity is peculiar to the lower animals, and that the only real way of calling his soul his own is by having a home of his own.

The general idea of mere publicity, which is what is really at the back of the modern attack on the home, seems to involve the throwing open of all personal and private places because they may, and sometimes do, hide a great many undesirable things; the contention seems to be that nothing should have an inside in case that inside might be bad. But you cannot have an outside to a thing if there is no inside to it; even if you turn a thing inside out there is still an inside to it. The inside of a thing is not necessarily more agreeable or more pleasant than the outside;

[illegible] by others. It is really and truly his [illegible] only there of earth does he know what it feels like to be [illegible] host and only there is he one with the highest of [illegible], a king. There is a very real sense, therefore, in which the great world outside is a gigantic cage, because there is no escape from it except into the home.

This is different from a certain fashionable conception of the terms of home life as cramping and confining and from Ibsen's idea of the home as a doll's house. Mr. Shaw, like a good Ibsenite and one who has distilled the quintessence of Ibsenism, has poured ridicule on the popular idea that 'an Englishman's house is his castle,' rather as if a sensible Englishman ought to put no restrictions on entrance to his home, and even, perhaps, not be angry if on stepping in one evening he found a neighbour engaged in peeling from the wall a particular paper which was odious to him or smashing up some ornaments which disgusted him. But there is undoubtedly a sense in which, as Mr. G. K. Chesterton has pointed out, home life widens the interests, the sense that there is so much to be done at home. When a housewife unburdens herself feelingly on this inescapable problem of home life she refers more to the variety of the things which must be done than their size. When she says there is always *something* to be done she does not mean that the something is always the same thing; she is rather inclined to complain that it is always something different. 'A woman's work is never done' does not mean that she is forever turning some handle or another, but that she is obliged to turn her hand to an extraordinary variety of things. That variety of things tends to widen her interests. She may not be particularly good at figures, but if the financial part of the problem, say, were to be given to somebody else because that somebody was better at figures than she, whatever small interest she had in them would disappear.

People are fond of talking in a large sort of way of the problems of public life, as if the size of a problem was determined by the size of the things with which it is concerned. According to this principle the problem of feeding horses is much larger than the problem of feeding chickens, and the problem of making a watch is much smaller than that of making a mud wall. A house is a little world, and social arrangements in the great world are merely enlarged reproductions of private ones. There is, I verily believe, not one phase of public life, from political manœuvring to international diplomacy, which is not reproduced in little in private life. Surely people who are in touch with ways and means

[illegible] that nothing which is made or done by man can possibly be truly impersonal, and that any attempt to make it impersonal only results in making it more personal than ever. No organised scheme can be accomplished without thinking, and when the thinking is not done by the many it must be done by the few. There is on everything which has ever been done by men the inescapable stamp of one man. Man is an abstraction and a chimera; civilisations have not been made by man, but by men. We do not talk of the things which were accomplished by Napoleon's armies so much as of what Napoleon did in Europe. We speak absurdly, as if they had been fighting a private duel, of a general winning a battle against another general; and we are quite right, for they were fighting a duel, and their weapons were their respective armies.

Just as a general's army is an extension of his personality, every organisation of men, nominally impersonal, is infused with the irrational and illogical tastes of some one man. It looks, however vaguely, like somebody all over. It has the mystic shape and outline of a man. No society or league has ever existed which functioned spontaneously; it is dependent to a greater or less extent on the energy and personality of some one man. Communal gardens would not be so much public gardens as the private gardens of their respective head gardeners which had been thrown open to the public, and those estimable men would always suffer from a vague feeling that the public had no right to be there.

For every man there are two worlds—the world outside him and that in his own mind. We say that a man indulges in reflection; but the metaphor is not a sound one, for the human mind is anything but a mere stupid mirror which can do nothing but reflect the world as it is; it is a mirror which is so clever that it is capable of reflecting almost anything. One man's mind can be so startlingly different from another's as to make common action in some things impossible; as well ask clashing colours to go well together. In such circumstances union is weakness. That is one reason why it is natural for a man to have a home of his own and property with which to do what he likes for no reason than because he likes it. A home gives him an opportunity of satisfying his personal tastes, in support of which he can give no rational reason whatever. If there was any such thing as an ideal home which would suit everybody equally well, the matter would be enormously simplified; but there is no such thing, and anything which purports to be such is a snare and a delusion. In a sense a

[illegible] suffering from a pain in his back attributable to a lack of funds, and of comparing a man's purse to his stomach (a trace of his biological speculations, for he was so obsessed with these that they were never far from his thoughts and were liable to creep into everything he wrote), for, he contended, was it not essential for a man's existence that both should be filled at regular intervals?

Butler's conception of property as an extension of the person of the owner of it is very suggestive. A man usually impresses himself on everything which he owns. In nothing is this better shown than in the most intimate of all property—clothes. It is a familiar fact that a coat, for example, acquires some of the atmosphere and figure of the owner of it, so that when one sees it on a peg something about it reminds one of him, as if a little of him lingered about it even when he was far away. In a similar way I think that anything which a man owns (and uses) comes to look like him, to remind people of him. It is as if he sprawled all over it in order to impress himself on it; indeed, there is a popular phrase about something characteristic of a man that it is that man all over.

Even by the mere act of choosing flowers for his garden or pictures for his walls a man expresses himself. If he had no garden, but merely a share—an intangible share, that is to say, not an allotment—in a public park or no house, but merely a share in a communal institution, his interest in the flowers in the park or in the superb pictures with which the institution might conceivably be decorated would be next to nothing except in so far as they represented expressions of the tastes of the public gardener or of the public decorator, for it may well be doubted whether there is any such thing as a public taste. It seems absurd to argue that because people enjoy certain things in private, where they are not obliged to share them with anyone else if they do not choose to do so, they would enjoy them equally well if they were forced to share them with anybody and everybody—in other words, that nobody would particularly object if apples were eaten on the principle that no two bites were necessarily taken from the same apple by the same person.

Does it not seem fallacious to contend that if thousands of private gardens, hampered and retarded as they are by the limitations of single owners, were only to be lumped into a few public gardens and placed in charge of expert gardeners the public gardens would be in any effective sense expressions of the [illegible]

[illegible] of the quiet English gentleman, and the [illegible] [illegible] almost of the insuppressible Irishman. At [illegible] [illegible] 'took him up' and began to bellow about his [illegible] [illegible],' he declared as he contemplated the neglect of [illegible] [illegible] English do not deserve to have great men.' It may be [illegible] [illegible] passing that such a method of drawing attention to [illegible] [illegible] eminently calculated to work on the great vanity of the [illegible] people, seems to have been wholly unsuited to the case of [illegible] English people, who, I think, are not particularly anxious to [illegible] to have great men; so that it might possibly have been better, from the point of view of Butler's literary success, if Mr. Shaw had never sponsored him at all.

Mr. Shaw claims Butler as intellectual parent, and undoubtedly many people would never have heard of Butler, much less read his books, if they had not read Mr. Shaw's prefaces. Many people also, I suppose, who have read about Butler in Mr. Shaw's prefaces, but have not got any further in regard to him, may be under the impression that Butler was a Socialist, but it is another [illegible] thing about Butler that he was very distinctly not a Socialist. Butler would have been one of the last men to wish to abolish ownership or private property, simply because a love of privacy and a sense of being a law unto himself was quite inseparable from the man. When Mr. Shaw was attacking gentlemen on the ground that they did nothing, Butler was defending them on the same ground. That Butler had that sense of privacy and of being a law unto himself is one of the things which most forcibly strike the reader who goes from Shaw to Butler. Many people must have been disappointed to find Butler's writings so ordinary, so prosaic, and even so dull as they are after Mr. Shaw's. Personally I was disappointed with *The Way of All Flesh*, especially the first portions of it in which there are numerous almost Chesterfieldian arguments in favour of people doing things for themselves, even if they do them badly, and because nobody in the book is really particularly clever or full of new and epoch-making discoveries as the Shavian heroes and heroines (if one may so describe the central figures in Mr. Shaw's plays) are inclined to be.

There is, however, in Butler's writings much whimsical [illegible] [illegible] life, and he advanced one or two peculiar theories, as, for example, that it would be much more logical to punish people for bodily ailments and treat them on a therapeutic basis for moral [illegible] than to adhere to the usual practice. One of his pet theories

LIFE FROM THE INSIDE

SAMUEL BUTLER, whose writings have recently received the attention which was denied them in his lifetime, was rather a peculiar Victorian figure and in some ways rather a peculiar man. He lived at the time when the dull Darwinian theory of 'natural selection' as an explanation of the alleged evolution of man from the lower animals was making great headway in men's minds, and one peculiar thing about him was that, although he had abandoned preparation for holy orders because he had decided that the scientific theory was more credible than the Biblical story of creation (which it would appear he took literally), he subsequently came to oppose Darwinism, and in a series of cogent books gave to an almost unheeding world very damaging arguments against that theory.

Another peculiar thing about him was that he was much more interested in the things about which he wrote than he was in his own success as a writer. Never, one might almost say, was a man less professional in his attitude towards his own literary work than he. He lived on a private income and made little or no money by his books. He was excessively jealous of his privacy, and with even more truth than Mr. G. K. Chesterton said of Thackeray, that at bottom he desired to be regarded as a private gentleman and to be left alone, I think the same might be said of Samuel Butler. But just as there was, I fancy, in Thackeray's attitude towards his own work rather too much of the gentleman who writes because he wants to make money, there was in Butler's attitude too much of the gentleman who had much rather not make money. He said in a slightly contemptuous way that he believed he could have succeeded in the way in which Dickens was then succeeding if he had liked. The truth is probably that he was a very shy man, and with all the disingenuousness of the type he tried to persuade himself that it was better to be alone than in good company. Nevertheless he was an ingenious and attractive writer and a kindly and sympathetic man. There is a certain intimate quality in his writings which can only be described as homely.

His books scarcely achieved even a mild popularity ([illegible] the

Nevertheless, to recognise the part that poetry should play in a child's education is not the same thing as to be able to teach it worthily. In this matter the right teacher is not always easy to find; and that is a pity, for in nothing so much as in the teaching of literature, and especially of poetry, to young children, is it true to say that bad teaching is worse than no teaching at all.

AUBREY DE SÉLINCOURT.

sound, that poetry is, as the Greek philosopher put it, the most serious and philosophic of the arts, and requires, therefore, for its understanding a completer surrender than any of the others—for this very reason, I say, it is of all the arts the one which has most power to move an immature mind For in a child's mind the purely intellectual faculty is still unawakened, and any art which depends for its understanding upon that faculty (as, in the main, does prose literature, for instance) cannot touch it at all; but the world of poetry is a world that anyone can enter. Once inside it, a child or a man will penetrate just so far as his own growth allows him; and there are few who have been able to say with Keats that they can read Shakespeare, or indeed any other of our greatest poets, 'to his depths'

It is interesting to note that a number of anthologies for schools have appeared during recent years, which seem to show that their compilers are beginning to recognise that in the matter of poetry children are not such fools as they were once supposed to be. But many of them, I have observed, are still defaced with too abundant notes, and a 'questionnaire' This is significant, and is more, perhaps, than just a relic of a barbarous past, for it suggests the sort of use to which the makers of such anthologies expect their books to be put Literary commentaries are dangerous things for young people and more often than not defeat their own object, however much they may facilitate the task of the teacher. There is very little indeed that one can teach children *about* literature, for children are not interested in such things, and should not be expected to be so, but to teach literature itself is a different matter and a more profitable one Indeed it should be the basis of all education so long as the relation of it to the life of the child is properly conceived And in the teaching of literature, poetry should come before prose in the education of children, just as it came before prose in the history of civilisation Beauty and passion are the qualities which distinguish poetry from prose and the sense of beauty and the faculty of quick emotional response are natural to all healthy children, as anyone knows who has enjoyed, not suffered, their society from the earliest years of their life Right growth depends more than is often thought upon the preservation of this sense of beauty, and upon its gradual and continuous broadening and deepening as the years go by, until it appears to the spirit in which it resides as something more than an immediate and delighted apprehension of the world about it, and is revealed as one of the main highways to truth. The young mind in which the innate sense of beauty is not crushed, as it so often is crushed, by unillumined teaching, will learn, as no other can, gradually to bear its necessary burden of increasing knowledge, which will itself be thereby irradiated.

lyric on the theme of love, delicate and sweet and true to ears that can hear it; but to minds inexperienced and immature, which take those quintessential spirits for clay, there can be nothing in their speech but words.

Poetry for schoolchildren should be 'simple, sensuous, passionate,' as Milton required that all poetry should be. One need not trouble overmuch about its 'difficulty'; for the difficulty of poetry is brought to it by the reader, and, if the poetry is good, the wiser the reader is the more 'difficulty' will he find in it. There are some poets, no doubt, who by a merely superficial difficulty of style are unsuitable for children, such as Milton himself, though even in the *Paradise Lost* there are thunders which a youthful ear can catch and wonder at, provided that the sound of them is not dimmed by injudicious commentary. It is not hard in the vast range of our English poetry to find enough and to spare which is simple, sensuous and passionate. The better it is, the more readily will children respond to it, and no greater mistake could be made than to suppose that children should be started on their poetical education by reading verses such, for instance, as *John Gilpin* or Macaulay's *Lays of Ancient Rome*, on the ground, as it is sometimes supposed, that they are 'easier' than much of what is acknowledged to be true poetry. To almost all normally intelligent children over the age of seven or eight (and to some even before that age) the appeal of the old Scottish and English ballads, with their bare, vivid, vigorous language and depth of dramatic feeling, will be far greater than that of the amiable Gilpin; the nightmare loveliness, more potent than dreams, of the *Ancient Mariner* can cast its spell upon them; they will feel a stir, however dim their understanding of whence it comes, at the sense of earth's almost intolerable richness in some of the stanzas of Keats' *Nightingale* and *Autumn* odes, or at the savage and splendid beauty of the sea in tempest, as in Mr. Masefield's *Dauber* or Shelley's *Vision of the Sea*, at the sudden revelation of familiar aspects of the natural world, coming, as they do, so quietly and with such perfection of simple speech, in Tennyson when—for one instance amongst thousands—he speaks of the level lake and the 'long glories of the winter moon'; at the expression of deep emotion, whether of anger, or contempt, or love, as when Satan was hurled 'in hideous ruin and combustion down to bottomless perdition,' or when Whitman laments for his friend and leader 'fallen cold and dead.' That a child's understanding of such poetry is peculiar to itself, and in no way comparable to the adult understanding, is, I repeat, of no importance. Moreover, the understanding of poetry is, for all of us, not an activity of the intellect alone, but of the whole being, or of the spirit; and for this very reason, paradoxical though it may

such feelings in other people. All poetry, therefore, that carries the burden of these things inevitably finds its response in their minds. The panic terror of Macbeth on the night of the murder, the moment of impassioned loyalty which makes Antony kneel by the body of the dead Julius, the despair of Richard when he knows that his hopes are gone, and can speak of nothing but of worms and epitaphs, the noble end of Cleopatra's lover, and her own dying words, so overwhelming in their beauty—'Peace, peace; can you not see my baby at my breast, that sucks the nurse asleep?'—even Lear's wild defiance of the storm: all these things—and one could extend the list indefinitely—are by their very nature at once intelligible to boys and girls, and capable of moving them. For such passages are the direct and impassioned expression of heightened feeling; and it is precisely to this that all immature minds most readily respond. It matters little that in all Shakespeare there are many words that children are not familiar with—a wise teacher will know which to explain, and which to ignore; and at any rate the linguistic difficulty is not enough to impede their quick response to the spirit of the poetry.

To turn from Shakespearian tragedy to Shakespearian comedy is to find oneself in a different world of poetic experience; and the world of the latter is not one in which immature minds can move with any sort of freedom. This is an important fact in any consideration of the use of poetry for children; for it is a common error, natural enough in many ways, to suppose that a play such, for instance, as *As You Like It* will be more readily enjoyed by children than the much profounder and more difficult *Hamlet* or *Macbeth*. The real truth is the reverse of this. Shakespearian comedy, and indeed all genuine comedy, presents a world which is intelligible only to a full and mature mind; the enjoyment of comedy is first and last an intellectual enjoyment. Great tragedy can move almost any listener, simply because it has, in addition to everything else, a strong emotional appeal; it is possible, therefore, to respond to that appeal even though one does not in the least understand the full significance of the play as a whole. 'Come, a passionate speech,' says Hamlet to the players; and indeed we would all on occasion say the same. The pleasure in hearing a 'passionate speech' is universal. The speaker becomes ourselves as we listen to him; he sweeps us with him. But to enjoy comedy it is necessary to be, as it were, above the persons in the play, and to observe them from a certain eminence of our own. The spirit of comedy is a secure and Olympian spirit, wise in the working of all passion and delight, but never to be caught in the nets they spread for unwary feet. Rosalind and Orlando in the forest weave with their quick wits and lovely mockery a

For the understanding of poetry, it should be remembered, is not an absolute thing, like the understanding of a theorem in geometry. One cannot take a poem and explain it; one can only indicate in a general way the particular effect it has upon oneself, and to do even that at all adequately demands in its turn a capacity for expression at any rate comparable to that of the poet himself. Hence the permanence of great art, and the reason why it does not grow stale. A good poem is a sort of taking-off place for voyages of thought, or of spiritual experience, the extent of which is limited only by the capacity of the reader. Now the extent of such a voyage is of course small enough in the case of children; but the fact that its extent is limited does not matter: what matters is that it should take place at all.

That in fact it does take place cannot be doubted for an instant by anyone who has had the good sense and tact to present poetry to a class of schoolboys in a natural manner—without fuss, that is to say, or in any way making it appear that poetic speech differs in kind from common speech, and is therefore something to be learned before it can be understood. 'Poetry,' said Coleridge, 'is the best words in the best order', and, incomplete though this is as a definition, it is nevertheless useful for our present purpose, as it emphasises the important truth that the function of poetry is to say something which cannot be said in prose, and that the enjoyment of it, far from being the mysterious and peculiar privilege of the few, is—or ought to be—the natural possession of all normally intelligent people. The uneducated Athenian enjoyed his Æschylus

When one comes to consider *what* poetry is most likely to appeal to boys, one cannot but think first (without any breach with tradition) of Shakespeare Shakespeare has been 'taught' in schools for many a long year, but it is true that he has not always been enjoyed, as anyone will remember who did battle in his youth with the voluminous notes, and derivations through three languages, of that infamous School Edition. But any teacher who has the good sense to remove the commentaries which stand like an impenetrable zareba in front of a boy's understanding of Shakespeare, will be surprised at how much is then revealed to his immature and eager mind The Hamlet whom the boy knows will not be the same Hamlet as his teacher knows; he will not even be a shadow of him. He will be a different person altogether (as indeed he is different to each one of ourselves). But he will not therefore be less real, or less moving. Children have their own passions and their own emotions, fresh and vigorous enough, and fortunately without complexity; they have their own conception of the meaning of such things as courage, and grief, and love, and fear, and loyalty, and they recognise the expression of

adventure and bloodshed are the natural, if not the only, food of a boy's imagination.

I would not deny that tales of adventure and bloodshed are attractive to boys—and to girls too; nor would I presume to regret that they are so. But I would emphasise as strongly as I can that their imagination is not to be satisfied by such highly seasoned fare alone. That it could be so satisfied was an error which originated, naturally enough, in the days when the general tenor of children's education was so far remote from any active and spontaneous interest on the part of the children themselves, that to win their sympathy at all it was necessary to sound a trumpet peal by way of warning that something different from the customary routine was coming Nothing but the most violent assault upon their imaginative interest could hope for success; it was that or nothing The children listened, and we were glad of it, we congratulated ourselves on having found something, however small, to sugar the literary pill. But how, we asked ourselves, could we expect them to find any pleasure in poetry of any other sort?

The truth is that children are more likely to find pleasure in poetry than are grown men and women The proportion of grown men and women who, not being compelled, ever open a book of verse is not large, and of those who, having opened one, find any delight in doing so, the proportion is considerably smaller. Even the poets, one sometimes feels, have ceased in these latter days to care much for poetry, and are seeking, too many of them, some subsidiary stimulus to prick their readers' attention, and flattering their own ingenuity and the public ear by some new oddity of manner or audacity of speech But, not to speak of them, there is no doubt that the majority of so-called educated people have lost the power of being moved by poetry I say advisedly that they have 'lost' it, for, contrary to the general belief, the power of response to poetry is not, or should not be, the peculiar privilege of comparatively few, unusual people, but is a quite natural, and indeed inevitable, part of every human mind which is not imbecile or defective, provided it has not been crushed out by ignorance or stupidity in early youth.

Children of the preparatory school age have a healthy appetite for facts, and a great capacity for feeling, but they are necessarily without much knowledge or power of criticism or reflection; they accept a fact, but reject the inference from it. They are full of natural curiosity, and interested in the sound and feeling and shape and smell of things; their emotions are not yet blunted by custom, or complicated by accumulated experience; hence their response to emotional stimulus (in poetry or elsewhere), though less profound, will be more immediate than that of an adult

erected between the boys' minds and a pleasure which is naturally their own. Indeed, one might express what I mean by the paradox that the teacher of literature, where young people are concerned, is wise in proportion to the extent to which he refrains from teaching.

I am speaking, of course, of boys (and I suppose of girls too) of the preparatory school age, between the years, that is, of nine and thirteen. Those years form a period of great importance in a child's mental development, and the refusal to recognise certain elementary facts about the nature of a child's mind during that period may have evil effects, the extent of which it is hard to calculate. One of those facts is its activity To say so seems flat and obvious enough ; yet it is surprising how often in educational practice it is overlooked. A child's mind is active and hungry , it desires food, and a necessary quality in food is not that it should fill, but that it should be capable of being transmuted into energy

One of the weightiest arguments against a classical education as it is at present conducted is the fact that so small a proportion of either Greek or Latin literature is suitable in content to the minds of children at the age at which they are compelled to begin the study of those languages This is true at any rate with respect to the prose literature of antiquity , Greek poetry is in the main too difficult, and though Homer seems an obvious exception, he is ruled out for beginners on linguistic grounds. The mind must have food if it is to grow, and unless the food which is offered to it is acceptable it will be very promptly rejected. To read a book, slowly and painfully, in a foreign language, and find no particular interest in the subject-matter, is to dine off a skeleton carcase ; and that is what is commonly done when we offer our boys their daily portion of Cæsar or Livy, or Ovid or Xenophon In three of these writers, to be sure, there is plenty of fine narrative of stirring events about which the imagination can play · the march of the remnant of the Greek army through the mountains of Armenia, and indeed the whole story of that romantic byway of history , the stupendous spectacle of the Carthaginians crossing the Alpine barrier ; the tale of Masinissa hunted like a hare by Bucar through the mountains and caves of Africa—a tale to surpass in incident any film shown for the delight of modern youth hungry for sensation ; even the long history of the campaigns in Gaul, the prelude to one of the grandest ventures in the history of the world—all these, and plenty more, are well enough, if the teacher can keep the whole picture from disintegrating under the deadly acid of the subjunctive mood. But they are not enough ; and he who thinks that

The word 'stimulus' is perhaps inappropriate; for my own observation leads me to believe that the task of a teacher who would help boys to love poetry and understand it is, apart from the obvious duty of himself enjoying what he is endeavouring to teach, mainly of a negative sort. Customs change slowly; and the attitude of mind which lies at the back of the old usually persists long after the new has been introduced; thus, in spite of the really profound changes which have taken place in the teaching of literature to boys, the belief still lingers amongst the majority of people who are not directly concerned with education, and even amongst some of those who are, that boys, at any rate of the preparatory school age, have a distaste for poetry as natural and inevitable as their taste for fighting or football. Moreover, the curriculum of the preparatory schools is still, of course, framed with a view to the necessity of winning scholarships at the public schools, and of getting boys through the common entrance examination, just as the curriculum of the public schools is still, though to a smaller extent, governed by the requirements of the universities The effect upon the teaching of literature at the preparatory schools caused by this enforced concentration of purpose is as difficult to combat as it is in itself ruinous. A clever boy of fourteen upon entering his public school may not know as much Greek and Latin as John Stuart Mill knew at the same age, or even as much as the scholars of the last generation, nevertheless, the recognised standard is still reasonably high, especially if one takes into account the increased knowledge which is now demanded of a 'scholar' in other subjects, such as a modern language, mathematics, and even science. One result of this premature intensive study of the classics is that no teacher, though with the best will in the world, can hope to present some of the grandest literature of all time other than as a field for laborious linguistic effort Latin poets (Virgil and Ovid) have to be studied, because they are useful, and even necessary, for examination purposes; but it is impossible, except in rare and precious moments, that they should ever appear as poets. Now it is these two things—on the one hand, the erroneous belief, yet living, that children have a natural distaste for poetry as such, and that the enjoyment of it can come only at the expense of long years and labour, and, on the other, the injurious effect of premature analytical study upon the genial sensibilities—that are the chief obstacles in the way of a teacher who is trying to open to his pupils a natural approach to a natural pleasure. These obstacles the teacher has to overcome; or rather, as I hinted before, he has to do what he can to break down the artificial barriers which custom on the one hand, and the still necessary labour of minute linguistic study on the other, have

POETRY FOR PREPARATORY SCHOOLBOYS

ALL who are interested in the development of the theory and practice of education during recent years will have observed the increasing emphasis which is being laid upon the value, at all stages of a child's growth, of encouraging original creative work. There is already an abundant literature upon the subject; and there is no difficulty in finding, scattered up and down that literature, plenty of actual evidence that at any rate the immediate fruits of this attempt to maintain a juster balance between the critical and creative impulses are well worth the gathering. The Perse Play Books, a series of volumes of schoolboy poetry, are already well known, a very interesting collection of essays by Mr. Mackaness, of the Fort Street High School, Sydney, who himself acknowledges his debt to the vigorous and enthusiastic experiments of Mr Caldwell Cook, contains many examples of excellent verse and prose written by boys at the school; and I might mention also the recent appearance of a volume by Mr. J. H. Whitehouse, which contains reproductions of woodcuts, watercolours and models, done by boys at Bembridge School, and showing true originality and power of a most remarkable kind. Anyone who is curious enough to examine these examples, and many others like them, of schoolboys' creative work will be as ready to recognise their intrinsic merits as to wonder at the ferment which has been working, often silently enough, in the body of educational ideals since the days, not very far distant, when the grand old fortifying curriculum of Greek and Latin was enough, and the weekly 'English' lesson, if indeed it existed at all, was either a jest or a recognised holiday.

From the fact that boys even—and in some ways, I think, especially—between the ages of ten and fourteen are able, under proper stimulation, to write verse which is not merely imitative, it would follow, one might suppose, that they are also able to read with satisfaction, and consequently with profit, the verses of other people. And it is quite true that they can, though here again the right stimulus is required, and a knowledge of the kinds of poetry, or rather of the quality of feeling expressed in poetry, to which they can respond.

two could be taken from Group IV. as counting towards the minimum five required, then all might be satisfied. The universities and professional bodies could exact quite rightly their requirements; some scholars could drop a language, as Lord Eustace Percy suggests; the headmistresses could offer as many subjects as they like in Group IV. as long as three subjects come from Groups I. and II. or I. and III., and the employers, parents, and governing bodies could make a legitimate use of the examination. It would have the advantage that the standard in the individual subject need not be lowered in the slightest degree.

In fact, it would be quite possible to raise the standard in some subjects as the bottom of the examination list in such subjects would not be so overloaded by weaklings as at present. And, finally, such a certificate would be a satisfactory test of a good general education and would show that a pupil had profited by a course of secondary education, the particular and detailed evidence of which would be endorsed in terms of the subjects inscribed on the school certificate

TERRY THOMAS.

only—the universities and professional bodies fulcrum, i.e., the academic fulcrum. The majority of the pupils will not go to the university or adopt a profession, yet they must have the standard academic balance, or not take the school certificate examination. Employers are advised not to accept the present certificate. Parents are not to be encouraged to expect it. Yet the headmistresses are told that the objection to the new certificate would be that it would not satisfy employers or parents. Again, the Board are prepared to recommend the examining bodies to accept two subjects from Group IV, thus making at least one subject in each of the other three groups compulsory. It is urged that the headmistresses' proposal would mean that only two subjects from the first three groups would be tested if the other three are taken from Group IV This is no doubt true and a weakness in the famous memorandum It means that the proper balance would not be maintained, but this does not mean that such a test would not test what it set out to test Lord Eustace Percy says that *if two subjects from the first three groups and three from* Group IV were tested, such a test would not be a test of the results of the school curriculum This does not appear to mean exactly what it says. If such a course were the school curriculum, then obviously the test would be a test of this curriculum. Perhaps it is meant that such a test would not be a test of the standard curriculum as laid down by the Board. This position, of course, can be maintained, but it really brings us back to the position of a fixed curriculum based on a first examination—that is, the examination rules control the curriculum.

It will be seen that the present position is thoroughly confused We all agree that the curriculum should be balanced. The dispute is about the balance What is the acid test to be? Surely the question reduces itself to the function of secondary education. If it is to be a preparation for life and not for the narrower life of the university or profession, the balance selected must be that to suit the greatest good of the greatest number. This points to more freedom, and not only the satisfaction of university and professional requirements. This can be obtained by a gradual process of relaxing the group requirements rather than by dropping languages or by making fresh examinations or by evading the examinations altogether. With a reasonable freedom the universities, the professional bodies, the employers, the parents, and above all the children, can be satisfied in one universal examination. But this cannot be obtained except by more liberty of choice. If the regulations laid down that at least five subjects must be taken, of which one must come from Group I. (the English group) and the others from at least two of the Groups II., III., and IV., with a safeguard that not more than

dates preparing for different certificates and a different examination where the whole difficulty could be met by a modification of the group requirements? There is admittedly a difficulty. Is a new examination going to solve it? Is a separate examination for boys and girls, as suggested by the Headmasters' Conference resolution, going to solve it? If there were a new examination and differentiation between boys and girls, the lot of the mixed school would indeed be hard Super-organisers would be required in these schools. But if this would solve the problem, perhaps it would be worth while

Another turn has been given to the controversy by the letters of the President of the Board of Education to the Headmistresses' Association. There are some curious passages in this correspondence. For example, it is stated that some schools could drop a foreign language altogether and that if they did not take the first examination the Board would think none the worse of them Under the present regulations for certificates, candidates from such schools would not satisfy the group requirements, and, of course, could not obtain a certificate however wide and good the educational standard Lord Eustace Percy admits that the failures are too high, and that it would seem desirable to drop the languages in the case of some pupils It is suggested that we can have freedom if we will only take it This suggestion does not seem to make proper allowance for the views of parents and of the public in general. Desirable as it might seem, the time for that complete freedom from examinations is not yet The parents would not tolerate it, nor are the conditions of entry into the work of life so adjusted as to give the boy from a non-certificate school a chance. Such schools would soon die of their own freedom, and the problem would remain in the others

The President of the Board then goes on to say that the object of the examination was to test the results of the school curriculum, although later it is said that the examination result is to be treated as 'evidence of the attainment by a pupil of a certain standard preparatory to a further course of education or training.' First, it is to test the school curriculum. Now it is to test the individual pupil Further, employers are advised not to accept the certificate as the sole or even the main test in choosing fit candidates for a life of action. Nor is the examination to be taken by governing bodies as a test of efficiency. Nor should it be used to satisfy the parents All these uses by employers, governing bodies, and parents are illegitimate uses. The only true and legitimate use appears to be that made by the universities and professional bodies. Later we are told a proper balance must be maintained in the school curriculum. That is agreed. But about what fulcrum? The answer appears to be one fulcrum, and one

[illegible] Should the great majority in the schools be made to conform to the requirements which the minority must satisfy? Many are prepared to give an emphatic negative to this question, whilst others say that the present requirements are the safest and the best.

The difficulties, then, are obvious. This is clear from the fact that Dr. Norwood in his presidential address at the British Association in 1928 devoted a considerable time to the question. What is the solution to be? Many are completely in a fog and cannot see which way to turn. Various constructive suggestions have been offered. Dr. Norwood in his address admits the difficulty, but comes down on the side of retaining the group system because he fears that it is easier to relax a standard than to recover it. He takes an example of a certificate embodying English, history, geography, Latin, French, mathematics and science, and says that it is *primâ facie* not the same article as one in English, elementary science, drawing, handicraft and shorthand, or one in English, botany, music, drawing and needlework. That is agreed. For instance, there are seven subjects in the first-mentioned certificate and only five subjects in the others. Also the case for the new certificate has been weakened by the inclusion of three Group IV. subjects to suit the purpose of Dr. Norwood's argument. He then goes on to say that he is not going to argue which is the better course. He cites the case as an attempt to prove that under the suggested new arrangement things which are not equal to one another are equal to the same thing. The number of subjects and the subjects themselves have been selected so as to give special weight to the argument. Unfortunately for the argument, under the present arrangement of groups, discarding for the moment all reference to Group IV., it can be proved that certificates which are supposed to be equal are not equal to the same thing. Thus five credits in three groups will earn a certificate as well as one credit and four passes. They are not nearly equal, but they both earn a certificate. And, further, it is possible to prove that the greater is not equal to the lesser. Thus six or seven credits in two groups are not equal to one credit and four passes in three groups as far as the certificate-earning power is concerned, for the former does not qualify for a certificate, whilst the latter does. For every example of apparent inequality under the new system a rebutting and glaring illustration could be given under the three-group system.

Dr. Norwood makes a further concrete suggestion. He suggests in effect that there should be two school certificates, and also, incidentally, two higher school certificates. That would undoubtedly meet the case. But is it worth while to cause all this disturbance with schools where there would be groups of candi-

is kept in the curriculum without the necessity of compulsion in the first examination? Cannot the heads of schools be trusted? Again, is it at all certain that the general standard of work will fall? The fact that the proposals for reform are supported by the High Master of Manchester Grammar School and the Headmaster of Bradford Grammar School, schools in which the highest standard of work is maintained, shows that dangers of a falling off in the level of attainment are not serious. On the contrary, it can be maintained that the present system tends to lower the standard in individual subjects, for too high a standard in a language might compromise the whole results of the examination. As it is, the subjects react on one another, and often the standard has to be lowered in one subject in order not to do injustice to other subjects and to ensure that a proper number of candidates obtain certificates. Further, the whole position of those who oppose reform is compromised by the application of compensation between groups. In this way candidates who get a sufficiently high standard in other groups may be relieved of the three-group obligation. This seems to concede the position. Either the three-group system should be maintained or not. Some go as far as to say that compensation is immoral and should be abolished.

Another important objection is that the present examination is used by the universities for matriculation purposes and by professional bodies in lieu of a professional preliminary examination. It is stated that a change in the group system would imperil the present position. But is that necessary? The universities could still exact their requirements from their entrants, and these latter would have to satisfy the group system. Their certificates would be none the less valuable, nor would the standard of attainment be altered because other candidates were awarded certificates gained in other subjects which might not satisfy the group system. Giving more freedom in the choice of subjects does not affect the standard in the individual subjects. The standard of a matriculation certificate would be just the same as before. The same argument can be used to convince the professional bodies. It is no harder to pass through a wood by certain selected tracks because others are allowed to pass through the wood in a freer manner. The standard of difficulty of the selected tracks will not be altered in any way by the fact that there are other avenues which do not form the prescribed course and the reward is limited to those who follow the course laid down. Further, all those who wish to compete for the reward must comply with the regulations. There is no question of freedom, as they are definite competitors for a definite reward. Now only a small percentage of those in the secondary schools take the school certificate examination with a view to going to the university or taking up professional

where the pupils' interests lie, and it surely is a sound canon of education to cultivate the interest of the child. The irksome subject is not always a language, nor yet always mathematics or science, but there are many candidates who can comfortably pass in five subjects without satisfying the group requirements. Instances could be multiplied of candidates who pass in English, history, geography, Latin, Greek and French, or in English history, mathematics, mechanics, physics and chemistry, but in neither case get a certificate Meanwhile, a poorer candidate with a bare five subjects, often at a much lower standard of mark, will obtain a certificate Is it to be wondered at that there is a feeling of injustice in the schools, amongst the candidates and, in particular, amongst the parents? Parents are usually not versed in the technicalities of school certificate regulations, and there is much resentment amongst them when they find that their child with six or seven credits does not get a certificate whilst another candidate in the same form is awarded one for one credit and four passes It should be mentioned that a credit standard corresponds roughly to 45 per cent of the possible marks in a subject and a pass standard to approximately 33 per cent

Often the aggregate marks of a candidate who fails to get a certificate because of the group requirements will considerably exceed the aggregate of one who gets a certificate Enough has been said to show the present difficulties The obvious way out seems to be some modification of the group system What are the objections to this? The general objection is that there would be a lowering of the standard of general education at present given in our secondary schools It is recognised that the first examination, amongst other things, has had a great effect in raising the work in the secondary schools to the present high standard. Nobody would like to see this standard drop. Everyone knows that there is a general levelling up going on, and that some of the best work is done by comparatively young schools. Another fear is that, if more freedom is given, certain subjects, such as French, would disappear from the curriculum of some schools. Such an effect would, of course, be lamentable, but is it necessary to have compulsion in the examination to safeguard the teaching of languages? Under the present regulations for secondary schools instruction must be given in drawing, singing, physical drill and organised games, but there is no safeguard of examination The subjects in the curriculum can be protected by the inspectors of the Board of Education and by the conditions for earning grant. Every year each school on the grant list has to give a complete account of the manner in which every minute of every teacher and every form is being spent. Cannot the Board by means of the regulations insist that a proper balance

criticism has been increasingly directed. Now there is a good deal to be said for the three-group system. It was an attempt to insist on a balanced curriculum in the schools and a balanced system of general education by means of the powerful sanction of success in the first examination. The question arises as to whether the 1917 conception of a balanced curriculum holds to-day. The headmistresses are practically unanimous in demanding that Group IV. should be treated on a parity with Groups II. and III., and they ask for a modification of the rigidity of the three-group system. They are willing that Group I. should be still compulsory, but that Group IV. may replace Group II. or Group III., and they have been supported by the Assistant Mistresses' Association. The headmasters appear to be about equally divided with a slight majority in favour of reform, and the assistant masters, who were at one time against the headmistresses' proposals, appear to be moving gradually towards the position of the headmasters. Altogether the volume of support for some reform seems to be growing, and some change in the examination on the lines suggested by the Headmistresses' Association will apparently come, but it is a matter of time. Many supporters of reform, whilst accepting the arguments of the headmistresses' memorandum, are a little nervous. They feel that perhaps the suggestions are too sweeping and will tend to lower the standard of the certificate. Others say that it would be possible to obtain a certificate which on the face of it is no measure of a good general education. Some less sweeping change would no doubt increase the numbers who would support a modification of the present three-group system. Such educationalists would admit that the examination should not determine the curriculum, that the certificate should be given to all who have reasonably profited by a four or five years' course of secondary education, that there should be greater freedom in the choice of subjects, and that Group IV. should be allowed an increased value, but they feel that to admit a certificate in English, French, music, art, and cookery is further than they are prepared to go.

The difficulty of maintaining the present position is that an increasing number of pupils in the schools, though they have undoubtedly profited by their course of secondary education, fail to pass the examination, and many who do can only do so as the result of irksome and uneducational cramming. Children are often forced to spend too much time at the subjects they dislike or for which they have no aptitude, to the detriment of their general attitude towards knowledge generally, and time which might be devoted profitably to other subjects is wasted. These subjects are generally of the same rank and standing but not of the same group as the irksome subject. They are the subjects

method which is not obvious at the moment. A great deal of controversy has raged around the question of the common entrance examination since Dr. Norwood advocated its abolition, but the ranks of headmasters seem very much divided, as no substitute, except simple selection, appears possible. Such a method, since there is competition for the public school places, would give rise to ill feeling and charges, true or unfounded, that this process of selection is a matter of pure favouritism. That problem remains unsolved, and public discussion of the matter has abated, but there is another and greater examination problem which day by day is giving rise to more and more debate. That is the question of the first examination, or what is popularly known as the school certificate examination.

The importance of this examination can be gauged by the fact that there are probably over 400,000 children in our schools at some stage or other of preparation for this important event in their educational lives The number of pupils who sit for this school certificate test is approximately 60,000 per annum, so that it is obvious that the matter is of great and vital interest to many children, for many of whom the result may determine their whole future course in life It is of the utmost importance, therefore, that there should be general agreement amongst educationalists as to the scope of this examination. Unfortunately this is not so. There has been a growing discontent with the arbitrary rules which govern the selection of the subjects which a candidate may offer. There is a system of safeguarding or protection afforded to groups of subjects which perhaps can be best explained by the following scheme .

Group I. contains English subjects, such as English Literature, History, Geography.

Group II contains Classical and Modern Languages—Greek, Latin, French, German, etc.

Group III. contains Mathematics, Mechanics, Physics, Chemistry, and Biological subjects.

Group IV contains Art, Music, Cookery, Handicraft (Wood and Metal Work), etc.

Up to 1917, when the first examination was instituted, there were a number of examinations with no correlation between their requirements, but in that year the Board of Education laid down the rules of the school certificate examination after considering the curricula which were then current. The most important of the requirements was that a successful candidate had to pass in five subjects from Groups I., II., and III. with at least one subject from each group. There were other minor rules of qualification which need not concern us here, but it is against this arbitrary rule demanding a pass in each of the first three groups that

THE FIRST EXAMINATION

A SIXTH-FORM boy concluded an essay on this subject by saying that examinations, like the poor, are always with us. Perhaps every schoolboy would not consider an examination such a chronic affliction, but there is no doubt that the system of written tests is becoming so general that few children can hope to escape this ordeal in the future Even if the system were perfect, human nature being what it is, we shall expect to find some rebellious spirits, but the gradually increasing army of critics shows that all is not well with examinations This criticism is not directed so much towards the technique of setting and marking papers, for in this there is a great deal of consultation between the schools and the examining bodies which helps to make these tests as fair and reasonable as possible The syllabuses and questions are constantly subjected to debate and discussion and the examiners' marks are treated in a scientific manner, as can be plainly seen by reading Dr Croft's book on *Secondary Schools Examination Statistics*

He shows the methods adopted by the Northern Universities Joint Board to keep the standards reasonably constant and how statistical analysis of the results enables weaknesses to be detected and the corresponding adjustments made There seems no doubt that the work of examining has been reduced to a fine art. This does not, however, prove that examinations are good and trustworthy tests All it proves is that the results are an accurate measure of what examinations test, and of nothing more Some critics of examinations say that they merely test memory and that the present system puts a premium on cramming. Others say that the preparation of children, especially if they are young, is an offence against the spirit of true education. Dr. Cyril Norwood, Headmaster of Harrow, has even gone so far as to suggest that *no* children under fifteen years of age should be subjected to an external examination This would lead to the abolition of all scholarship examinations from elementary schools to secondary schools and of the common entrance examination to public schools. Further, the scholars who are elected by the public schools every year would have to be selected by some other

However that may be, it seems to be a plausible, even if somewhat remote, conclusion from Professor Eddington's doctrines of relativity that it is the intimate and yet strained relations between spirit and matter which constitute the very stuff of reality in our world. The character of that world will not be fundamentally altered by any new definitions of spirit or of matter, provided the essential relations between them remain constant. And what we must mean by 'another world' is an experience for which those essential relations have been changed. Meanwhile, Professor Eddington's firm insistence that those relations which are only expressible in terms of value are at least as genuine constituents of reality as those which are expressed in differential equations, provides solid ground of hope for the idealist who desires above all things not to shirk the lessons of science. Professor Eddington no doubt makes the yoke and burden of science appear easier and lighter to the spirit than they really are, because he bears them himself with an ease and skill which have been hardly won But we are none the worse for encouragement from such a leader.

OLIVER C. QUICK.

seen by the ordinary man in Nature, but to remain faithful to the natural relation of colour values. He may see and paint the clear sky with some quite different colour from cobalt, but if so all the other colours must be correspondingly varied from their appearance to ordinary sight. Often it is only possible for the artist to give 'a true effect,' by giving to every object a colour which the layman would call 'false.' Now, as sky appears blue and grass green to the ordinary eye, so matter appears solid and mind ethereal or aery (witness the term 'spirit') to the ordinary unsophisticated intelligence of man. Now, it is perfectly justifiable and no doubt necessary for the physicist to say that to him matter has become ethereal and aery; but if anyone says on that ground that the physicist has assimilated matter to mind he is just as wrong as an artist would be who, having perhaps justifiably started by making his sky green, proceeded to paint his grass the same colour. In both cases the essence of the reality lies in the relation of contrast.

Now, once it is admitted that the real essence of mind or spirit and matter as we know them in experience is constituted by the relations between them, it becomes exceedingly difficult to deny that laws of value may after all exercise a determining influence upon their nature and destiny. In part the relative solidity of matter gives a firm access to the activity of spirit, and receives and perpetuates its impress; in part it restrains and negates the purposes of that activity. In our 'earthly' experience the negative value of matter predominates in the end. The decay of the human body entails the ultimate failure of the human spirit; and Professor Eddington assures us that in any case the sands of the physical universe are slowly running out, and no race of men or super-men can live for ever. But for nearly 2000 years now the human race has been acquainted with a philosophy which teaches that the highest values in the universe are realised through submitting to the destruction of the first imperfect embodiments of goodness, that the best is only won by the sacrifice of the good. In truth, the twin foundation-stones of Christian doctrine, the Incarnation and the Cross, answer very closely and interpret with profound significance those two opposite values of matter in relation to spiritual purpose which have been the puzzle of theologians and philosophers since man began to think. They suggest that the constitution of the world which we now know fits it to be in some sense a school or training-ground, wherein spirit, not without travail and failure and the sacrifice of itself, may be enabled to find a passage at last into 'another world' of experience more complete and more inclusive, where the perfection of goodness receives embodiment in the whole and therefore time, in the sense of directed succession, is no longer.

past rather than the past by the present. To suppose that all has been fixed from the beginning is a sheer confusion of thought, unless you are prepared to plunge into a theistic fatalism, which swallows up man's freedom in God's, and declares that the Divine Will absolutely decreed, before It made the world, everything that should happen in it.

But what, then, of the reality of matter? I am left dissatisfied by all the modern theories which seek simply to approximate mind and matter to one another. As I have said, an electric charge seems to me to be no more akin to thought or activity than a lump of lead. I do not see that the bare fact of consciousness can show that all knowable reality is ultimately mental, as distinct from 'material,' in nature. And the doctrine of others that mind and matter are just different 'aspects' of a neutral reality seems to me unthinkable as a metaphysical theory, though doubtless, like psycho-parallelism, it has much practical value as a working hypothesis to prevent quarrels between psychology and physics. The concept of matter seems to me to stand ultimately for an element in our experienced world which is set over against the activity of mind and will, partly as the instrument and expression of that activity, partly as limiting or resisting it. It is in both these types of relation that matter appears to us as something fundamentally 'solid'—in the one case as giving a firm embodiment to spiritual activity, in the other case as passively and obstinately opposing it. And however successfully science may dissolve the physically tangible solidity of matter, its solidity in relation to spiritual purpose remains unaffected. After all, if the relation between matter and mind is kept constant, it does not make much difference how you vary the definition of each term taken by itself. Take matter by itself, consider it as 'closed to mind,' and you may reduce it to vibrations of an intangible something which is postulated as a basis for mathematical calculations. Take the human mind by itself, consider it as strictly immaterial, and you may be driven to the more obviously mythological symbolism which has become popular among certain psychologists. But in both cases you have travelled away from the concrete, experienced reality of mind and matter in relation. Nor do you restore the concreteness of this relation merely by assimilating matter to mind or mind to matter. For the very essence of the relation, as it is given in experience, is the tension and partially reconciled opposition between the two terms.

Let me illustrate my point by an artistic analogy. Take some scene on a sunny day containing clear sky, clouds, grass, and a house. We will suppose that to the ordinary eye the clear sky 'looks' blue, the clouds grey, the grass green, the house red. But the task of the artist who paints it is not to copy any one colour

builder's hands, man's power to build houses is at an end. Even in dealing with minds it is true that, in so far as I cannot know how you will react to something I propose to say to you, I am unable to influence you by my speech. If, then, Professor Eddington is right in claiming that science has abandoned its determinism in order to find room for some real element of chance (*i.e.*, the indeterminable), he seems to be offering a Greek gift to believers in the freedom of man's will Freedom can only operate in a world where things happen according to determinate law.

The truth is that science conflicts with the freedom which is the postulate of all ethical idealism when it maintains, not that all happens according to law, but that everything which happens has been rigorously fixed so to happen from the beginning. And the two notions are entirely distinct Let us suppose that it is a cold morning, and I am considering whether to lay and light a fire in my grate, being conscious that I am free to do so or to refrain, as I will This freedom presupposes the unaltered operation of all those laws which determine that when coals, paper and sticks are laid in a certain way and the match struck and applied, a fire in the grate will result Any alteration in the fixity of those laws would *pro tanto* interfere with my freedom. On the other hand the reality of my freedom will equally be destroyed if I suppose that it has been determined *beforehand* that the fire either shall or shall not be laid and lit this morning. Again, in coming to a decision, in balancing pros and cons, my mind is functioning according to the fixed laws of its constitution, and any breach of this fixity would break the coherence on which the freedom of deliberate action depends, and yet, on the other hand, if the whole process of my thought has already been fixed before it begins, once more freedom disappears Reflecting further, we arrive at the following conclusion Law cannot make anything happen Only will can do that. But law is the condition of will's power to do anything, and affords also the limitation of what it can do If we suppose that there is no real or 'free' will in the universe, it must follow that nothing ever really happens at all, everything works out like a sum in arithmetic, which ignores actuality, the time series, as Professor Eddington shows, is reversible. time itself becomes nothing but a mathematical dimension, its direction is a pure illusion; there is nothing that can make any difference to anything, and we are left in 'the night where all cows are black.' Real time, real events and the laws which govern them, can exist only in relation to an active will which is in principle able to make some real difference to what in fact will happen according to the reign of law. It is only the reality of will (or the introduction of teleology) which enables us to say that the present is determined by the

of science may proceed to point out that the thought in my mind is but the mental aspect of certain conditions in the neurons of my brain, and that the tooth-ache is similarly the mental aspect of certain conditions in the nerve of my tooth. Or the still more sophisticated philosopher may contend that the condition of neurons or nerves is in each case the physical component of a state which as a whole is mental. But we are not speaking now of sophisticated explanations We are appealing to the direct self-knowledge of normal consciousness And my point is that consciousness, whether it be right or wrong, does in fact present us with a dual world, a world of two elements, thought and matter, mind and body, which it claims to distinguish And if the bare fact of consciousness supports the reality of my thought, it must also support the distinct reality of my teeth. Moreover, if the physicist dissolves my teeth into fields of electric force, the psychologist with even less trouble dissolves my mind into such disreputable complexes of inherited instinct that I grow reluctant to refute him by insisting that still it is *mine* There is no ground here for supposing that matter is made of 'mind-stuff'

The other point in Professor Eddington's reasoning to which I desire to take exception is his suggestion (it is not quite explicitly asserted) that modern science by showing that the tiny elements of matter are within limits quite undetermined in their behaviour, may provide support for the spiritual doctrine of free will. Here we seem face to face once more with a very old confusion of thought, namely, that the doctrine of freedom has something to do with the doctrine of real chance or strict indeterminism. Let us take the argument away from the obscurities of quantum-numbers and orbits of electrons, and the point is plain at once. I spin a coin It *must* come down 'heads' or 'tails,' but it *may* come down either. Suppose, for the sake of the argument, that the behaviour of the coin is really within these limits undetermined, that is to say, that it is pure chance which side falls uppermost. How can that fact afford any room at all for the freedom of my will to operate? Obviously it can afford none. My will has no more freedom in respect of the coin's fall than it would have if an iron law of causation had fixed from the beginning of the world that 'heads' it *must* be Indeed, the precise reason why we spin coins is that the human will is not free to control such a chance result The truth is that, if 'matter' is to leave any room for human freedom, what we must demand of it is that its behaviour should be neither *pre*-determined nor undetermined, but *determinable* And in so far as matter is determinable by conscious will its behaviour must be completely determined by laws which the human mind can ascertain. In so far as it is at all uncertain how bricks and mortar will behave under the

a lump of lead.' Professor Eddington does not take the ballet of electrons very seriously. His later argument shows that he was only poking fun at us when in his earlier pages he suggested that our *real* tables and chairs were composed of such a mystic dance. For electrons are not really moving particles at all, and motion itself is merely relative,[1] and so of the *real* material object we can have no notion whatever. It is because we know nothing of it at all that we may as well say its basis is mind-stuff, since we *do* know something of mind.

But really this is not very convincing. The appeal to the direct self-knowledge of consciousness is a two-edged weapon. If I am conscious of my thinking mind, I am also conscious, and at an earlier stage, of my non-thinking body; and I certainly am never conscious of any disembodied mind. Nor is it easy to follow Professor Eddington's distinction between the 'direct self-knowledge' which he tells me I have of my thinking and the 'inferential knowledge,' which is all he allows me to have even of my own body in sense-perception. Has the Professor ever had a tooth-ache? If so, was his knowledge of it a sense-perception, and therefore wholly inferential? Or was it a direct self-knowledge, and therefore purely a knowledge of his own mental state? I venture very humbly to suggest to him that he was directly and intimately conscious of a pain, not in his mind, but in his tooth. To say either that I am more directly conscious of a thought in my mind than I am of a pain in my tooth, or that my consciousness is not immediately aware of any fundamental difference between the two, seems to me like falsifying fact to support a theory. Doubtless the sophisticated man

[1] I cannot help thinking that once or twice Professor Eddington is not quite clear on the important point of the relativity of motion. He tells us that one of his audience asked him why he should get tired in travelling to Edinburgh if it were just as true to say that Edinburgh travelled to him. He proceeds: 'The answer is that the fatigue arises from being shut up in a box and jolted about for nine hours; and it makes no difference whether in the meantime I move to Edinburgh or Edinburgh moves to me. Motion does not tire anybody. With the earth as our vehicle we are travelling at twenty miles a second round the sun; the sun carries us at twelve miles a second through the galactic system; the galactic system bears us at 250 miles a second amid the spiral nebulæ; the spiral nebulæ . . . If motion could tire we ought to be dead tired.' The truth is surely that what tires me is *physically perceived* motion, which in the case of train travelling consists both in the tactually perceived motion of jolting and the visually perceived motion of the landscape rushing past the window. Clearly the perception of motion and the consequent fatigue are the same, whether you suppose that the train is bumping against me or I am bumping against the train, and whether you suppose that the landscape is rushing past me or I am rushing past the landscape. Hence the fact that the journey to Edinburgh is tiring does not contradict the relativity of motion. Nevertheless, *as a relation between percipient and objects*, motion is something 'absolute.' My movement with the earth round the sun does not tire me, only because I do not perceive it. It is unperceived motion which is *purely* relative, because abstract.

finince can be securely passed. We cannot estimate a whole drama, or any particular incident in it, till we have seen it all. And Professor Eddington suggests how the theory of relativity may reinforce this truth in its metaphysical aspect by interpreting time as a fourth dimension. Doubtless on its strictly mathematical side the theory of relativity is a mere device of measurement to which the *direction* of time (' time's arrow ') is irrelevant But even when we take account of this direction and penetrate beyond measurements to actualities, we have still to reckon with a four-dimensional world, in which the total and completed history of things is in principle as much a part of their ultimate being as the relations which they appear to bear to one another from any arbitrarily taken standpoint of ' here now.' Professor Eddington does well to warn religious people of a truth which to unscientific theologians has of course long been familiar, that ' heaven ' cannot be conceived of as purely future Eternity, whatever it be, is something very different from endless future time In relation to knowledge it means pre-eminently the whole view as opposed to the partial glimpse. It is future in the sense that the whole view is not yet.

In any case, the possibility of a spiritual interpretation of the universe depends altogether on the assumption, hypothesis, or faith (call it what you will) that the fundamental and final order of the universe is of the axiological, not of the mathematical or factual, type, that in the end and in the last resort things are what they are because it is good that so they should be. Carefully considered, Professor Eddington's Lectures seem to supply a fresh and powerful vindication of this faith which to so many to-day appears a pathetically groundless paradox Nevertheless I feel grave doubts as to two important details in the presentation of his metaphysical argument :

(1) He seems to me to build too much upon what he calls the ' intimate ' knowledge of mind which each of us possesses in his own consciousness. Our knowledge of the material world derived from the senses has, so Professor Eddington assures us, been reduced by science to a mere system of ' pointer-readings ' indicating an unknowable x beyond We have no knowledge of the real background of what is given in sense-perception. But we do know the nature of mind from within, that is, in our consciousness of thinking life. Let us, then, assume that the background of what our senses perceive is ' mind-stuff.'

Now this is a more plausible plea for idealism than that of some ultra-modern philosophers who seem to suppose that by reducing matter to some form of electric energy we have somehow made it more spiritual, as though an inconceivable ballet of electrons were in some way more akin to spiritual activity than

reality as the Platonic heaven of ideal forms; and a phenomenon must be held to be explained when it is seen to be a case of some general rule illustrating the normal behaviour of known entities.

The fundamental objection to such a scheme of philosophy is so elementary and obvious that it is apt to escape notice because its truth is unconsciously assumed. If we acknowledge only laws of *de facto* behaviour, we ignore that whole type of order which I have denoted by the term *axiological*. There is a fundamental ambiguity in the meaning of the term 'normal.' If we make laws of *de facto* behaviour all-inclusive, the wildest craze of insanity is as normal as the most ordinary common-sense, since both equally arise out of the conditions in which they occur, and are both, as facts of behaviour, equally explicable by reference to those conditions. Disease is as completely open to this kind of explanation as health, and equally exhibits the 'normal behaviour of known entities.' And yet, if we are not to make nonsense of science and philosophy altogether, we must maintain that health is in some real sense more normal than disease, and also that the carefully trained faculties of intellect and conscience, which are the equipment of the scientific expert, do in fact reveal more of the order of the real world than the delusions of Bedlam, however successfully the alienist may bring the latter under the reign of law. We cannot, therefore, avoid acknowledging some authoritative order of *goodness*, which involves laws of a different type from those which merely declare that such and such things do behave thus and thus. Laws of value declare that things *ought* to be thus, that it is, or would be, *good* for them to be thus; and we cannot deny the part played by such laws in making our universe what it is, and even in constituting our ideal of the sternly scientific mind which demands the unvarnished truth at any cost of disillusionment. As Professor Eddington says, 'We cannot assimilate laws of thought to natural laws; they are laws which *ought* to be obeyed, not laws which *must* be obeyed; and the physicist must' (or should it be 'ought to'?) 'accept laws of thought before he accepts natural law. "Ought" takes us outside chemistry and physics.'

(3) Is it, then, conceivable that after all it is some kind of axiological order in terms of which our ultimate account of the universe must be given? At first sight it is the orders of value which are the most obviously restricted in their scope. So many of the facts of the world reject every attempt to reconcile them with goodness of any kind. And yet we must remember the principle that whereas facts or events which have happened cannot be undone, their values are subject to change by subsequent events, and it is only from the point of view of the end of the whole that judgment as to their ultimate goodness and signi-

an eclipse by Einstein's laws must hold good even on the supposition that the earth can take any course it likes, and that therefore the new law of gravitation is really a 'put-up job,' is an essay in relativity which is, alas, too little relative to my intelligence. But when he suggests that in general it is the principle of averages which makes mathematical calculations work out when applied to facts, he provides an explanation of difficulties which the ordinary mind can grasp The individual man's span of life varies according to unforeseen and incalculable circumstances; but the average length of life among large numbers of men provides a sufficiently certain basis for the mathematical calculations of the insurance company So it may be that the vast numbers of atoms or electrons, with which the physicist usually deals, show a behaviour amenable to mathematical calculation, while each particular unit may follow a course which is within limits undetermined. Professor Eddington is inclined to infer from the strange phenomena indicated in the quantum theory that it is true even in a scientific sense that *de minimis non curat lex*, and that many well-established 'laws' of science are not rigorously applicable to each particular but are only 'statistical'

(2) Granted, then, that mathematical order is not universal, what are we to say of that looser sort of determinism which I have indicated by speaking of a 'factual order'? Granted the error of supposing that each event in the universe is so rigorously fixed by the rest that no alternative is even conceivable, it might still be maintained that nevertheless all events do in fact happen according to a certain system of laws which the mind can detect and formulate at least retrospectively, and that the sole task of the metaphysical philosopher is progressively to clarify these laws and to accept the result uncomplainingly and dispassionately in a spirit of what Professor Alexander has called 'natural piety.' The type of law which I here have in mind is that to which Professor Eddington gives the surely rather misleading name of 'transcendental'—*e g*, the laws of the atomicity of matter, electricity, and 'action' 'Transcendental' seems to me a bad name for such laws, inasmuch as it suggests that they are laws of external control, an assumption which we have no business to make in naming them. In themselves they are no more than observed uniformities of *de facto* behaviour. The question is whether philosophy should attempt more, in explaining the universe, than to exhibit and co-ordinate such laws of behaviour in all things, from electrons to men and nebulæ—of course including as one of such laws the mathematical calculability of certain kinds of events. In that case observation and experiment become the sole means of establishing and testing truth; the world of pure mathematics is admitted to be as remote from

express some sort of coherent order embodied in the universe. In a world ultimately chaotic the metaphysician had better make himself extinct with all convenient speed. But *primâ facie* there appear within our experience three distinct types of order, each of which may put in some sort of a claim to be the guiding clue to the interpretation of the whole. (1) There is *mathematical* order, exhibited in demonstrative proof which admits no conceivable alternative. (2) There is *factual* order, exhibited in those general laws of science which show that events *do* happen according to a certain pattern of sequence and arrangement, so that, given *a*, we can infer *b* with practical certainty, although we cannot say that the inference is completely demonstrative or that, if *a* is, then *b must necessarily be*. (3) There is *axiological* order, or order of value, exhibited, *e.g.*, in the laws of æsthetics and ethics, which show us how our valuation of things as good or beautiful corresponds with, or is derived from, some determinate pattern, plan of coherence, or harmony in the things themselves.

Which of these types of order is the most ultimate or the most inclusive?

(1) It has often been supposed that for omniscience the order of the world must belong to the mathematical type; and certainly the revolutionary advances lately made by mathematicians and physicists working in conjunction may seem at first sight to support this claim. Professor Eddington criticises it drastically. He points out that the mathematician lives and thinks in a world of symbols from which the actuality of the 'real' world is necessarily excluded. From one or two elementary postulates the mathematician can deduce with rigorous exactitude the spatio-temporal geometry of many conceivable worlds, the results differing according to the postulates taken, but he can give no reason why the actual space-time of the world which we experience should fit one type of geometry more than another, nor does the consideration that it does so enter into mathematics as such at all. For all mathematical laws are in the last resort laws of bare abstract identity, which are bound never to be upset, just because they are purely formal. $2 + 2$ must for ever $= 4$, just because the units with which the calculation is made are not actual things, but abstract symbols which must *by definition* obey the laws which created them. It is therefore inconceivable that observed facts should either verify or falsify the laws of mathematics, since these do not claim, in the concrete sense of applicability, to be either true or false at all.

Why is it, then, that the work of the pure mathematician, in its most recent and abstract developments, has proved itself so amazingly useful to physical science, so astonishingly applicable to things? Professor Eddington's proof that the prediction of

MIND, MATTER AND PROFESSOR EDDINGTON

SIR OLIVER LODGE has already in the March number of this Review discussed Professor Eddington's Gifford Lectures from the point of view of a fellow-expert in physical science. I venture (and I use that word in no merely conventional sense) to record some impressions of the same work as one who, approaching the subject from a quite different angle, is none the less intensely interested in Professor Eddington's arguments and conclusions These Lectures are a really brilliant piece of writing and exposition All brilliant writing is dangerous, because it is apt to make the underlying thought seem intelligible before it has been really grasped in all its bearings And Professor Eddington will doubtless suffer for his great gifts of epigram and humorous illustration The idealist philosopher of the older school will be delighted with his firm insistence on the limitations of physical science and of mathematical symbolism, and on the paramount importance of the element contributed by mind to the constitution of the real world The typical man of science will be deeply distrustful of conclusions which seem to yield so much to the old-fashioned metaphysician And Professor Eddington himself will probably derive as little satisfaction from the applause of the one as from the suspicions of the other. For he is convinced —no doubt rightly—that he has sketched an outlook on the universe which is definitely fresh, and is not to be successfully interpreted as reinforcing ancient doctrines of philosophy by the methods of intensely modern science. It will be some time, no doubt, before the permanent importance of such work as his can emerge in definite shape from the process of critical examination Meanwhile the very width of his sympathies and the catholic range of his thought invite comments upon his argument from those who are least qualified to follow it in its more strictly technical aspects. And this implied invitation is hereby pleaded as the excuse for what is here written by one who cannot claim even an elementary knowledge of those special subjects in which Professor Eddington is a recognised authority.

The task of the metaphysician must be to discover and

Now, at the age of twenty-one, she is still doing 25 knots with ease. But it appears likely that even her splendid and unprecedented achievements will be beaten, though her period of twenty-one years of supremacy is likely to be unchallenged. The new German fliers will shortly be running, the *Bremen* in July or August, and the *Europa* later, and though most of their details are being kept secret, it is known that they will be of 40,000 tons, and that they are designed to win back the coveted 'blue ribbon.' At the time of writing little more is known, but it is said that they embody a peculiar shape of hull which will enable them to reach great speed with less resistance. As is well known, wholly-submerged bodies like the torpedo are faster when blunt-nosed, like the fastest swimming fish, whereas the fastest steamers have hitherto been very sharp forward to reduce wave-making, a feature from which wholly-submerged bodies are free. The new German ships are said to combine the two systems. At the water-line they are believed to be of normal shape, but below it there is reported to be a bulge like the nose of a Zeppelin. If this is true, the results will be very interesting, and we may be sure that the methodical Germans will not have adopted it without the most careful experiments in their tanks.

Even more shadowy are the new ships which the Cunard and White Star have projected. No order has yet been given for the former, but the White Star ship will be over 1000 feet long and 60,000 tons, so that the record for size, if not for speed, will be ours once more. The French Line, which already owns three fine ships, is said to have ordered a 27-knot ship, so we may see three nations competing.

We may conclude by quoting Mr. Kipling's McAndrew:

What I ha' seen since ocean-steam began
Leaves me no doubt for the Machine: but what about the Man?

GEOFFREY PARRATT.

was followed by the *Vaterland*, of 55,000 tons and 23 knots. On the outbreak of the Great War the *Vaterland* was on her way back from New York, but prudently scuttled back to the safety of a neutral port, for which no one could blame her, and the *Imperator* was snug at Hamburg, whence she did not emerge till peace was declared

About the time when war broke out the Cunard brought out a new ship to complete the trio of express steamers on the Southampton route She was the *Aquitania*, which was about the same size as the *Olympic*, but with a speed of 24 knots—a superb ship in every way, but not quite a record-breaker. It was remarkable that when the war came the very two ships that had been designed and subsidised as armed cruisers, the *Lusitania* and *Mauretania*, were found unsuitable on account of their enormous coal consumption, which at full speed worked out at more than 1000 tons a day The *Mauretania*, however, and the *Aquitania* did splendid service both as troopers and hospital ships The *Lusitania*, as we all know, was sunk when on her ordinary service with a loss of many hundreds of lives but it is now admitted, though denied at the time, that she was carrying ammunition, so that however much we may deplore the loss of life we have to see that she was, in the vulgar phrase, 'asking for it.' The White Star replaced the *Titanic* for the Southampton run by building the second *Britannic*, but though she worked as a hospital ship she was not destined to perform any peace service, as she was sunk before the war ended The Germans had on the stocks the *Bismarck*, which, like the *Imperator* and *Vaterland*, had water-tube boilers instead of the old Scotch type She was even larger than the other two, being of 56 000 tons and 100 000 horse-power, which gave her a speed of 25 knots

The Spoils of War.—At the end of 1918 there was a great volume of tonnage of German ownership either in their own or neutral ports, and these ships were allotted to various Allied lines. The White Star completed and took over the *Bismarck*, which was renamed *Majestic*, the Cunard had the *Imperator*, which became *Berengaria*, and the United States kept the *Vaterland*, renaming her *Leviathan* The White Star also took the *Columbus*, of 34,000 tons, which became the *Homeric*, but she also could make no pretensions to great speed Ten years have now elapsed since the war ended, and still the gallant *Mauretania* can show her heels to any ocean liner afloat In 1924 she was altered to burn oil instead of coal, which, owing to its cleanliness in use and ease of handling, increased her speed till in August of that year she crossed from New York to Cherbourg at an average speed of 26·25 knots, nearly a quarter of a knot better than her previous best, though she was even then seventeen years old!

put the new engine into the famous *Dreadnought*. At the same time the Cunard approached the Government with a scheme for regaining the supremacy for Britain and providing two vast ships of undreamed-of speed which could be used as cruisers in case of war. A Government subsidy was obtained, and the finest brains in the country were employed in the design of the *Lusitania* and *Mauretania*, which were built by John Brown on the Clyde and Swan Hunter on the Tyne respectively, the engines of the latter ship being built by the Wallsend Engineering Company. Exhaustive tank trials to determine the best form of hull were carried out, and the *Carmania*, of 19,000 tons, was first built with turbine engines on a smaller scale to provide experience. Nothing that engineering science or artistic taste could suggest was spared to make these ships outshine in every department everything that had gone before. Their tonnage was little short of 32,000, their length 786 feet, and their power reached 78,000 when fully exerted. Four screws were provided and four enormous funnels, and their design embodied special and unprecedented arrangements for safety in case of accident. In 1907 the *Lusitania* ran her trials and reached a speed of no less than 27 knots, as did her sister a few months later. They soon worked up their speed in service and smashed all previous records, the *Lusitania* averaging on her best trip 26·01 and the *Mauretania* 26·06 knots. After a year or two they were transferred from Liverpool to Southampton to get the Continental as well as the British custom, and it was now the turn of the Germans to abandon the race for the speed record. The White Star also transferred their best ships to Southampton, but they, too, made no attempt to eclipse the speed of these two giants, but soberly set to work to continue their policy of great size associated with moderate speed. This they did by turning out the *Olympic* and *Titanic* in 1912, which beat the Cunard in size with a tonnage of 46,000, but contented themselves with an honest 22½ knots speed. By a lamentable accident in a combination of circumstances unlikely to recur in a hundred years the *Titanic* on her maiden trip hit a low iceberg at some 20 knots at night and went down with a loss of over 1000 lives. Her wireless called up other ships, but none was in time to save more than a few. Uninstructed public opinion raised a great clamour, being convinced that her great size was responsible for the accident, and the fact that boats for every soul on board were not carried resulted in every ship after this carrying a vastly greater number, though most experts would prefer to rely on other methods of ensuring safety.

The Germans adopted the same policy as the White Star, but eclipsed them in size once more with the *Imperator* in 1913, a fine ship of no less than 52,000 tons but only 22½ knots speed. She

encounter two very formidable rivals in the Norddeutscher Lloyd and the Hamburg-America Lines. These had been building up with German thoroughness fine fleets of first-class steamers, mostly built in England or Scotland, but they now determined to compete for the highest honours with German-built ships. Much scepticism was expressed about their ability to build ships, and the old cry of 'Made in Germany' was raised, but it soon became evident that this could no longer be said in any sort of derision. The first record-breaker was the *Kaiser Wilhelm der Grosse*, of 14,350 tons and a best speed of 22.80 knots. Her great size and imposing array of four funnels, together with palatial comfort, soon captured a large proportion of passengers. Her times could not be compared with those of the British ships, as the Germans used Southampton instead of Liverpool, but she proved to be nearly a knot faster than the *Lucania*. She was followed by the *Kronprinz Wilhelm*, of about the same size, the *Kaiser Wilhelm II*, the *Kronprinzessin Cecilie*, of about 19,000 tons and 23½ knots, and the *Deutschland*, of the Hamburg-America Line, of about 16,000 tons and 23½ knots. As far as speed went Britain was now out of the picture altogether, but had to face the handicap of State subsidy, which alone made the running of these ships possible at that time. The cost of high speed may be shown by the fact that the *Umbria* used 10.1 tons of coal an hour for 19 knots, while the *Kaiser Wilhelm der Grosse* used 22 tons for 22½ knots, the *Kaiser* being of course a heavier ship to drive. The White Star adopted a new policy, that of a ship of great size and unsurpassed comfort, with enough reserve of power to enable her to keep time almost like a Great Western express, but with no attempt to break the record. Their ship was the second *Oceanic*, of 17,340 tons and 21½ knots speed. She was a superbly strong and luxurious ship, but, as our concern is chiefly with the speed record, it is only necessary to add that she was the first to exceed the length, but not the tonnage, of the *Great Eastern* of so many years before, her length being 704 feet. The succession of German triumphs and the financial control of the White Star Line which was gained by an American syndicate disturbed the mind of the British 'man in the street,' but a dramatic change was now to come.

Steam Turbines.—The Cunard all this time had remained rampantly British, and advantage was taken by them in the early years of the new century of a development that was to revolutionise marine engineering. This was the Parsons steam turbine, by means of which the tiny *Turbinia* had by her amazing speed of over 30 knots startled the crowd that assembled for the Naval Review of 1897. The Admiralty was also alive to its possibilities, and, after experiments with a few destroyers and a light cruiser,

trial 20,000 horse-power and reached a speed of 21½ knots. These ships also had twin screws, which of course were more than twice as safe as one, since both engines were very unlikely to break down at one time, and, in addition, if the steering failed it was possible to steer roughly by 'jockeying' with the propellers. It has, however, to be admitted that by an extraordinary mischance the *City of Paris* did break down altogether, as she fractured a connecting-rod, which before the engine could be stopped acted like a huge flail, smashed the dividing bulkhead, and crippled the other engine, but, like the *Umbria*, she managed to get home. These four ships, from their appearance in 1890, carried on the keenest competition, often sailing within an hour or two of each other and remaining in sight for days together. Racing was strictly forbidden, but it is not to be supposed that there were no efforts to win on each side. Sometimes one and sometimes another would break the record, but in the end the palm went to the *City of Paris*, whose passage of 5 days 14 hours 24 minutes and an average speed of 21 knots beat the best of the other three. The route was still from Liverpool and Queenstown to New York; but it should be explained that the times were not taken from port to port, but from land to land. 'Manny a man,' said Mr. Dooley, 'who has come across in a six-day boat has had the Divvle's own time explainin' to his wife what he done with the other two.'

The Cunard Line were not to be outdone for long and gave an order to the Fairfield Company (late John Elder) for the *Campania* and *Lucania*, of 12,950 tons. These fine ships came out in 1893 and may be described as 'Teutonics' only more so. Straight stems, two pole masts, and two colossal funnels gave them an appearance of great power, and their 30,000 horse power engines drove them in good weather at 22 knots. They soon settled down into their stride and beat the other four. The *Lucania*, always a trifle the faster of the two, cut the time down to 5 days 8 hours with an average speed of 22.01 knots. So comfortable were these two ships that one old lady insisted on living in the *Lucania* voyage after voyage, and finally, it is said, left her money to the captain. The *Campania* served in the Grand Fleet during the war as balloon-carrier, and only missed the Battle of Jutland by a fluke, but the *Lucania* was burned in dock some years before.

The Inman Line now passed into American hands, being renamed the 'American Line,' and the two 'Cities' were renamed *Philadelphia* and *New York*. Two new ships were built by the same company in America to beat the *Lucania* called *St. Louis* and *St. Paul*, but, though fine ships, they did not cause the Cunard any uneasiness.

German Competition.—After enjoying a practical monopoly of the finest ships for many years the British lines were now to

Iron to Steel.—Meanwhile the Cunard roused themselves, and in 1881 produced the *Servia*, built of steel instead of iron, and of 7392 tons and 16½ knots speed. At the same time the Inman Line built the beautiful *City of Rome*, of 8144 tons. She, with her great length of 600 feet, clipper bow, three shapely funnels, and great spread of canvas, was probably the most beautiful steamer ever built, but in speed she was a failure and her career was brief.

The Cunard went one better in 1885 with the celebrated *Umbria* and *Etruria*, of 8120 tons, 15,000 horse-power, and 19½ knots speed, in which sails were abolished. They also were built of steel on the Clyde by John Elder, and easily eclipsed anything afloat, reducing the passage to just over six days. They were as stoutly built as the *Britannic*, and steamed as fast when twenty years old as they did when new. The *Umbria* had an accident which set people thinking, for she fractured her propeller shaft in mid-Atlantic, and, though it was most skilfully patched by her engineers, much anxiety was felt till she turned up. In these days of wireless she could call a dozen ships round her in a short time, but then a single-screw ship with shaft or rudder broken was a helpless log.

Single Screw to Twin Screws.—The increasing power of engines made a change imperative. At that stage of the science of metallurgy the 15,000 horse-power of the *Umbna* was the most that could safely be applied to one shaft, so the Inman and White Star Lines, whose turn it now was to build, each gave orders at about the same time for a pair of ships intended to beat anything afloat. For the White Star the *Teutonic* and *Majestic* were built by Harland and Wolff. They were what is called 'ten-beam ships,' for their length was 582 feet and their beam 58 feet. Their tonnage was 9984 and their horse-power 17,500, which was intended to give a speed of 20 knots. They had twin screws slightly overlapping and not quite parallel. Their saloon was between the funnels, and their system of construction was designed to give unprecedented strength. They were also designed to carry guns and act as cruisers in case of war, a duty the *Teutonic* actually performed in the Tenth Cruiser Squadron in the Great War twenty-four years later. Their rivals, the *City of New York* and *City of Paris*, were built on the Clyde by J. and G. Thompson. They were shorter and broader, but of rather greater tonnage, 10,500, with 18,500 horse-power, aiming at the same speed of 20 knots. They were a contrast to the *Teutonic*, whose aspect was beautiful but austere. The two 'Cities' were given three funnels to the *Teutonic's* two and a graceful clipper bow instead of a straight stem, a reminder of the old days when bowsprits were needed. For some reason that even the builders could not divine the *City of Paris* developed on

The White Star Line.—A new and formidable rival now appeared on the scene. By the energy and enterprise of Mr. Thomas Ismay, working in the closest association with the great shipbuilding firm of Harland and Wolff, of Belfast, the White Star Line was started in 1871 and set an entirely new standard. Caring nothing for tradition, they designed a new type of ship, which combined great length in proportion to beam with the abolition of the old high bulwarks In place of bulwarks their first and succeeding ships carried an extra deck on which the sea was free to come and go The first-class accommodation was placed amidships, where the motion was least and clear of the noise, smell, and vibration of the engines Besides this, the side-lights were greatly enlarged which meant better lighting everywhere. The first of these ships was the *Oceanic*, of 3707 tons and 3000 horse-power She attained a speed of nearly 15 knots, and confounded the 'old salts' who foretold disaster to the 'new-fangled' ships The public were quick to see her merits, and she had a long and successful life The White Star adopted the termination 'ic' for all their ships, but, unlike the Cunard, they have not minded repeating the old names, possibly fearing that eventually they would have to resort to names like 'Frantic,' 'Idiotic,' and even 'Seasic'! The *Oceanic* was followed in a year or two by the famous screw ships *Britannic* and *Germanic*, of 5000 tons, 5000 horse-power, and 16 knots speed These splendid ships reduced the record to 7 days 10 hours, and so well built were they, and so well cared for in the engine-room, that after twenty years they were as fast as ever, and one of them actually broke her own record at that age No better advertisement for her builders and engineers could be imagined It is noteworthy that the end of the *Germanic* came during the Great War while she was owned, under another name, by the Turks, when she was carrying troops at the Dardanelles and had the misfortune to meet a British submarine and was sunk at the ripe age of forty-two. Another line, the Guion, for a short time entered into the competition with the Cunard, Inman and White Star, and had considerable success with the *Arizona*, *Alaska*, and *Oregon* The *Arizona*, built in 1879, of 5147 tons and 16½ knots, accomplished a feat which had been considered impossible, for she ran into an iceberg at full speed and returned to tell the tale To the great credit of her builders, her collision bulkhead held, and she was able to limp slowly home. The *Oregon*, built in 1883, was of 7375 tons and 19 knots speed, and on the Guion Line coming to the conclusion that the blue ribbon of the Atlantic was too expensive a possession, they sold her to the Cunard and the Guions retired from the race. The National Line also produced the *America* in 1884, but after breaking the record on her maiden trip she did nothing notable.

about six times that of the largest existing ship. She was driven by paddles and a single screw, of a combined horse-power of 11,000. Her length was 690 feet, she had five funnels, six masts, and the diameter of her paddle wheels was about 70 feet. She was built on the Thames parallel to the water, and the worry of her launch in 1858 killed Brunel. She had to be launched sideways, but after moving 7 feet at one end and 6 feet at the other she stuck for months. Eventually the firm of Tangye invented hydraulic rams which put her into the water after an expenditure of 110,000*l.*, so that it was said that an earthquake could have been hired to do it for less money! It was supposed that, owing to her vast size, she would neither roll nor pitch, and that sea-sickness would be a thing of the past; but this proved to be an over-estimate, as on one voyage she pitched a cow through the skylight of the saloon on to the heads of the few people who were in a condition to be there. Her total cost was over 1,000,000*l.*, her speed was disappointing, and she wandered from one job to another, detested by harbour authorities, and after being used for an advertising medium she was finally broken up on the Mersey in 1890. Her most useful work was laying the Atlantic cables, as well as one between Aden and Bombay. In spite of her general failure she advanced the science of naval architecture more than any ship before or since, and Sir William White, the great naval architect, always considered that even in much later years her design was a fruitful and suggestive field for study. It was not till the second *Celtic*, in 1903, which ship has just come to an untimely end, that her tonnage was exceeded.

The Last Paddlers.—Far smaller, but much more successful, was the Cunarder *Persia*, a paddler of about the same date. Her tonnage was only 3300 and her horse-power 3600, which gave her a speed of about 12½ knots, and rather more on her best passage of 9 days 4 hours 45 minutes. She was followed in 1862 by the equally celebrated *Scotia*, also a paddler, which was rather larger, more powerful, and had a speed of 14 knots on her best passage of 8 days 3 hours from New York to Queenstown. These were the fastest paddlers built, and about the last.

Paddles to Screws.—The Cunard's chief rivals at this time were the American Collins Line and the Inman Line, which started ten years after the Cunard. The Inman Company from the first saw the advantages of screw propulsion, and in 1867 their famous screw ships *City of Brussels* and *City of Paris* seriously challenged the *Scotia*. The Cunard were in a period of lethargy in which they were slow to adopt new ideas, though they maintained their record for safe and comfortable travel. The *City of Brussels*, longer but smaller and less powerful than the *Persia*, reduced the record to 7 days 20 hours 3 minutes with a speed of 14½ knots.

tant event in the history of Atlantic travel, for in this year the Cunard Line was founded by Samuel Cunard, a Canadian. From this date the story of the North Atlantic might almost be described as the story of the Cunard, as this famous concern, though it has had its ups and downs like everything else, has been generally ahead of its rivals and never far behind them. The first Cunarder was the *Britannia*, built in 1840, a wooden paddle steamer of 1200 tons, 740 horse-power, and about 10 knots best speed. Dickensians will call to mind a humorous description of her and the 'profoundly impossible box' which was the great author's cabin. Nevertheless she and her sisters, the *Acadia*, *Caledonia* and *Columbia*, were a great advance on previous ships. The *Britannia's* best run took ten days. The Cunard Line adopted for their ships names ending with 'ia' and till recently never repeated a name.

From Wood to Iron.—The next ship to make history was the *Great Britain*, of 1843, which was designed by the famous Isambard Kingdom Brunel, and she was noteworthy in more ways than one. First, she was built of iron instead of wood, and was on that account laughed to scorn by the 'old salts,' who prophesied that if she knocked anything she would go to the bottom like an anvil, but she proceeded to prove the contrary by going on the rocks and remaining there for the whole winter of 1846-7, eventually getting off practically undamaged. Another innovation was the adoption of the screw propeller instead of paddles. She was of unprecedented size, having the then enormous tonnage of 3270, and her engines developed 1500 horse-power, which was so prodigious in those days that great trouble was experienced in getting her shaft made. This necessity was the mother of the invention of Nasmyth's steam hammer, though as a matter of fact it was not in the end used for the purpose.

The 'Great Eastern.'—Progress was slow but continuous till 1854, when the restless and far-seeing Brunel began the construction of the famous *Great Eastern*. Like all Brunel's creations, she was a departure from established tradition. He saw that men's minds were clogged by ages of experience with wood and sails, and that the coming of iron and steam had enlarged the possibilities beyond calculation. What he did not grasp, however, was that, though his main ideas were correct, the practical difficulties necessitated caution and a recognition that sound progress must be simultaneous along many lines, so that his experiments sometimes brought heavy loss to his backers. He proposed an iron ship large enough to steam to Australia and back *viâ* the Cape at 14 knots without coaling, able to carry 3000 passengers, and to carry back cargo in the space left by the expended coal. The tonnage of the *Great Eastern* was therefore fixed at 18,915, or

THE ATLANTIC RECORD

With the rapidly approaching completion of the Norddeutscher Lloyd liners *Bremen* and *Europa* (the latter, it will be remembered, was recently badly damaged by fire), public interest in the struggle for supremacy on the Atlantic has been aroused once more. There is a latent Vikingism in the Briton, even when his acquaintance with the sea is of the slightest and what has been called the 'Blue Ribbon of the Atlantic' has always been a matter of patriotic pride, and occasionally humiliation For twenty-one years now Britain has held the record for speed and that with a single ship, the gallant *Mauretania* No previous ship has held it for anything like this period, but a new chapter seems to be opening.

Owing to the presence of so many competing lines and the comparative shortness of the voyage, the Atlantic has always been the chief arena of rivalry and the place in which the best ships have always been found, with ever-growing progress in size, safety, speed, and luxury It is interesting to trace the steps by which the present excellence has been attained

The first recorded attempt to drive a ship by steam was that in 1543, when Blasco de Garey tried it at Barcelona, but it was not till the first years of the nineteenth century that Fulton on the Hudson and Bell on the Clyde made real progress with the *Clermont* and the *Comet* respectively In 1818 came the first steamer that crossed the Atlantic, the *Savannah*, of 320 tons, built in New York, but even she only used steam for three days out of twenty-nine, and hoisted her paddles out of the way when the winds were favourable For years the marine engine was so crude and wasteful that no ship could carry enough coal to last the voyage, and one of the foremost scientific men of the day was said to have undertaken to eat the boilers of the first ship that crossed the Atlantic under steam Unfortunately for his reputation the *Royal William*, built at Quebec in 1831, accomplished the feat at a speed of about 7 knots. Like all the earliest ocean steamers, she was a paddler, and her tonnage was only 720 and her horse-power only 400, so that in these days a voyage in her to New York would be considered a hardy undertaking

The Cunard Line.—In 1839 occurred perhaps the most impor-

Sir Miles Lampson, recently well described the whole political situation as being 'nebulous.' There are obstacles and setbacks in the path of progress which will recur for years to come, but there is no doubt about it that we are now witnessing the rebirth of a nation, and the less resentment we exhibit at foolish impositions and vexatious restraints of trade the sooner will signs of Chauvinist animosity disappear

Our trade requires political amity, and, dealing as we are with such a wonderfully industrious people as the Chinese, the maintenance of good feeling and non-interference with their domestic politics must be ever present in our relations with them

Many Chinese think that to be national they must dislike everyone and everything foreign Anti foreignism colours the spectacles of too many Orientals Though stupid, it is nevertheless a factor which has to be recognised and overcome.

Foreign policy in China has been greatly weakened by the jealousies of the Powers it is in a headless condition, for the refusal of one big Power to act in concert with the others has too often resulted in a forced inaction which has been interpreted by the Chinese as weakness This was the case, for instance, in the lack of swift demands for reparation for the brutal attacks on foreigners at Nanking in the spring of 1927 China was not taught to appreciate the fact that such sudden outbreaks are only evidences of the continued need for armed foreign troops to guard legitimate foreign trade

The presence of foreign troops in England ready for action to protect their nationals who had come here to trade would be an unthinkable situation We would not allow it for a moment The mere thought of it may give us some understanding of the deep resentment it causes in many Chinese hearts that their country has to put up with such a state of affairs It makes them long for the day when their nation can be strong enough and responsible enough to do away with such obvious mistrust that the presence of foreign soldiery implies It is a stumbling-block to wholly amicable relations, which can only be fostered by true reciprocity Japan has attained it So also will China in time to come.

G Douglas Gray

[illegible] and who feel it can only be brought about by unification of the country and complete restoration of China's sovereign rights. They indulge in political thinking in a way that is unsettling the whole country, and which will go on till there is a yet fuller recognition of China's international status and greater regulation of foreign concessions and intercourse.

What China requires most of all is administrative reform. The present Nanking Government, loud-voiced and earnest though it be, has very little hold on the country. In only three provinces out of seventeen is its sway acknowledged in any way. The Cabinet, however, has some astute Ministers, and they have succeeded in a way that has surprised no one more than themselves. But from a foreign point of view they are untrustworthy, for they connive at abuses such as the anti-Japanese boycott, while at the same time they diplomatically deplore them.

It must be difficult for people in England to realise that, while we hear so much about Chinese troubles, the great inarticulate masses carry on their daily avocations in philosophic Confucian-like calm, only wishful to be left in peace. It is the oligarchy, with its parasitical army of intriguers and its wish to subjugate provinces that refuse allegiance, that keeps up the condition of unrest.

Whenever anyone, Chinese or foreign, ventures to predict what is going to happen in China it may be taken as a sure sign that he knows very little about the country, for if he did he would leave prophecy alone.

No political changes are the logical outcome of preceding events.

One fact, however, stands clear, and that is that China has changed more in the past three years than during the previous 3000. The old nationality is gone. Western influence has given birth to the new nationality with aspirations to see the country take its proper place in the world that its size, its huge population, and the virility of its people demand.

We can rail at the thought of abolition of extra-territoriality, and point to the farcical nature of the Chinese judicial system: we can make gloomy predictions, we can note the mishandling of tariff autonomy and irregular taxation, and we can scoff at the idea of allowing Chinese to be municipal councillors in our international concessions, but these and many other matters can no more be placed on one side than Mrs. Partington could sweep back the Atlantic Ocean.

Our diplomatists in China are having a difficult time in steering clear of the rocks and shoals which abound on every side, often to a depressing extent. The present British Minister at Peking,

nation. The annual *per capita* tax in England is [illegible] dollars (silver currency), whereas in China it is only [illegible] dollar: this refers, of course, to legitimate taxation, for owing to official 'squeeze' there is a heavier burden on the people. Irregular and arbitrary taxation is one of the chief causes of unrest. Local officials impose them as they like, and in so doing not only cause friction between foreigners and Chinese, but also restraint of trade, for no one can enter into any forward contracts without risk of loss.

The principal revenue of China—in fact, its only uniform tax—is derived from the foreign-managed Maritime Customs. Inland local authorities now remit to Nanking only a very small proportion of the land and title taxes which they collect. As they receive no salaries, what else could one expect? All this, however, means financial chaos, and as China at the present time stands urgently in need of foreign capital, the outlook for her is by no means bright or easy.

The liberty of the subject in China is remarkable in many ways. No liquor laws interfere with a man buying alcohol at a low price any hour of the day or night, and yet it is rare to see a case of intoxication. Abstemiousness is the national rule. There are no Shop Acts to prevent a shopkeeper selling his goods at any time, and shops are kept open seven full days a week. An eight-hour day is an unknown rule except in the larger factories that are run on foreign lines. There is no unemployment problem. Owing to the family system by which all the members of a family keep together, any period of unemployment is tided over by relations to an admirable extent.

Trade guilds help their members, but do not interfere with employers. Of late however under Bolshevist instigation, trade unions on foreign lines have been formed, and have greatly upset the workers by the political intrigues that supervene.

The foregoing account of modern China describes the steps by which she has arrived at her present state. The giant has awakened, and the country is now in the melting-pot striving for emergence as a modern nation. Mass education has 'caught on'; students eager for knowledge abound in every town. Unfortunately, education has become mixed up with politics, and has often got out of hand, as might be expected where all discipline is lacking. Matters, however, are taking a turn for the better. The status of women has very greatly improved. They attend schools and colleges in large numbers, going about unaccompanied and even engaging in business. There are banks run and entirely staffed by women, and young girls serve in shops without causing any more comment than is the case with us.

There are now millions who understand what nationalism

then. Sometimes one thinks the end of civil fighting is in sight, but it continues to break out on the whim or fancied grievance of any military governor or general. Provisions and munitions cost money, so it has of late been a common custom to collect not only the taxes of the current year, but those of the next few years to come. Native bankers are forced to make loans on hypothetical security

Famine conditions have been rife in North China during the past two years, and many thousands have died of sheer starvation without adequate relief from the Government. The China International Famine Relief Commission, a voluntary philanthropic body, has done noble work, sending grain and carrying out famine prevention measures

From all this it will be seen that the republic has not been able to effect any improvement in the life of the inland people; rather the reverse It has not righted any wrongs; it has only allowed them to be inflicted to a wider and more general extent than was the case before

The implantation of Western civilisation in China has more particular reference to the town dwellers, and here there are indeed many changes Almost every city, seaboard or inland, is lit by electricity, many have water supply companies. Schools are well attended, newspapers published and their contents discussed in the tea-houses There is increasing demand not only for foreign imports, but for all sorts of articles made in Chinese factories, such as cloth tanned leather, mechanical 'gadgets,' and tinned foods

Huge general stores have been opened, owned and managed by Chinese Dance-halls cinemas, even greyhound racing, are available in some ports, in Shanghai alone there are over seventy cinema-halls. Football and athletic sports are in great favour and attract enormous crowds

There is no difference in the amenities of life in places such as Shanghai or Tientsin from those in Europe, except that the Chinese can live in more overcrowded but less sordid conditions than can the inhabitants of our poorer streets

The cost of living is steadily rising and is accompanied by more frequent strikes for increased wages, though it must be admitted that a good proportion of these strikes are fomented by political agitators and cause more distress than ever before. When factories are shut down and the workers dismissed great distress at once ensues, for the vast majority of Chinese labourers live little more than one meal ahead of starvation. Modern industrialism is spreading and bringing with it all the problems that our politicians at home are constantly trying to solve.

The incidence of taxation is lighter than that of any other

from cancer brought about his elevation to a sort of national demi-god. At every public meeting the audience rises and bows three times to his picture, and remains standing while his three principles (Government of the People, By the People, and For the People) are read out. In schools, homes, halls, and shops enlarged framed photos of him occupy a prominent place.

With a high proportion of illiterates in the populace, representative government by votes has been an impossibility, and therefore the republic has never really been a true democracy, but has passed into the hands of an oligarchy, the members of which are demagogues of very varying ability and integrity. One Ministry after another evolved laws and regulations copied from Western systems, but they rarely got beyond the stage of promulgation, for there was wanting the machinery to make them effective. Much of the old juridical code has become obsolete, and judges have great difficulty in adapting old rules to fit the needs of contemporary China. A new penal code was evolved in 1912, but has been found impracticable, as yet, for meeting the social needs of a large part of the country.

In the interior of China among the villagers and farmers life goes on much as it did during imperial times. One does not often see foreign goods, always excepting the ubiquitous cigarette, which British-American Tobacco agents have introduced to the remotest hamlets. There are to-day villages where the Chinese live in exactly the same way that they did 2000 years ago, using the same kind of farm implements and the same kind of domestic utensils, clothed in native made cotton in summer and in home-cured sheepskins in winter. A somewhat smoky candle from sessum oil gives what little light is required at night; the windows are made of sun dried paper. The diet is almost entirely vegetarian (rice and millet), and the wants are very few that cannot be supplied on the spot. Now and then an itinerant pedlar appears selling needles and thread, whilst the peasant by trundling a barrow load of produce to the nearest market village can buy with it hoes and ploughshares. Enough corn must also be sold for money to pay the official tax collector.

No one is unemployed. From dawn to dusk fields and farmyards have their quota of busy, ant-like humans toiling for their daily bread, with no wish or hope of doing otherwise. This is a true picture from my own personal observation of the life led by large numbers of rural Chinese to-day.

Unfortunately, owing to misrule, bandits have overrun vast tracts, looting villages, killing and harrying the peasantry. Civil warfare is a cruel business. Their fields have been trampled on, produce and animals taken, and press-gangs have carried off menfolk, while women and children have not been free from molesta-

reorganising the whole system of central government. But China was by no means ready for these decrees, good as they were, and conservative officials at once took to plotting against the Emperor, with the result that the famous Empress Dowager effected a *coup d'état* and came back to power.

The young Emperor was imprisoned in part of the imperial palace, and spent most of the rest of his life there till 1908, when both he and his autocratic aunt, the Empress Dowager, died within twenty-four hours of each other. The new Emperor was an infant at the time, and so his father (a brother of Kuang Hsu), a well-intentioned but stupid man, was installed as prince regent. The empire thus passed under a regency, and during this period reforms were speeded up and provincial assemblies inaugurated.

Among other reforms a programme of nationalised trunk railways with centralised control was begun, but, owing to the avarice and corruption of the officials, legitimate vested interests were uncompensated and discontented protests poured in from the provinces concerned. These were curtly rejected by the Government, and signs of revolt soon appeared, especially in the province of Szechuan, where there was a general strike. The ringleaders were arrested, but [illegible] open revolt had appeared, and a few weeks later [illegible] took place at Wu Chang in the centre of China.

On October 9, 1911, following the explosion of a bomb at Hankow, a mutiny of troops occurred and was promptly followed by the flight of the [illegible] and [illegible]. The rebels had got the upper hand and now found themselves without leadership; this was thrust upon Colonel [illegible] Li Yuan Hung, who retained it for a short time [illegible] the control of the Revolutionary Committee of [illegible].

Such, in brief, is the history of China, [illegible] her republic very cheaply, without any of the tragic [illegible] of blood which characterised the French or Russian Revolutions. The people had not the slightest notion of the essential differences between a monarchy and a republic. They were almost entirely conservative, and had no general wish to break with the immemorial traditions of the past, which, except in the official world, had been chiefly on the lines of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity.

Before going on to describe the China of to-day and its condition as a republic it may be well to add a few words about Sun Yat Sen, the Chinese Lenin in so far as hero worship is concerned. He played no part in the actual revolution, for he was in England when it broke out. He was a political agitator who gained notoriety from his dramatic arrest at the Chinese Legation in London, and it was not until the republic had been established three months that he arrived at Shanghai. His death in 1925

643 A.D. of the Greek Emperor Theodosius and a Persian monarch sending envoys with gifts of precious stones. They were no doubt anxious to cultivate relations with a State of whose fame they had heard from their sea-going traders. But later on, in 907 A.D., a change took place Civil warfare and insurrections broke out under a series of petty dynasties, which lasted sixty years.

The Sung Dynasty then came on the scene, and during its time the empire pursued the arts of peace and literature until it passed under the sway of the great Kublai Khan, a doughty warrior who, with his Mongols, swept over China to Turkestan, and even ravaged Russia and Hungary He established the Yuan Dynasty in 1280 A.D., ousting that of the Sungs

While the Sung Dynasty was in power (960 1280 A.D.) an interesting trial of socialistic principles was made in the province of Shansi The poor were exempted from taxes and to every man was given a plot of land and the seed for it, with the result that, according to Chinese historiographers, 'Shansi became a desert, no man caring to work'

It was during the reigns of the Emperors Kang Hsi and Chien Lung that Chinese art was brought to the pitch of perfection Specially skilled workmen were collected from all over the empire and were encouraged to do their very best in the imperial ateliers at Peking During the reigns of these two monarchs China was at the zenith of its glory they knew how to govern by leaving well alone and avoiding any harassing measures There were no sumptuary laws to irritate the people who kept to their character of being industrious and pacific unaffected by cruel caste customs or religious differences

If the succeeding Emperors of the Manchu Dynasty had reigned in the same manner as Chien Lung the country would have been spared much of the misery which ensued But in some indefinable way the loss of an efficient head of the State became felt, and in the reign of Tao Kuang 1821 1850, China found itself involved in the frightful Taiping rebellion, which lasted fourteen years and devastated several provinces In this reign also the first war with England occurred, which resulted in the opening of the empire to foreign trade, or, as the Chinese put it, the 'barbarisation' of China

When Kuang Hsu, the last Emperor of the Manchu Dynasty (not counting the present ex-Emperor, who has never really ruled), came to the throne, Western civilisation was introduced. Railways, mints, and arsenals were constructed, and the army trained in foreign style, while a navy of foreign-built vessels was started. Kuang Hsu came under the influence of a young reformer, Kang Yu Wei, who persuaded him to issue a large number of constitutional reform decrees, of a drastic nature,

for governance beyond the collection of certain acknowledged taxes and dealing with crime in the larger towns and villages.

The local magistrate kept back for himself and his court-runners some of the money collected, so did the official in charge of the prefectural district, and when the resultant sum was sent to the viceroy of the province he likewise deducted what he thought fit, and the balance was remitted to the Emperor at Peking. Each official in the chain had a pretty good idea of what the districts would yield, and it was only when one of them became more than ordinarily rapacious and selfish that punishment was meted out to him. Otherwise the actions of the Court and Government of Peking weighed lightly on the people. Perhaps the only instance where, in modern times, an imperial decree made itself felt throughout China was when in 1908 the Empress Dowager, in accordance with the Agreement of 1907 between the Indian and Chinese Governments, gave stringent orders for the suppression of poppy cultivation and made a bold bid to do away with the national vice of opium smoking. Her imperial wish swept the land for the time being. Poppy fields were uprooted, and indulgence in the opium pipe became dangerous. The old provincial viceroys feared their royal mistress, and saw to it that her orders were carried out. This ruthless suppression, however, lasted little more than a year. It was like the late Tzar's ukase against vodka.

In general it may be said that the laws of the country were those sanctioned by use and wont throughout the ages, and that, conceived as they were in a spirit of order and industry, they have been observed by the people with very little reference to either the central or provincial authorities and without any of the limitations, arbitrary rules, or enactments which obtrude themselves into our daily life in England. It is undoubtedly the case that no people in the whole world are so easily governed as the Chinese, who only ask to be left alone to pursue their arts and crafts with as little governmental interference as possible.

A rapid survey of the history of China may guide us in appreciating the events which led up to the revolution and the substitution of monarchy by democracy.

Civilisation in China had proceeded uninterruptedly since B.C. 2000, when the Emperor Shen Nung introduced the blessings of legal marriage and founded his capital in Shantung. The next Emperor regulated the calendar, made roads, and built vessels for inland waters; and from this period onwards there have been continuous records of successive dynasties chronicling the good deeds or delinquencies of an unbroken line of rulers.

During the time of the Dark Ages in Europe China was in a bright, prosperous, and happy condition. There are records in

CONTEMPORARY CHINA

The position of China in the comity of nations is a subject that is becoming increasingly perplexing to all those who take part in international politics. It affects our commerce and industry and that section of our investing public that has financial interests at stake in Chinese Government loans and railway bonds.

In the following article I shall endeavour to depict China as she stands to-day in the hope of making clearer the actual state of affairs and the forces which are at work in the struggle for self-determination without due regard to international responsibilities.

During twenty-five years' residence in China as medical officer to the British Legation at Peking I had ample opportunity to observe the people from the highest officials to the man in the street, and I was further brought into contact with large numbers of all sorts and conditions of patients in the British Charitable Hospital, which is an institution established for placing the benefits of scientific medicine and surgery at the free disposal of all Chinese sick. During these years while travelling in the interior I had opportunities of studying the thoughts and habits of the peasantry, and was thus in a position to note progress, or, more commonly, the absence of it.

Whatever may be said of them collectively, I have no hesitation in describing the average Chinaman as, individually, a very friendly person. After all these years, moving freely among the people, I cannot recollect any occasion on which I was rudely treated; and this is an experience which has been, and still is, the general rule.

For 2000 years Chinese civilisation kept more or less at the same level. It was not till the beginning of this century, when the Manchu Dynasty came to an abrupt end, that the whole fabric of this civilisation changed. The etiquette of their life, the attachment to classical literature, the Confucian ethical system, and the unity of the family as expressed in ancestor worship were all factors which consolidated and bound the Chinese together in a social system very different from our own.

Tradition from time immemorial permeated the soul of the people to such an extent that there was remarkably little need

every day.' This contention may perhaps be justified to some extent, and is not unlike the accusations that used to be made against Gladstone by his political opponents; yet, as one of his biographers has aptly put it, '. . . Gladstone's strength lay in his ability to gauge public opinion and, with this as his guide, to champion the people's cause.'[11] In other words, he was an opportunist in the best sense of the word, and what good statesman is not? It is therefore to their credit rather than to their discredit that the Japanese papers as a whole appear to be possessed of this same faculty of gauging public opinion, however dormant it may appear, and of thereupon taking the lead in giving active expression to the people's cause.

Summing up, then, it may be said that the Japanese Press indulges too freely in libellous attacks and inaccuracies, and suffers from too many young, underpaid reporters and from too many editions. Occasionally it exhibits an anti-foreign bias and, to the disadvantage of pure journalism, is inclined to step outside its proper province. On the other hand, it is thoroughly up to date on the technical side, and shows both courage and initiative, while, as a liberal educator and leader of the people's cause, it is an important factor in the social life and welfare of the people. Thanks to the Press, the political education of the people has been greatly assisted and an interest in art, music, literature, aviation, athletics and other beneficial subjects stimulated, while the old archaic written language of the country has been so simplified in style and construction by the vernacular papers that a knowledge of foreign and domestic affairs has been imparted, through the medium of the written word, to all from the highest to the lowest in the land. Taking all these and other considerations into account, some measure of the immense influence of the Press in Japan may be obtained, and, to its credit be it said, the overwhelming balance of that influence has been to the good of the country.

M. D. KENNEDY.

[11] *W. E. Gladstone* by Osbert Burdett. Published by Messrs. Constable & Co., London, 1927.

Office and other Government departments receive gatherings of Press representatives every day and answer their questions or give out such items of information as may be deemed desirable; and special arrangements are made for newspapermen to attend official functions and ceremonies of every kind. From time to time, it is true, instructions are issued for the Press to withhold mention of certain items of news, but, taken on the whole, the papers have a remarkable amount of freedom allowed them, and are given every opportunity to acquire information other than that of a secret and confidential nature. The pity is that, with so much opportunity to get at the real facts, individual papers, in their anxiety to go one better than their contemporaries, frequently print as gospel truth what is no more than conjecture on their part. These guesses are sometimes reasonably near the truth, but they are even more often devoid of foundation and give rise to such expressions of distrust in the reliability of the Japanese Press as that voiced by the British consul to whom reference was made earlier in this article.

This unreliability of so much that figures in Japanese papers as news is one of the features requiring rectifying, and is due to several causes. Amongst these are the tendency to depend more on the quantity than on the quality of the reporters, and the practice of publishing too many editions. As noted elsewhere, the leading papers of Tokyo and Osaka employ immense staffs of reporters. It is obviously impossible, therefore, to pay them more than a meagre salary. The result is that those who are of real ability are apt to seek more remunerative work elsewhere as soon as an opportunity presents itself. In like manner, as each paper publishes some eight to ten editions a day, there is little time to check up reports, and it is almost impossible to supply fine and well-considered copy.

Another weakness is the tendency to follow out the principle of window-dressing and pandering to the public appetite for something new every day, although it may be said in defence that, in the final analysis, it is the crowd rather than the papers that are to blame, as it is their taste that is poor, and the papers have to cater for it if they are to keep up or increase their circulation.

At the same time it is to the credit both of the papers and of the crowd for whose likings they cater that the former are generally Liberal in outlook and advocates of social and political reform. Cynics may reply to this that their attitude in this respect does not indicate any altruism on their part, but is merely a proof of their being opportunists, they adopt this stand because they know it appeals to the crowd and attracts readers just in the same way as they 'feed the public appetite for something new

many men to cover the news in Kyoto, and all the leading papers opened special offices and maintained huge staffs at the old capital throughout the month or more that these ceremonies, and the preliminary activities attendant thereon, were being performed.

How, it may be asked, could such large numbers of reporters be employed ? The answer is that almost every member of the imperial family, every statesman, every leading politician, and every important official had one or more reporters detailed by the principal papers to watch his every move and report in detail on everything he did and everything he said The amount of information thus accumulated must have been prodigious, and the bulk of it, being largely inconsequential, probably never found its way into print But it is typical of the Japanese as a nation that such great pains are exerted to collect even the most minute details, as their thirst for knowledge is well-nigh unquenchable. Out of all this vast amount of petty detail the papers would be able to pick an occasional gem of real news value or, by putting two and two together, draw conclusions of their own, which might or might not be correct, but which would, in any case, be duly published in their columns

Much the same happened at the time of the late Emperor's illness and subsequent death, and again at the time of his funeral. Huge numbers of reporters were employed day and night covering every item of news even remotely connected therewith Similarly on such occasions as the annual grand manœuvres vast numbers of reporters are employed, although in so far as army manœuvres are concerned, a curious feature of this Press work is that the main attention is directed towards covering the movements of the Emperor and other high personages attending them. The actual military operations and their conduct receive but scant attention The post of military correspondent is unknown in Japan, and the reporters who are sent off to the grand manœuvres have generally but little interest in the operations *per se*.

While, however, the papers do not employ special military correspondents, most of the leading papers have reporters specially detailed to cover news emanating from the War Office and General Staff, just in the same way as they have them covering news from all the other Government offices ; and in most of these centres of officialdom there are special Press clubs, formed by those assigned to the task of 'covering' news from these sources. The Government has come to recognise the important part played by the Press, and accords it privileges which formerly would have been regarded as almost unthinkable. Frequent Press interviews are given by the premier and other leading statesmen and politicians on the outstanding questions of the day ; the official spokesmen of the Foreign

the Tōhō was formed under official auspices, and other news-collecting organisations likewise came into existence. Subsequently, in 1925, Kokusai and Tōhō combined in so far as incoming news was concerned and, in conjunction with the eight leading papers of Tokyo and Osaka, formed themselves into an organisation modelled on the Associated Press of America under the name of Nippon Shimbun Rengosha, compendiously known as Rengo.

For a time the Teikoku Tsūshinsha, an agency which had been handling the incoming services of Nauen and of the International News Service, and was subsidised by the Kenseikai, one of the two principal political parties in Japan, tried to compete; but it has now been eliminated, and with the amalgamation of Kokusai and Tōhō the field is now held by Rengo and Nippon Dempō.[10]

By means of these two agencies and of the special correspondents maintained abroad by the leading papers Japan is kept well supplied with foreign news. Only about 30 to 40 per cent of the Press cables brought into the country in this way are actually published, but they are all read and studied by the newspaper editors and others concerned, and account to a large extent for the well informed nature of the editorials and other articles on foreign affairs appearing in the principal journals of Tokyo and Osaka. Particularly well informed are they on Chinese affairs, and cables from China generally occupy about two columns daily in each of the leading papers, as against an average of only about one allotted to all other foreign telegraphic news. At times, when domestic news is plentiful, the space given to foreign news items, including Chinese, is even more restricted.

The amount of time and energy devoted to the collection of this domestic news is a feature of Japanese journalism that merits more than passing notice, for, besides the uniqueness (and surely it is unique) of some of the methods employed in its collection, it has a very definite bearing on the quality of the Japanese Press as a whole and also on the running costs.

Besides subscribing to the services provided by the news agencies, the leading journals employ immense numbers of reporters. Normally these men spend their time in and around the different Government offices, the big business firms, police headquarters, the law courts, and other similar potential news centres. When, however, some event of special importance occurs or is expected, special attention is directed towards collecting the most minute and seemingly inconsequential information regarding it, and reporters are sent out literally in their hundreds to cover it. Thus at the time of the enthronement ceremonies last autumn the *Mainichi* alone is said to have detailed no less than

[10] Rengo is strictly non partisan. Nippon Dempō has close financial connexions with the Seiyukai, the present Government party.

principal journal in Hokkaido, likewise boast of circulations of about 150,000 each, while the *Otaru Shimbun*, the main rival of the last named, is in the neighbourhood of 100,000, and several other provincial papers have circulations of 50,000 or more.

Financially the big provincial papers are far better off than the majority of their contemporaries in Tokyo or Osaka. Except for the two *Asahis*, the *Nichi Nichi* and the *Mainichi*, none of the dailies published in these two main centres are able to show profit; yet several of the leading provincial papers are good money-making concerns. The explanation appears to be that the provincial papers have fewer competitors in the areas they serve. They do not therefore have to resort to the same costly methods of attracting readers as do the big journals of Tokyo and Osaka. Then, too, their production costs are less, and, as they do not attempt to extend their influence into other areas or seek for exclusive news, they are saved the expense of maintaining offices and plant, office staffs and the like, in other parts of the country, nor do they employ special correspondents abroad. They have their own reporters for local news, but for news from abroad and from other parts of Japan they depend on the services of such news agencies as Rengo and Nippon Dempō, with whom they have long-distance 'fixed-calls' at regular intervals throughout the day.

These two agencies, besides operating widespread domestic news services, are, as already noted, closely connected with Reuter's and its allied agencies throughout the world, and with the United Press respectively. While, therefore, some of the Tokyo and Osaka papers maintain special correspondents of their own in the principal capitals and cities abroad, the bulk of the foreign news entering Japan is received and distributed by the two great rival news agencies Rengo and Nippon Dempō. This, however, is a feature of comparatively recent origin, for prior to the war news agency work of this kind was entirely under foreign control. From the Japanese view-point this was, very naturally, found unsatisfactory, as it was felt that, not only were foreigners less fitted than themselves to judge of their requirements in the matter of news, but that, where the reporting of international politics and the like was concerned, the incoming news must be coloured to some extent by the national views of the countries of origin. The obvious remedy was to organise news agencies of their own working in co-operation with the leading news agencies abroad, and to handle the incoming news themselves. The Kokusai Tsūshinsha (International News Company) was formed in 1914 accordingly, and entered into contract with Reuter's and its allied agencies, and later the Nippon Dempō made a somewhat similar agreement with the United Press, while

thus invade. In general make-up these local editions are exactly the same as their parent papers in Tokyo and Osaka, and contain the same foreign and general domestic news. The only difference is that one page is devoted to news of local interest.

At one time all the leading papers of Tokyo and Osaka endeavoured to extend their influence in this way, but the cost involved by maintaining local offices and staffs and general news facilities proved to be too great for all but the most wealthy. With a few exceptions, therefore, the tendency is now to give up this useless throat-cutting competition and to specialise on some particular line of news instead of trying to cover everything. Thus, while the *Tokyo Asahi* and *Nichi Nichi* continue to strive with one another for first place as national papers, taking everything in their stride and sparing neither trouble nor expense, the *Jiji* concentrates on news and advertisements dealing with industrial matters, while the *Chugai Shogyo* specialises in commercial news. The *Kokumin*, which is nationalistic and patriotic in outlook, caters largely for the military world of Japan, the *Yorozu* for students, the *Yomiuri* for the fair sex, and the *Miyako* (strange though the mixture may sound) for geisha, actors, and persons interested in economics and finance. Unless we include the pro-Seiyukai *Chūō*, a small daily of minor importance, the only paper specialising in party politics is the *Hochi*, which, as noted elsewhere, was formerly the organ of the late Marquis Okuma and his party, the now defunct Kenseikai.

All these, and all the leading provincial papers with one exception, are owned by joint-stock companies, and occasionally, as witnessed but recently in the case of the *Kokumin*,[8] a conflict of opinion arises between the principal shareholders and the editors. The one exception is the *Kahoku Shimpo*, published in Sendai with a circulation of about 50,000, which is privately owned, the owners being a family named Shoriki.

Though this paper exercises considerable influence in the territory served by it, its circulation is small in comparison with some of the other provincial papers. The two great rivals of Nagoya, the *Shin Aichi* and the *Nagoya Shimbun*, claim circulations of 150,000 each, despite their competition with each other and with the *Osaka Asahi* and *Mainichi*, which are always striving to extend their influence in the Nagoya area. The *Fukuoka Nichi Nichi*,[9] the leading paper in Kyūshū, and the *Hokkai Times*, the

[8] In January this year Soho Tokutomi, the veteran journalist, resigned from the *Kokumin* owing to difference of opinion with the new owners, who wished to turn it into a money making organ and cared little for the interests of pure journalism. It was a sad blow to Tokutomi, who had founded the paper and made it what it was by forty years' devoted service to it.

[9] Not to be confused with the *Tokyo Nichi Nichi*, with which it has no connexion.

results in immediate suspension of the offending paper and the confiscation of the money which every publication dealing with political and kindred matters is forced to deposit with the Government as guarantee of good faith.

With so much freedom and latitude accorded, it is seldom nowadays that a paper lays itself open to the action of the law, but a reminder of the times when the arrest of editors and their assistants was of frequent occurrence is seen in the so-called 'prison editor,' who even to this day is found in the employ of most, if not all, of the leading papers. This functionary was originally introduced as a sort of 'whipping boy,' and for a slight consideration was prepared to represent himself as the real editor and go to prison, pay fines, or take whatever other punishment might be forthcoming whenever the paper employing him infringed the law. Thanks to him, the general working and management of the paper could thus be saved from the upset which would inevitably occur if the real editor had been made to undergo a term of imprisonment. A practicable and knowledgeable people the Japanese journalistic fraternity!

Turning now to the question of control, enough has been said to show that the Japanese Press is thoroughly independent in its attitude towards the Government authorities and political parties alike. What then, it may be asked, are the directing forces behind the various units of the Press? Are there, as in England, any great groups or combines? To the last question a negative answer must be given, unless we except the two rival groups, the *Tokyo Asahi*, with its sister paper the *Osaka Asahi*, and the *Tokyo Nichi Nichi*, with its sister paper the *Osaka Mainichi*, which incidentally also publishes a daily in English. With these two exceptions none of the Japanese papers are connected in any way with each other.[1]

While, however, the phenomenon found in England or America of a single group or combine controlling a number of papers all over the country is entirely lacking in Japan, a somewhat similar effect is obtained by the fact that the leading journals of Tokyo and Osaka have special local editions which compete with the provincial papers in all the principal towns and cities. Chiba, Shizuoka, Nagoya, Fukuoka and other big centres of population each have their own editions of the *Asahi*, the *Jiji*, the *Nichi Nichi* or the *Mainichi*, and great is the competition between them and the provincial papers whose territory they

[1] This statement refers to the daily Press, and requires modification if magazines and periodicals are included. The publishing company Kodansha, with Seiji Noma as president, boasts of nine monthly publications with an aggregate of no less than 10,000,000 readers. They thus control more than 80 per cent. of the magazine circulations in Japan. Some of the daily papers publish illustrated and other periodicals as a side line.

Most of the old-time restrictions, however, are now things of the past, and, although some still remain, the freedom accorded in most directions is a well-marked feature. In so far as libel is concerned it would, in fact, be all to the good if stricter control were still exercised; for if the former Press laws were unnecessarily repressive the present law is far too lenient. A law of libel does, in fact, exist, but seldom is it put into force. The most scurrilous and libellous attacks on the honour and good name of prominent personalities and of humbler individuals alike are made in the columns of the daily Press but nothing is done to stop them They are passed by without protest of any kind from the wretched victims, who apparently go on the principle that a denial merely serves to bring conviction The strange thing is how little these unchallenged attacks seem to impair the prestige of those against whom they are directed Possibly, therefore, there is some justification for ignoring them Nevertheless, the fact that such libellous attacks are made on men in the highest quarters, from the premier downwards, and yet receive so little attention either from the general public or from the persons slandered, is apt to mislead the casual observer into concluding that the influence of the Japanese Press is negligible, a conclusion that is far from correct

Considering the extraordinary freedom given in this matter of slanderous attacks at the present time, the change since 1875, when the first oppressive restrictions were imposed on the Japanese Press is most marked By the law promulgated in that year, anyone who libelled or sharply criticised a Government official was liable either to imprisonment or a fine, though only the editor was held responsible for articles appearing in the paper infringing this law Eight years later the law was revised so as to include the proprietor and manager as well as the editor, making them jointly responsible, and so strictly was the law interpreted that even jokes wit, satire and sarcasm directed against a Government official were treated as libel Suppressions and suspensions of papers and arrests and imprisonment of the leading members of newspaper staffs became daily occurrences. A new and more lenient law was passed in 1887 and further restrictions were removed ten years later, but it was not until 1909 that it became enacted that no editor or publisher could be fined or otherwise punished except by the decision of a court of law.

As matters stand at the present time the Press is free to speak its mind as openly and slanderously as it likes about the Government, about Government officials, and about persons and things in general, provided it steers clear of anything bordering on *lèse majesté* or of spreading subversive social doctrines. On these two points the law is unyielding in its strictness, and any infringement

One reason for this stubborn resistance to authority was that many samurai, finding themselves deprived of their old calling on account of the abolition of feudalism, and smarting under the action of the Government in depriving them of such ancient privileges as the right to carry two swords, found a Heaven-sent outlet for their activities in the Press. In this new walk of life they showed the same irrepressible boldness as they had formerly been wont to do in action.[5]

The former drastic control of the Press has now been relaxed to a large extent, but the anti-Government attitude of the vernacular papers is still one of the outstanding features of Japanese journals as a whole. It is, in fact, one of the boasts of Japanese newspapermen that journalism is one of the few industries that have prospered in Japan without Government protection and encouragement.

Actually this boast requires some modification. It may be justified in so far as the past forty or fifty years are concerned, but it overlooks the fact that during the first few years of its existence the Press was to some extent under official auspices. As such it was able to exercise considerable influence from the very outset. Inspired writers were utilised by the Government established after the restoration of the Emperor in 1868 to pave the way for the programme of modernisation and reform that they had in mind. It was, for example, through this channel that the people were taught to appreciate the necessity of an imperial army and uniformity in land tenure, taxation, currency, education and penal laws—aspirations all destined to be fulfilled in the near future.[6]

It is to the credit of the Government of those days that they were quick to recognise the value of the Press as an organ for educating the people in the matter of national requirements, and, although the subsequent repression was unnecessarily severe and tended to some extent to hamper the proper development of the Press, there is no denying that the necessity for a certain measure of control existed. Just as in the case of China at the present time, the sudden emergence from Eastern mediævalism to modern Westernisation tended to make the people lose their mental balance and confound liberty with licence. The danger of an irresponsible native Press at such a time was therefore a matter for serious attention, and the Government, though it may have gone too far, can hardly be blamed for taking what it considered to be reasonable precautions to check the evil consequences apprehended.

[5] Vide *Young Japan*, vol. ii., pp. 447-9, by J. R. Black. Published 1881.

[6] Vide *The Making of Modern Japan*, by J. H. Gubbins, C.M.G., p. 90: Seely, Service & Co., London, 1922.

invariably up in arms against the Government of the day, and it is a striking fact that the more a paper attacks the Government the greater does its circulation increase. Conversely, as amply demonstrated in the case of the *Hochi*, which supported the late Marquis Okuma when he was in power, circulation drops rapidly whenever a paper seeks to defend the Government policies. The political independence of the Japanese Press is, in fact, one of its outstanding features, and party organs, as known in England, are non-existent. True, the *Hochi* is often referred to as the organ of the Minseito (the present main Opposition party), and the *Chūo*, a small paper of little importance, is sometimes called the Seiyukai organ; but the former, after its experience in espousing the cause of the Okuma Cabinet twelve or fifteen years ago, has learned its lesson, and its open support of the Minseito and of its predecessor, the Kenseikai, is now mainly relegated to times, such as the present, when that party is out of power.[4]

In the early days of the Japanese Press things were different. At the start, in fact, the papers were almost slavishly subservient to the Government of the day, and, referring to it in the most deferential terms, never attempted to subject its actions to criticism. This state of affairs, however, lasted but a few years, and with the return of the first batches of young men from abroad, whither they had been sent for study after the opening of the country to foreign intercourse, new ideas began to take root, and youthful reformers used the columns of the Press to give vent to their dissatisfaction with the seemingly slow progress made by the country's administrators. Press attacks on the Government became the order of the day, and fearful of the harm that these over-enthusiastic Radicals, full of abstract ideas of civil rights and freedom, might do by their scathing denunciations, the Government, which hitherto had shown great leniency towards the Press, clapped on drastic laws for its control.

This action was justified to some extent, though it went too far, and, curiously enough, it only served to stimulate the interest of the general public in the newspapers and gave a fillip to circulation. Persecution therefore strengthened the growth and importance of the Press, and, although at one time the arrest and imprisonment of editors and their assistants was almost a daily occurrence, fresh men were always forthcoming to take their place and carry on their attacks against the Government until they, in their turn, found themselves behind the prison bars, whereupon others took up the fight where they perforce had left it off.

[4] The various proletarian parties and groups have papers of their own, which might perhaps be termed party organs; but they are not dailies, and their circulation is strictly limited.

It may seem rather wandering from the subject of Japanese journalism to discuss these points at such length. The object is, however, to emphasise how much the vernacular Press has done in recent years to popularise two things which are exercising an outstanding influence on the social life and thought of the country.

If civil aviation has not shown a greater and more rapid development, it is through no fault of the Press, for nothing has been more praiseworthy than the efforts expended by the leading vernaculars, the *Asahi* in particular, to rouse the people's interest in aerial matters and to contribute to the formation of 'air-mindedness' in Japan. When the great earthquake of 1923 destroyed all other means of communication, the *Asahi* came to the rescue and operated an aerial mail. Two years later it organised the first Japanese air flight to Europe. For several years past the two *Asahis* and their chief rivals, the *Nichi Nichi* and *Osaka Mainichi*, as noted elsewhere, have maintained aircraft of their own, and these four great papers have, time and again, sponsored aerial meetings and competitions and organised public lectures on aviation under their auspices. Activities of this nature may not be actuated purely by altruistic motives, but there is no denying that they exert a most beneficial influence on the country at large.

The influence exercised by the Press in Japan is not, however, confined to the popularisation of sports, of aviation, or of music. From practically the outset the papers, as a whole, have been Liberal in outlook and have been a powerful factor in educating the people politically. Almost without exception they have championed the cause of the people consistently and advocated successive reforms. The ultimate passage of the Manhood Suffrage Bill in 1925, by which the electorate was increased at one bound from roughly 3,000,000 to close on 12,000,000, was largely the outcome of constant pressure from the vernacular Press, and the anti-military movement, which came into prominence on the conclusion of the Great War and resulted in two large successive cuts in the strength of the army, owed much to its espousal by the leading journals of the country. The Labour movement and the movement in favour of women's rights likewise owe much to the Press, which is almost unanimous in supporting these two causes. So, too, does the movement for the abolition of licensed prostitution receive the warm support of the leading journals, while the reactionary element in the country, which would put the clock back and suppress all Liberal tendencies in the realm of social and political reform if it could, receives short shrift from the *Asahi* and very little sympathy from any of the influential papers.

In adopting this Liberal attitude the Japanese Press is almost

formances of such members of their own community as possessed musical talent. Now, however, all this has changed, and much of the credit for the change must be accorded to the Japanese Press, which has rightly read the signs of the times and has spared no effort to popularise both athletics and music. As recently as five years ago Mr Byas, in the lecture to which allusion has already been made, was able to say, in perfect truth, 'There is one striking omission (in the Japanese Press), the great quantity of sports news that our papers regularly print', yet to-day the leading papers in Japan are devoting columns daily to reporting such news in detail not only of sports in Japan, but also of sporting events in America and other countries as well.[*] In addition they are sponsoring football baseball and tennis matches, boxing, swimming and, in winter skiing and skating competitions, and athletic meetings of all kinds while foreign teams are invited to Japan and Japanese teams of first-rate quality are sent abroad under newspaper auspices. The sports editor has now risen to a position of high importance in the Japanese newspaper world, though five years ago it was not even considered necessary to have a special man appointed to the post.

To some extent the same is true of music. Some papers are now even maintaining orchestras of their own, and those with less ambition in this direction run columns for musical news and sponsor concerts. The increasing interest in good Western music which this newspaper propaganda has done so much to stimulate is well seen in the packed and very appreciative Japanese audiences which assemble to hear musicians of international repute when they come to Japan, while excellent concerts by Japanese performers can now be heard frequently in Tokyo and other centres.

To those who remember Japan ten years ago, and who have not more recent first hand knowledge of the country, the present popularity of Western sports and music must be almost unbelievable while the searcher after knowledge who turns to Chamberlain's *Things Japanese* will be sadly misled when he reads the statement, true at the time it was written, that 'One never hears a party of Japanese talking seriously about music; musical questions are never discussed in the newspapers.' As for Western games, so little were they known in Japan twenty-five years ago that Chamberlain did not even think them worthy of mention.

[*] The two leading Japanese news agencies each spent more than 10,000 yen in cable tolls reporting the progress of the three days American baseball 'World Series' last year, and the *Osaka Mainichi* covered the news almost as fully through its special correspondent. Heavy expenditure is likewise incurred in covering Davis Cup matches, Olympic Games and the like.

Sometimes a paper with even greater ambition than its fellows launches forth on an aerial flight to Europe, as in the case of the *Asahi* in 1925, or fixes up a round-the-world race, as the *Jiji* did last year. Some papers support hospitals or orphanages, and quite recently the *Osaka Mainichi* branched out as a virtual competitor of Messrs. Thomas Cook & Co by organising round-the-world tours for its readers! The same journal a year or so ago set a subject for an essay, with expenses for a six months' trip abroad as a prize for the winner, while more than one journal has taken up the popularisation and actual sale of radio sets, athletic equipment and the like

From the standpoint of pure journalism, this tendency on the part of Japanese newspapers to step outside their proper province is open to criticism, but is it any more reprehensible than the practice of those British journals which seek to increase their circulation by presenting free insurance coupons or by offering prizes for the best forecast of football results or for missing word competitions?

However much one may deplore such excursions from the true realm of journalism they serve at least two useful purposes. In the first place by increasing sales and bringing in money, they help the papers to cover their running expenses and thereby retain their financial and general independence This particular aspect of the Japanese Press will be discussed in greater detail later Secondly, it stimulates the interest of the reading public in such matters as aviation athletics music, art, or whatever it may be that the papers happen to be boosting at the time

Even admitting the inaccuracy of much that appears in the Japanese Press and the other faults and follies for which it is to blame, the good it has done and is still doing far outweighs the harm. In the early days of its existence it helped to educate the people politically and to give them a fair working knowledge of other countries beside their own. In more recent years it has been of inestimable value in popularising Western sports and music, art and literature, aviation and science, and innumerable other matters of importance influencing the whole life of the nation.

Up to four or five years ago interest in athletics was practically confined to the semi-annual professional wrestling competitions and to *jujutsu* and fencing A few football and baseball teams of inferior quality existed, and both these games had a strictly limited following in student circles Seldom, however, did they receive any mention in the Press, and such a thing as a sports page was unknown Much the same was true of Western music. The vernacular Press paid no attention to it, and the foreigner in Japan had to be content with the occasional per-

acted as a corrective, but many of the young journalists of Japan thought that modern sensational journalism, with its contempt of dull accuracy, was the latest and smartest thing.*

Whatever its faults and follies may be—and God knows it has both in full measure—the vernacular Press of Japan can never be accused of lacking either in initiative or 'push.' In organisation, in equipment, in circulation, in general management, it has little to learn either from England or America. The principal journals are now housed in great ferro-concrete buildings fully equipped with all the latest machinery and devices for rapid collection and dissemination of news. The two great Osaka papers, the *Asahi* and *Mainichi*, each have several aeroplanes of their own as well as telephoto apparatus, by which they are able to supplement other more common means—telegraph, telephone, carrier-pigeons and the like—of maintaining constant and rapid communication with their sister papers, the *Tokyo Asahi* and the *Nichi Nichi*, in the Japanese capital. The two leading news agencies, Rengo, the ally of Reuter's, and Nippon Dempō, which co-operates with the American United Press, are equally well organised and equipped, and during the recent enthronement ceremonies operated aircraft for the rapid transmission of photographs to the principal towns and cities in Japan in addition to 'covering' news by the normal means. The *Mainichi* and *Nichi Nichi* as recently as last June each installed three multiple presses in their respective offices, each press being capable of turning out as many as 120,000 copies an hour. Not content with this, the *Mainichi* has since then placed an order for eight more presses of the same capacity, an order which, when executed, will give it a total of eleven such presses and twelve others of lesser capacity.

These are but a few instances taken at random, exemplifying the up-to-date methods employed by the vernacular Press in Japan for the rapid collection and dissemination of news. The way the various units endeavour to compete with one another and increase their own circulation, though not, in some instances, so praiseworthy, is every bit as indicative of enterprise and initiative. Men of international fame are invited to Japan to lecture under the auspices of one paper or another; famous singers and musicians are likewise invited and special concerts arranged (some of the leading journals have fine auditoriums of their own), athletic meetings are sponsored, aerial pageants organised, challenge cups and medals presented for anything and everything from a baseball series or a swimming meeting to a flower show, an art display, or a beauty competition.

* From a paper entitled 'The Press in Japan' read by Mr. Hugh Byas at a meeting of the Japan Society in London on March 26, 1934.

the foreign observer more forcibly than any other, it would be doing the Japanese Press a grave injustice if such an expression of opinion were taken to indicate that the vernaculars were intrinsically bad and devoid of any compensating good qualities. The Press in every country has its good and its bad points, and Japan is no exception to this general rule. Even in England we have Hilaire Belloc inveighing against the evils arising from the trustification of the British Press, and an anonymous writer, in a series of articles appearing as recently as last November in the *Economist*, exposed and attacked this same system of newspaper combines with a bitter relentlessness that lost nothing of its strength and vigour by the cool-headed manner in which the subject was handled

It may be retorted to this that the trustification of the British Press, unfortunate though it may be, is not comparable to the libels, inaccuracies, and other similar evils of the newspapers in Japan Even, however, if such a retort is to be regarded as justified, one has only to call to mind that the Japanese Press has by no means a monopoly in the matter of scurrilous attacks and inaccurate reporting. Both Britain and America have their 'Yellow Press' even now, and in days gone by Charles Dickens took no pains to hide his feelings of revulsion regarding certain sections of the Press of both countries Even so dignified a news organ as *The Times*, in the forties of last century, was not averse from referring to Macaulay as 'Mr Babbletongue Macaulay' and remarking that '. he was hardly fit to fill up one of the vacancies that have occurred by the lamentable death of Her Majesty's two favourite monkeys.'[1]

Two blacks do not, of course, make a white Even if they did, it might well be argued that ideas regarding decorum have changed considerably since the days of Dickens and Macaulay, and that it is ridiculous, therefore, to attempt a defence of present-day evils in Japan on the ground that they are no worse than those that existed in England eighty years ago. Without, however, trying to condone the practice of making unseemly attacks of a personal nature in the columns of the Japanese or any other Press, it is but fair to remember that journalism in Japan is still of comparatively recent growth Certain of the defects of youth are therefore but to be expected, and, as one British journalist, speaking from first-hand knowledge of his subject, pointed out when lecuring in London a few years ago:

It was an unfortunate coincidence that just at the impressionable age of Japan's young Press, our own and America's yellow journalism sprouted so vigorously. In our 250 years' start we had gained traditions which

[1] Quoted by Sherard Vines in his introduction to Kanesada Hanazono's *Development of Japanese Journalism*.

THE JAPANESE PRESS AND ITS INFLUENCE

FEW features of Japan's rapid rise to the position of a first-class Power are more striking than the phenomenal growth and development of the vernacular Press. Less than seventy years have passed since the first newspaper was founded in Japan. This, like the next half-dozen that came into existence, was foreign-owned and edited. It was not until the year 1868 that the first vernaculars started to appear, and of those existing at the present day, none have histories dating back further than 1872. The progress made in the intervening period of little more than half a century is strikingly demonstrated, therefore, by the fact that in January this year the *Osaka Mainichi* held a great banquet to celebrate the attainment of a daily circulation of over 1,500,000. Admittedly this particular paper leads all others in the matter of sales, but its great rival, the *Osaka Asahi*, claims a circulation of over 1,000,000, and several other journals boast of being well past the 500,000 mark, while the total number of dailies registered in Japan is placed at rather over 1000, of which about 100 have reasonably large subscription lists.

Circulation in Japan is no more trustworthy as a guide to the influence exerted than it is in England or in any other country, but even the greatest detractors of the Japanese Press must recognise the important part played by it if they take the trouble to study the history of the past fifty or sixty years in Japan.

The faults and follies of the Japanese Press are plain for all to see, and probably the bulk of foreigners living in Japan, if asked for their opinion, would be inclined to dilate on the inaccuracy and the libellous, even scurrilous, nature of the papers in general. To some extent their censure would be justified, for, as stated succinctly in the appendix to the 1927 reprint of Chamberlain's classic *Things Japanese*, '. . . cheap scandal still disfigures even the best of Japanese newspapers, which publish news about people without apparently even attempting to verify it, so much so that a British consul has given his opinion that anything appearing in a Japanese newspaper is no evidence at all as to its having happened.'

While, on the surface, this is probably the feature that strikes

shortly be followed by the resumption of the Œcumenical Council, so tragically interrupted in 1870, and whose chief preoccupation was to concentrate authority within the Roman Catholic Church. Let us hope that the main concern of the Assembly, when it is again convened, will be to endeavour to bring about in a spirit of respect and toleration the union of all Christian Churches and denominations conformably with the wishes of the Psalmist: 'Behold, how good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity.'

In our eyes the Lateran agreement bids fair sooner or later to usher in a new problem—that of the 'internationalisation' of the central government of the Roman Catholic Church.

Yet, despite difficulties, we fervently believe that the treaty which has given great joy to many is full of promise for all men of goodwill who stake their hopes on the ultimate victory of love over hatred, and believe that this religious Locarno outshines all its political kindred because the spiritual outweighs the material.

ANDRÉ PAULIAN.
EDMOND PRÉCLIN.

Government, led by a new Garibaldi, that would tear to pieces its scrap of paper unless the covenant were guaranteed by other Powers.'

Be it as it may, this is but theory, and concrete results must now be grappled with. The first is that the treaty recognises the final disappearance of the temporal papal State such as it had been created by Pippin the Short. The second, not less weighty, is that the Pope and the master of Italy are once more confronted within the same city. A difference, however, exists between present and past circumstances: though not an emperor, the reigning King of Italy is supported by a submissive, disciplined army of subjects, 40,000,000 strong; though not the temporal chief of anything more than a microscopic State, the ruling Pope, reinstated in his sovereignty, invested with absolute spiritual authority, is many times more mighty than any of the Pontiffs of the third century. Will there not be some friction between two powers so conscious of their strength? Notwithstanding the conciliatory provisions of the Italian concordat, it may be asked, can Mussolini's Government really release its hold over matters regarding the education of youth? Is it possible for that Government to forgo its control of the Italian religious communities and other associations of priests?

Besides these national or international difficulties of juridical temporal character there are other menaces in the spiritual realm. 'Later on,' writes M. P. Gentizon, 'from the very fact that it stands closer to the Vatican, the Italian Government will acquire greater influence over the Church than any other.' Hence 'the more Italian the Holy See may in future be suspected of turning, the more loyally must it strive to affirm the universality of the Church's character and endeavour to make certain to the world at large that, keeping above the nations and their differences, it is prompted by no other spirit but one of complete justice.'

All these dangers exist. Yet, as things stand, the settlement of the Roman question has already achieved much by giving back his liberty to the Pope, who is no longer a prisoner in the Vatican; while the argument that the Pope has not and will not become a member of the League of Nations carries but little weight, inasmuch as he contemplates intermittent contact with that League whenever any matter concerning both that establishment and the Holy See comes up for discussion—namely, 'religious minorities, the rights of missionaries in mandated territories, the international suppression of scandalous trafficking, assistance to distressed peoples, the defence of the working classes, and other problems.'

Moreover, the Lateran agreement will most probably very

Italian and a fairly large number of European and American
oman Catholics steer a middle course. Undoubtedly the treaty
an advantage for both parties, they acknowledge. It would be
beurd to deny the fact. But will it not create a number of new
uridical and spiritual problems of a very serious character in
taly and in the international realm? Most non-Roman Catholics
f the higher middle classes share that opinion The trend of their
rgument is this As a result of the creation of the city of the
'atican we are confronted with a novel form of State or power
wherein the status of persons and the condition of goods, or
hattels, lands or tenements, will exhibit unexpected peculiarities.
There is, as has been said, but one sole absolute owner of the
'atican, the Pope, yet there exists on his property a burden, in
he nature of a servitude, by which he is obliged to suffer visitors
o be admitted into the pontifical museums and galleries Thus,
t the very outset, we discover an element of confusion Above
ll, the status of persons must be settled in a precise manner.
From the moment of his accession to office the Pope will cease
o have Italian nationality That can easily be arranged. But
what of the other high dignitaries of the Vatican? The cardinals
of the Curia and cardinals appointed as prefects will, it is admitted,
likewise enjoy the privilege of Vatican citizenship Good. Now
or the countless 'ants of the Vatican,' monsignori and the
ike? And the gentlemen of the *Guardia Nobile* and the Palatine
and Swiss Guards will these too, ceasing to be amenable to
Italian and Swiss jurisdiction, become citizens of the Vatican
State?

Disappointment is also caused in the same circles by the announcement that there are no hopes of the Pope joining the League of Nations As member of that League, he might have intervened authoritatively against war and evils moral and social But Fascist Italy is averse from 'those deceptive, sermonising, pacific theories whose aim is to monopolise the ethnic value of the League of Nations' Further, judging things from another standpoint, Pius XI may fear lest the provisions of sections 6 and 10 of the Pact (by which the territorial integrity of the States is guaranteed) should furnish no better protection for the temporal power in future than has been afforded in the past by the bonds of France and Austria.

Prior to the agreement, it is true, many Roman Catholics thought differently The political leader of *Le Correspondant* of February 10, 1929, reads: 'From the Vatican side it is certain that such territorial sovereignty as might be obtained would be of no avail to resist any eventual outside attacks.' Contemplating the fall of Mussolini's dictatorship, the writer of that article emphasises what might happen in the event 'of a revolutionary

be filed with the municipal officials. Civil marriage, however, subsists for Italians of denominations other than the Roman Catholic one, and for agnostics and freethinkers.

Now that the main lines of the threefold treaty of February 11 last have been considered, it seems relevant to decide on the merits of that settlement. *Primâ facie* this appears as a compromise in which are fittingly adjusted the rights of a young nation and those of a power 2000 years old.

Indeed, fully reinstated in its sovereignty with the privileges of inviolability and neutrality, the Holy See also obtains, besides the substantial redress afforded by the financial convention, the manifold, precise and far-reaching benefits of the concordat. The Roman Catholic papers, for whom '*Dove è il Papa ivi è Roma*,' are at one in emphasising the importance of those gains. The exultant tone of the messages of congratulation reverently sent to Rome from all quarters of the world is further evidence that the Pope's position is truly strengthened and enhanced.

Italy, on the other hand, is no loser. The recognition by the Holy See of the annexation of Rome to Italy, the resumption of diplomatic relations with the Vatican, the promising results of an alliance thanks to which, both at home and abroad, the constructive strength of the nation will be backed by the moral power of the Church, all these cannot but increase the prestige of Mussolini and the efficiency of the *régime*. That is why, gladly obeying with the whole impulse of their hearts *il Duce's* watchword, the Italian nationalists are triumphant. In the review *Echi e Commenti* a well-known senator insists on the 'filial devotedness of the nation elect and predestined.' The *Tevere* writes in the same strain: 'Not France, a Roman Catholic but republican land, swarming with atheists and freemasons, or Lutheran Germany, or Anglican England, not the other Roman Catholic countries debarred from the influence necessary to the irradiation of faith throughout the world, but the Italy of the saints and sages, is *the* nation that can and must be the elder daughter of the Church.'

In opposition to the enthusiasm of the Fascists of Italy and of the Roman Catholics of that and other countries, the Socialists and Anarchists are bitter against the Lateran agreement. Of their criticisms—the hackneyed arguments ever raised by the advanced parties against all ideas that smack of discipline, order, respect, obedience, religion, or merely tradition—not much need be said. Their chief grievance is that it is a resumption of an old despotism that a power, in its nature perpetual, should have become the supporter of a provisional dictatorship.

Instead of running to either of these extremes, a small number

ly taken into account. No international guarantee is provided r in the shape of foreign Powers intervening as guarantor signatories. 'The Vatican wishes to remain, and will remain, extraneous to the temporal competitions between other States, as well s to international congresses convened for this purpose, unless he parties in conflict appeal unanimously to its mission of peace.' Again, by the treaty, full sovereignty of the Pope *de jure*, implying he privileges of extra-territoriality, is recognised over three domains. One consists of the Vatican city, an area of about 00 acres, namely, ⅘ of the principality of Monaco, $\frac{1}{15}$ of the epublic of San Marino, $\frac{1}{180}$ of the Principality of Leichtenstein, $\frac{1}{1000}$ of the republic of Andorra. Of that microscopic territory he Pope becomes absolute temporal ruler, and direct communication between it and the other States 'is secured and pecified as to rail, telegraphic, wireless and other services.' Another group comprises estates detached from but strictly corporate with the Vatican State—the Lateran and Santa Maria Maggiore Basilicas, the Palace of the Cancelleria, the Castel Gandolfo (to which will very shortly be added the adjoining Villa Barberini), the Palaces of the Holy Office and of the Datary's Office, and several mansions on Mount Janiculum. All of these will likewise enjoy the diplomatic immunities conceded to embassies. A last group is formed by the Gregorian University, the Biblical, Archaeological and Oriental Pontifical Institutes, and the Russian College, which, though still an integral part of the Italian territory, are, however, to be relieved from taxation and of which the Pope cannot be dispossessed.

On the financial side a sum of 750,000,000 lire in cash and the annual revenue in 5 per cent. consolidated bonds of a further sum of 1,000,000,000 lire are given to the Holy See 'as a final settlement with Italy on account of its financial relations consequent upon the loss of temporal power'—if we may once more quote the *Tablet*.

Concurrent with the political treaty and the financial convention there is a concordat. Undoubtedly a great gain to the Pope, in the country of which he is primate, that covenant agrees to grant the Holy See advantages of import bearing on the appointment of bishops, the establishment of feast days, the amendment of Italian ecclesiastical legislation, the recognition of the civil personality of religious communities, compulsory Roman Catholic education both in primary and secondary schools. Furthermore, the sacrament of marriage, such as it is regulated by canon law, is to have full civil effect in Italy. After having proceeded to the religious union of the bridal pair the priest will read to them the sections of the Italian Civil Code pertaining to marriage. He will then within five days draft a marriage certificate which must

Some jurists bewail the fact. They argue as follows: Supposing all the nations of Christendom, or merely of Europe, had by solemn proclamation reinstated the Pope in his sovereignty, the effect would have been immense and beneficent. A declaration of that kind would have created a new order of things. It would have been nothing short of the acknowledgment that the great moral forces of the world were henceforth set on the same plane as the other forces, and entitled to profit by advantages which up to then had been reserved to no organisations save those grounded on territorial and national bases. But jurists often lack psychology. In the present case the international solution would have left both parties dissatisfied. Fascist Italy would have rebelled against foreign interference in its own private affairs. Not without fear would Pius XI, an Italian himself, have seen States severed from the Church reluctantly grant to the vicar of Christ rights that the latter holds from God.

That is why the negotiators immediately sought the means to reinstate, by mutual promise, a miniature temporal State. Any idea of giving Rome to the Pope was out of the question. Likewise, the old Austrian scheme of 1861, lately taken up by the German Erzberger, was promptly dismissed. That plan, while leaving to the Pope full sovereignty over the Castle of Saint Angelo, the Vatican, and part of the Transtevere, contemplated free right of traffic up and down the Tiber from Rome to the sea, where he was to obtain a port. The scheme, which was quite sensible theoretically, would, in practice, have led to endless difficulties of the nature of those so shrewdly noted down by Mr C. Loiseau: 'Est-ce qu'on prétend sérieusement condamner le Saint-Siège, à titre de rançon de cette singulière indépendance, à devenir constructeur, affréteur, entrepreneur de services maritimes?' Speaking familiarly about the question, Cardinal Gasparri emphasised the same opinion: 'To deal with tramway strikes is not my job.' Those ideas at last prevailed with the most ardent defenders of the Pope, who declared that they would be content with a very small temporal domain comprising the hillocks in the neighbourhood of the Vatican as far as the beautiful Sachetti pine forest. But even that, as we shall now see, was too much for the uncompromising Fascist, reluctant to give up even one bit of his country's sacred soil.

And now for the settlement of February 11 last. It is set forth in three distinct instruments:

(*a*) A treaty proper.

(*b*) A financial convention.

(*c*) A concordat.

In the treaty the difficulties mentioned a few lines above are

ratified the papal briefs and encyclicals should not involve the commission of acts contrary to the Italian laws. Any dictatorial Government might therefore at its will vex the supreme Pontiff: the latter's liberty was dependent on a simple vote at Monte Citorio or one of Mussolini's decrees. Similar difficulties existed on a yet larger scale in the international domain. An Italian Pope with Italian officials, instinctively partial to Italian interests, must needs rouse the suspicion of other nations. In the event of a war involving Italy, what about the diplomatic agents of the belligerent countries? Would not their immunity be practically waived? Experience has shown that from 1916 to 1918 the German and Austrian ambassadors accredited to the Holy See were compelled to retire to Lugano. And that is not all. For the reason that he was neutral, Benedict has not been called upon to play a part in the Peace Conference. More than this: the Popes, who during the Middle Ages so often acted as 'arbiters of kings,' have not been admitted to membership of the League of Nations. Nay, the heads of the Roman Catholic Church whose mission it is to enforce here below the teachings of Christ—'Love your enemies', 'Put up again thy sword into his place, for all they that take the sword shall perish with the sword'; 'Whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also'—those august peace-makers—have held aloof from the Conferences of Geneva because they were not sovereigns in the human sense of the term.

This much history teaches us.

§

Until quite recently most Italian political leaders seemed little concerned with the preoccupations of the Holy See. Mussolini's dictatorship has reversed the aspect of the question. Fascism has unceasingly proclaimed itself the maintainer of tradition, the heir to the Roman Empire in Italy. How could such a power remain for ever aloof from another power whose establishment in Rome is a matter of 2000 years' standing? To the Duce's net must come the moral forces of the whole nation, as Mussolini needs the co-operation of the Roman Catholic Church, alone capable of furthering the Italian missions abroad.

These reasons, and no doubt many others, explain why since August 6, 1926, prudent negotiations had been carried on in secret with the sincere desire to come to an agreement. Advocate Pacelli, representing the Holy See, and State Councillor D. Barone, representing the Government, began conversations which were continued by Mgr. Borgongini-Duca, acting unofficially for the Vatican, and Signor Giannini, acting in like manner for Italy. From the outset both sides rejected the theory of international guarantee and adhered to the principle of an Italian solution of the problem.

protectors of the papal temporal power—having departed as a consequence of the Franco-Prussian war, the Italian army, after some sham fighting before the Porta Pia, took possession of Rome on September 15, 1870. By an immense majority the Romans forthwith voted their annexation to Italy (October 2, 1870).

In Rome, now the capital of Italy, the Italian Parliament on May 13, 1871, passed the Law of Guarantees. While confirming the abolition of the temporal power of the Pope, the provisions of that Bill yet acknowledged his inviolability and left him the enjoyment of his palaces together with the right of free diplomatic intercourse and open postal and telegraphic communication with the other Christian countries, further granting him an endowment of 3,225,000 lire per annum. Pius IX naturally refused to assent to the law, and published against the violent occupation of the Holy City a solemn protest which has been renewed by every one of his successors. He excommunicated Victor Emmanuel, declined to receive in the Vatican (wherein he voluntarily confined himself) any Roman Catholic sovereign who was a guest of the Quirinal, and forbade the Italian Roman Catholics to partake in the political life of their country (*non expedit*). Leo XIII followed the same policy.

But drastic measures cannot subsist for ever. By degrees a *modus vivendi* came into being. We should remember that not only the Popes but also the greater number of cardinals and all the diplomats of the Holy See were Italians. How, then, could their hearts remain callous to the call of their country? The fact helps us to understand many things. It explains, notably, why Pius X, after breaking off diplomatic relations with France as a consequence of President Loubet's visit to the King of Italy, repealed the *non expedit*; why Benedict XV consented to receive foreign sovereigns who were guests of the King in the Quirinal; why, under Pius XI, an ever closer co-operation was finally established between the two Powers. From that time onwards, bearing up against the loss of those extensive estates which had proved to many Pontiffs a source of temporal burdens inconsistent with the high majesty of their spiritual office, the Popes have striven to solve the question by means of an agreement which, while making due amends for the brutal infringement of their rights committed fifty-nine years ago, should fully acknowledge their sovereignty. For, indeed, the precariousness of the Law of Guarantees impeded the national interests of the Pontiff as well as those of the King of Italy.

Under the provisions of that law the Pope was submitted to the same civil obligations as all Italian subjects; furthermore, his representatives and agents were granted immunity only

ing to the most unpopular of the new practices which had been introduced by Napoleon I.; opposing all liberal reforms, they even became the allies of Austria. Reaction was bound to take place. Both the revolutionary republicans of Romagna, clamorous for decentralisation, and the well-informed Romans, who had learnt from the promoters of the 'Risorgimento' to denounce the economic depression and the arbitrary rule of the Roman States, joined hands in opposing the Pope.

Indeed, with the reign of Pius IX. there was a short respite. Besides being an admirer of Napoleon I., the young Pope was a disciple of Gioberti, the famous priest whose book advocated the amalgamation of Italian principalities into a confederation of free States set under the presidency of the Pontiff. Pius IX. endeavoured to carry on the work of centralisation first introduced by the French prefects. He promised to grant an amnesty to everybody; he promised to achieve political reforms; he promised to build railways, never ceasing meanwhile to proclaim his ardent sympathy for Italy. In fact, throughout his reign (1846–1870) substantial improvements were brought about in the city's activities by the establishment of gasworks, a railway system, and several hundred schools. Two years in succession (1846–1848) he also granted political reforms. In particular he decided that the members of municipal boards should henceforth be elected by ballot, that a chamber of representatives returned by the wealthier taxpayers and placed under the supervision of the Sacred College should be created, as also several courts of justice; lastly, he went one step further and sent his troops against Austria.

Unfortunately the liberal movement was doomed. The Pope very speedily called back his soldiers, the dissatisfied Romans having proclaimed a republic, which was itself overthrown by the French army. Pius IX., now ruling under humiliating foreign protection, allowed Cardinal Antonelli to resume the absolute policy of the older days. In 1860 the population of Umbria and Romagna rose against the Pontiff and claimed by vote to become the subjects of Victor Emmanuel.* Napoleon III. did not interfere, as he was looking on the side of Nice and Savoy, and, turning to account the French Emperor's aloofness, Victor Emmanuel II. in the name of the Italian people claimed Rome for his capital. Vainly did Pius raise his proud protest: 'The world grudges me the grain of sand on which I sit, but of no avail shall be the efforts of the world; the earth is mine; Christ has given it unto me; to Him alone shall I return it.' Then the French soldiers—the

* This was an indirect effect of Garibaldi's raid against Naples (1860). There is no need to mention his second raid (against the pontifical States, 1867) because it was repelled and produced at the time no result except bloodshed.

bouring Governments, each of which is on the look-out for an opportunity to deal with the pontifical State as some Powers had dealt with Poland, the 2500 papal soldiers are scorned by the Roman nobles and the peasantry, more respectful to the highwaymen than to the palatin guards or Sbirri. The coffers of the Holy See are exhausted. From an economic standpoint things look yet worse. Geographers have often dwelt upon the barrenness of a part of the pontifical States. Little do the noble families, owning most of the arable lands, busy themselves about introducing such new methods of cultivation as might yield better crops. Slackness prevails in industry—an inevitable result of the dearth of men of the higher middle classes and of the scarcity of capital. Vexatious prohibitions and heavy custom duties impede trade. The whole situation is intensely critical.

With the revolution and the empire things came to a climax. Catastrophes follow one another in quick succession. The French troops occupy the legations for a course of seventeen years (1797–1814), the Marches for a course of six years, and the Duchy of Rome for a course of five years (1809–1814). Rome itself is placed under the authority of a prefect, whose chief occupation is to build roads, draft plans for drying up the pontine marshes, and endeavour to introduce vaccination into the city and the Roman Campagna. Some twenty or thirty French officials 'organise schools, found academies, establish artistic galleries, unearth the Forum and half a score other glorious relics of the past.' Their gift to Rome is that beautiful avenue, the Pincio. All the property formerly owned by the closed convents and monasteries goes towards paying off the pontifical debts. Centralisation is introduced into the governmental machinery, after the system in use in France.

On the eve of the general breaking up, with a view to checking any eventual partition of the temporal papal State—a scheme advocated by Murat and Metternich—Napoleon I. had given back his freedom to Pius VII., who re-entered his capital in state. That triumph, however, was to be but the last beam of a setting sun. Those Romans who remained loyal to the Pope-King now began to look away. No one could be blind to the weakness of the pontifical Government, while the educated higher classes fully realised the far-reaching consequences of the change wrought by the revolution and the empire. The necessity of building up a greater Italy under the form of a free federation of States no longer the vassals of Austria became day by day more obvious. Yet, notwithstanding these strong currents of opinion, from 1814 to 1846 all Pontiffs, Pius VII. the Martyr-Pope, Leo XII. the Pope of the Holy Alliance, Pius VIII. the phantom Pope, Gregory XVI. the missionary and reactionary Pope, deliberately

ted against the plundering soldiery of their neighbours, without ing themselves held to compulsory service in the army; to em taxation is hardly a burden: the sums of money flowing :o Rome through various channels are all but sufficient to meet e needs of the Holy See, furthermore, the populace, ever ready raise the ancestral cry '*Panem et circenses*,' obtain food under e shape of alms dispensed to the poor by the charitable institu- ms, and can revel in the entertainments they love, thanks to e unceasing display of pageantry afforded by the pomp of the ligious ceremonies, the glitter of the processions, and the wild aety of the carnival festivities

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, if Rome longer acted as the 'umpire of kings,' the part played by the opes was yet not devoid of greatness Innocent XI baffled ouis XIV, Benedict XIV patronised literature and the fine ts; all the most prominent men and women of the time whose opes had been deceived or whose destinies had been thwarted—ueen Christina of Sweden, Cardinal de Retz the Princesse des rsins, Cardinal Alberoni, the dethroned Stuarts—looked up to tome for shelter and protection

Yet behind the screen of glory and power of the Eternal City gns might already be detected foreshadowing a decline The ollowing passage, from a letter of President de Brosses, is haracteristic in this respect:

> Imaginez ce qu'est un État dont le tiers est de prêtres, le tiers de gens ui ne travaillent guère et le tiers de gens qui ne font rien du tout; où il 'y a ni agriculture, ni commerce ni fabrique, au milieu d'une campagne ertile sur un fleuve navigable où le prince toujours vieux, de peu de urée et souvent incapable de rien faire par lui-même est environné de arents qui n'ont d'autre idée que de faire promptement leur main, tandis u'ils en ont le temps, et où à chaque mutation, on voit arriver des oleurs frais qui prennent la place de ceux qui n'avaient plus besoin de rendre.

The picture is nowise exaggerated At a time when the enlightened despotism of the neighbouring sovereigns does its best to promote trade, develop all the sources of wealth, render more human the existing laws, the Curia, busy with other cares, ndulges in endless negotiations with the European courts about the bull 'Unigenitus,' and the Pope prays most of his days away, or, in the case of Benedict XIV, writes learned books, no one heeds the glaring vices of the *régime* The bureaucracy and the Roman congregations, that form a kind of sacred 'polysynod,' hamper one another; confusion, arbitrariness, favouritism in the discharge of justice prevail to such an extent that the phrase '*Talis discretio discretionem confundit*' seems to have been coined to apply to the then Roman courts. Undreaded by the neigh-

Italy, settled in the Comtat Venaissin, which his predecessors had inherited from the crusade against the Albigenses. Thanks to the sums of money derived from taxation, the Popes of Avignon (1305–1378) speedily succeeded in establishing good order in their little State and then proceeded to raise soldiers. With the help of those mercenary troops, Cardinal Albornoz, by dint of craft and pluck, reduced the Roman nobles, thus enabling Gregory XI to die peacefully in his retrieved capital.

After the great schism Popes Martin V., Eugene IV., Paul II., Sixtus IV., and the shameless Alexander VI., resumed the wary policy once practised by the first French Capetians and asserted their mastership in their own State. In the hands of such men brutality, deception, intrigue, and crime proved ever docile weapons with which to reach the goal. They first seized upon the upper valleys of Umbria as safeguarding their undisputed possession of the Adriatic coast. Then Julius II., 'the soldier Pope,' established his dominion over the two rebellious towns, Bologna and Perugia. Thus it was that, after eight centuries of patient toil, the pontifical State became firmly constituted at the time of the Renaissance and of the Reformation.

But the great temporal advantages won by the Holy See entailed troubles of a most serious character in the spiritual domain. As Imbart de la Tour very rightly puts it: 'Un pape français, allemand, anglais ou espagnol eût toujours été suspect de servir les intérêts de son pays.' Whereas on the contrary in the opinion of the powerful sovereigns of the younger States of the sixteenth century: 'Un pape italien, grâce aux divisions, à l'effacement de la péninsule, ne pouvait porter ombrage. Rome se nationalisait pour maintenir, entre les convoitises des États, l'internationalisme de la religion.' Now that lack of true Christian spirit which stamped the proceedings of the early sixteenth century Pontiffs could hardly fail to gall the opponents of the Curia. Following in the wake of Calvin the Protestants maintained that the very essence of temporal power was not compatible with spiritual power. Blindfolded by their eagerness to obtain the former, the Popes bought it at a price which meant to them the loss of the latter in one half of Europe. After this unfavourable result, which the fathers assembled at Trent were unable to prevent, had been reached, the pontifical State enjoyed full sway in Europe between the years 1550 and 1750, from the beginning of the Counter-Reformation to the time of the *Aufklärung*. The enviable position of its inhabitants during that period has often been described. They appear as a favoured people. The subjects of a neutral State, the integrity of which is vouched for by the high reverence of the Roman Catholics and warranted by the weakness of the Italian petty princes, they are efficiently pro-

Thus was really created the temporary papal State, and special stress should be laid on the fact that throughout the Middle Ages and until 1870 its narrow frontiers in these parts were never trespassed upon—a most extraordinary achievement if we consider the tribulations it had to labour under, the chief landmarks of which it may not be out of place to recall.

An era of stress was in truth forthcoming. No sooner had Charles the Great received the imperial crown from the hands of Leo III and Rome become the imperial city, than the Carolingians claimed full command over it. Twenty-four years after the Constitution of Lotharius (824) brought the capital under the joint control of two missi dominici, a lay missus, chosen by the Emperor, and an ecclesiastical missus, appointed by the Pope, but whose appointment, however, remained subject to the approval of the sovereign; the latter hoped thus to keep sway over the Roman nobles, the direct descendants of the owners of *fundia*. Conscious of their advantage, these were not long in freeing themselves from the authority of the successors of Leo III, a liberty which lasted during six centuries.

The empire having, in its turn, lost all power (843–962), the local patricians, led by Guy of Spoleto and two ambitious women, Marozia and Theodora, launched into the throne of St Peter incompetent, greedy, disgraceful, ruthless pontiffs. No wonder, then, if the nobles, secure behind their battlemented walls, grew bold to flout the nominal authority of the chief of Christendom. Aroused to a more becoming sense of their duty by the successors of Otto the Great and the monks of Cluny (962–1073), the Popes, whose election had shrunk to be one of the cardinals' prerogatives, succeeded in casting off the twofold yoke of the nobles and of the empire. All institutions, religious and political, had been subverted; everything must be restored alike in the spiritual and temporal realms. During three whole centuries (1073–1370) the pontiffs somewhat sacrificed the latter. Whereas Gregory VII., Innocent III., and Innocent IV. vied with Henry IV. and Frederick II. for the domination of the world, any petty baron, any obscure Roman Senator, might safely despise the temporal authority of the Holy See. The history of the Popes of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries is but the long ordeal of their humiliations before the nobles, with, now and then, voluntary or enforced banishment by way of an interlude. Finally Boniface VIII. was insulted at Anagni, where he had retired, by the conjunction of his two enemies Philip the Fair, 'the avenger of the emperors,' and Sciarra Colonna, a representative of the Roman patricians. The fact is clear evidence of the temporal weakness of the Holy See at that time.

That state of things prevailed until Clement V., forsaking

chief of the Government gradually accrued to him. His strength developed by parallel degrees, and in the sixth century Gregory the Great, 'the Consul of God,' already owned a by no means negligible territorial domain. Consisting at the outset of nothing but the land about the ancient Lateran Basilica, that estate had speedily increased, thanks to the efforts of the Roman deacons and to pious legacies. From that time onwards the crops reaped on the patrimonies of the Holy See served, in days of distress, to preserve the Romans from starvation. Besides doling out food to the poor, the Popes throughout the seventh and eighth centuries often came to the rescue of the 'People of St Peter' and helped to check the inroads of the Lombards, who, setting out from Spoleto or Tuscany, again and again attempted to besiege the city. For—Mgr Duchesne insists upon the idea—the Romans wanted at all costs to be saved from falling under the domination of the Lombards. 'Les Romains ne voulaient pas être Lombards, et leur chef moral, le Pape, ne pouvait être soumis aux barbares, à des hommes qui sentaient mauvais, qui étaient atteints de la lèpre et qui avaient une manière insolite de porter la barbe et de se couper les cheveux.' Now looked upon as the protectors of their city, the Popes, in their turn, sought for protection. No longer dependent on Byzantium, they began to act as independent sovereigns and turned to the Franks for aid. Pope Zachary had given leave to Pippin the Short, mayor of the palace, to depose the Merovingian king, Hilderic III. Pope Stephen II himself crowned the new sovereign and raised him to the dignity of a patrice of the Romans, obtaining in return his assistance against the Lombards. Pippin, fully convinced of the legitimacy of the Holy See's claim to the Duchy of Rome, marched his troops against Haistulf and routed him—a victory through which the sovereignty over the exarchate of Ravenna and five towns of the Adriatic plain (Pentapolis) accrued to the Pope, despite the Byzantines' protest.

Thus a consistent nucleus was formed, but yet too small. Obviously several territories—the upper valley of the Tiber, the western slopes of the Apennine range, and the lower valley of the Po—must be added. It was the constant endeavour of Popes Paul and Hadrianus to wrest those domains from the Lombards. Very soon their efforts received due reward. Charles the Great, after defeating Didier, had become King of Italy. Charles was most eager to create a pontifical State strong enough to resist all attacks. Therefore, when Hadrian claimed the benefit of a deed of conveyance of land which Pippin had, it is supposed, drafted at Kiersy in favour of the Holy See, Charles forthwith signed a new grant (774) which bestowed on the Pope the Roman Tuscia together with fairly extensive territories lying in the Apennine and Capua districts.

[illegible]; the Law of Guarantees is cancelled; throughout the [I]talian territory the Roman Catholic Church becomes unfettered [i]n a religious country. Contrary to the hopes of the Roman [C]atholics, the two powers subsist in Rome, which itself remains [t]he capital of Italy; no international guarantee, moreover, is [a]fforded to confirm the position of the supreme Pontiff.

In order to compare the adverse trends of the new agreement [t]he safest course is to lay on one side the polemics of the day, and [t]o endeavour to find out what have been, in the past, the causes [a]nd conditions of the birth, growth, and fall of the papal temporal [p]ower. Viewed objectively, these data should not only account [f]or the terms of the covenant, but also make clear why the recent [r]estoration of that temporal power was necessary—we might say [p]reordained.

Throughout the first three centuries of the Christian era the Pope no doubt ranked foremost among his peers, yet he was but a bishop—the bishop of a proscribed religion. No temporal authority over the city was vested in him. The most eminent of the Roman Christians, he suffered persecution as such. Constantine, by signing in 313 the Edict of Milan, which proclaimed general toleration, brought about a great change. The edict did not grant any land to the Pope, who, however, a few years later was given Church and grounds. Hence, in the minds of the men of the Middle Ages, the erroneous belief took its rise that the temporal power of the Pope had actually originated from a territorial domination granted by that Emperor to the Holy See. The notion subsisted until the fifteenth century, when it was definitely destroyed by Pius II. At the present time the only extant evidence of the legend is the sublime painting of Raphael in the Vatican. As a matter of fact, after Constantine had founded Constantinople and the Roman Empire of the Occident had crumbled to pieces, Rome, bereft of its sovereigns, living in constant dread of invasions, could no longer boast the title, rank, or privileges of a capital. Gregory the Great, in his homilies, gives an impressive description of the sad state of the impoverished, unpeopled city: 'Ipsa autem quæ aliquando mundi domina esse videbatur, qualis remanserit Roma, conspicimus. . . . Immensis doloribus multipliciter attrita, desolatione civium, impressione hostium, frequentia ruinarum. . . . Ubi enim Senatus? Ubi jam populus?' As if awe-stricken by that wide and general spell, to many superstitious minds the foreboding of an impending doom, the Byzantine officials had vanished. Rome had been abandoned to its fate. A dearth prevailed of men of parts and stamina capable of exercising proper authority. The Pope was called upon to assume the power. Most of the functions of the

religious circles enthusiasm is the keynote; from their pulpits, in the presence of staffs of Fascists lined up in the naves of the cathedrals, the priests expatiate on the grandeur of the House of Savoy and eulogise the Duce; from their tribunes the prefects and podestas of the kingdom extol the glory of the pontifical office and the virtues of Pius XI.

Beyond the Italian frontiers the displays of joy assume a less universal and notably more sedate tone. As a rule, well-informed people postpone their judgment. Before expressing any definite opinion they would read the full text of the agreement. Besides, most of them are puzzled. For the outsider it seems difficult to make out why each of the once contending parties should triumph so boisterously, when the solution accepted by both seemingly clashes with their previous claims. Indeed, two contradictory facts stand out. The first is the assumption of the Italian nationalists. These, ever since 1870, had congratulated themselves upon having given to their young nation a long-desired capital and severed the city from a government at once old-fashioned and unable to advance the weal of its subjects. To them the Law of Guarantees was nothing short of a masterpiece of political and juridical wisdom (that law, as will be seen later on, had cancelled the sovereignty of the Holy See, leaving to the Pope but the enjoyment of his palaces). Nay, they countenanced the separation of Church and State which enforced Cavour's motto 'A free Church in a free State,' or, more exactly, Signor Luzzati's 'Free religions in a State possessing supreme power.' The second fact is the assertion of the Roman Catholics. Not one minute had they ceased publicly to accuse the violent stroke of State policy of 1870. Recalling the prophetical words of Leibnitz, 'Any attack on the temporal sovereignty of the popes threatens to shatter all rights in Europe,' they would quote the proud claim of Pius IX. in favour of the temporal power of the Holy See, as also the letter in which Leo XIII., addressing the future conclave, 'protested most emphatically against any endeavour to induce him to accept a compromise or an arrangement.' A civil power existing in Rome parallel to the pontifical one must, he feared, lead to a sort of '*Italianisation*' of the Holy See; various political influences would, perforce, worm their way into the conclave itself; the Roman Catholic unity would thereby be imperilled. Hence, no less vehemently than they called for the reinstatement of the temporal power of the Pope-King, did the Roman Catholics unite in demanding that he should be protected in the Vatican by joint international guarantee.

Now, in its main lines, the covenant satisfies neither of the two opposite requests. Contrary to the doctrine of the Italian nationalists, the Pope again enjoys sovereignty in the City

THE ROMAN QUESTION[1]

On February 11 last, at noon, the representatives of the Holy See and those of Italy signed a pact by the effect of which the Roman question is solved and the Pope once more made the temporal ruler of an independent State.

Long before the appointed hour, in front of the Lateran Palace, an immense crowd had assembled in mute expectation. And when the announcement came that the thing was done the scene suddenly changed: a host of enthusiastic priests struck up singing hymns to the burden of 'Long live the Pope King,' which chant was taken up by troops of Fascists with the shout of 'Long live Mussolini, long live Italy'; meanwhile the papal flags were hoisted on all monuments and from every church the bells pealed in solemn rejoicing.

From that day the Italian newspapers have been full of the Roman question. Their editorials appear with sensational titles in this style: 'The Pope-King'; 'How the Treaties were signed which Reconcile Church and State'; 'Vatican and Italy end Break of Fifty-nine Years as Roman Crowd Cheers'; 'The City of the Vatican, a new State in Europe.' Some articles praise the victory of Mussolini, others the triumph of the Pope. In the *Tribuna*, Signor Forges Davanzati proclaims rhapsodically that 'the Italy of Mussolini has at last, after many centuries, become such as had been prophesied by Dante: the city of the Church pure from the defilement of worldly burdens, the Italy of the Church truly universal by its spiritual power and free from such attributes as are incompatible with that universality. Every Italian worthy of the name may now, as Dante was wont to do, raise his eyes unto the light of Beatrix.' Arnaldo Mussolini, the dictator's brother, deems that the Lateran agreement 'is a return to those divine truths which withstand the onsets of centuries' and 'a glorious chapter that shall stand on record in the annals of history.' Amongst the Italian governmental and

[1] At the time of writing this article it is expected that the Italian Parliament will begin its examination of the Lateran agreement as soon as it resumes its sittings on April 22. Once passed by Parliament, King Victor Emmanuel III will sign it, probably early in May. The complete text of the agreement will then be published *in extenso*.

representative? If a comparison is made between the case of a man who regularly visits his parishioners and that of a man who only goes to the cottages when he is summoned on account of illness, it will be found that the church of the former is very much better filled, Sunday by Sunday, than that of the latter.

And it is not only the visited but the visitor who benefits. Quite apart from the fact that larger congregations mean larger collections, a sordid but very necessary consideration, since even the Church of England cannot prosperously go on without financial support, the visitor will reap a harvest of personal enjoyment, for the average cottage inhabitants in the country, when once you get to know them, are so friendly, so kind, so well mannered, and so responsive to these attributes in others, that to spend time in their company is certainly no hardship.

If, therefore, the clergy would sink their personal preferences—which, it must be repeated, have nothing in the world to do with the teaching of Christianity—and, aided wherever possible by their wives, would make parochial visiting a regular part of their daily life; if they would use their personality and tact, those qualities so marvellously employed by our Lord Himself, to get to know and to make friends with their humble as well as their more prosperous parishioners; if they would interest themselves in all the social activities of their parish, the cricket and football matches, the occasional dances, the whist drives, or whatever else is going on; if, in short, they would but remember that God is Love, and not the Church of England, what a difference it would make to the spiritual life of our villages! What happiness and blessings they would heap upon others by following more closely in the footsteps of the Master, and what blessed happiness they would win for themselves! For surely the faithful servant of God could desire no greater reward than that it should be recorded of him, as it was recorded of Christ Himself, that he went about doing good.

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should he be able to afford one—which in these days, alas, is not always the case—if the man spent one half of his time growing hot-house flowers for the study and the other half praising his master's goodness? Would he not very soon order him to get busy among the potatoes and the cabbages? But that is evidently not the view of many of the present-day clergy respecting the garden that God has given into their charge. It is right and proper that our churches should be as beautiful and as well kept as possible, but that cannot be the thing that matters most to God, to whom it must surely be of greater importance that they should be well attended. Nor, as has been already stated, is it a necessary factor in the practice of religion. To many who served in the war those parade services in some orchard behind the line, and those services of Holy Communion in some battered room or outhouse, are among the most sacred and precious of their memories. No altar cloths were there, nor any servers, but the Spirit of Religion in its most glorious simplicity, and assuredly the Lord Himself was in the midst.

And the remedy? It is contained in that most familiar of all texts 'God is Love,' and, since to love people it is necessary to get to know them, and having got to know them and learnt really to love them it is impossible to avoid the wish to serve them, it can be summed up in two words, 'Self-subordination' and 'Visiting.' In our cities and towns a clergyman can attract and keep a congregation by a variety of means, as for example, by the excellence of his preaching or by the quality of the music, but in the country parish this is not so. A country clergyman can only attract his parishioners to church by becoming their friend through visiting them in their homes, and keep them there by giving them the fare that they can appreciate and digest, and by not denying them the fare to which they have a right. On the subject of self-subordination or the suppression of their individual likes and dislikes on the part of the clergy, enough has already been said to prove how important it is, but of even more importance is the parochial visit. By far the greater part of the ministry of Christ Himself and of His apostles must have been carried out in this way, and, to descend to a lower level, the man who has some special article to sell does not wait indoors for people to come and buy, but advertises, and goes out himself and sends out his agents, that by so doing he may force the merit of his goods on others. And so it should be with the clergy. The more highly educated members of society are equipped to weigh the pros and cons, and to form their own opinion on religious as on secular questions; but what can the agricultural labourer think of the love and the kindness and the friendliness of God if he never has a chance of seeing these qualities in His earthly

The view of many of the clergy of the present day appears to be that the worship of God is the only thing that matters, and that they must spend all their time in making this clear; but surely what really matters is what matters to God, and what matters to Him must be that the question should be regarded from His point of view, and, regarded from that point, service would seem to be of even greater importance than worship. It is no good being a king if you have no subjects, or being praised all day by a handful of personal attendants if the whole of the rest of your people are utterly regardless of your existence. The more well-attended services that are held the better, and the greater is the glory of God, but a multiplicity of ceremonies continually repeated in the same form in an empty church cannot really afford Him much satisfaction.

Hand in hand with this distorted point of view goes the assumption of a certain spiritual arrogance on the part of many of our clergy. The church services must be in accordance with their taste irrespective of the wishes of their congregation. This is especially noticeable in the case of the Holy Communion service, where the introduction of the personal fads of the celebrant not only distracts the reverent attention of the congregation, but utterly destroys the beautiful simplicity of the service. This is not Christianity, nor is it even in accordance with the example set by our Lord Himself, whose institution of this sacrament could not well be matched for dignity and simplicity. But how often have we heard it said that So-and-so has emptied his church by the way in which he conducts the service, which, being interpreted, usually means by the introduction of his own personal religious whims. Can this be what God wants? Does He really wish that just His representatives alone should be satisfied with the spiritual food while the rest of the world goes hungry? If the clergy could but imitate the first Great Minister of all, who definitely declared that He was among men as he that serveth, and, sinking their own personal preferences, give within reasonable limits the fare that their flock desires, we should soon hear much less of the emptiness of our places of worship.

And again, what a time is spent by the clergy on the consideration of unimportant details, and what a false value is placed upon trifles that are not in the least essential to true religion! Does it really make up to God for an empty church that the server carries out his duties with the correct number of genuflexions, or that the altar cloth is of the proper seasonal colour? Surely He would rather see the meanest building filled even once a week with a crowd of His humble subjects than the so constant performance of an elaborate ritual practised in the most ornate, but empty, church. What would the rector or the vicar think of his gardener,

simple people by nature; and their preference in the matter of church services is undoubtedly for what is plain and simple, rather than for what is elaborate and beyond their comprehension. Such words as 'guild' and 'corporate,' which have of late years become so prominent in ecclesiastical phraseology, make little appeal to them, and they hate to be organised. They like people who are human and friendly and an atmosphere that is, both physically and metaphorically, warm and homely. For this reason, therefore, they would not normally be attracted to a High Church service, since it cannot be denied that this form of service must have a chilling effect upon the rustic mind, due to the attitude of spiritual aloofness apparent in the priest. One example of what is meant by this apparent aloofness will suffice. A few years ago the churchwardens or sidesmen, having collected the alms, were accustomed to present them to the parson at the altar rails. Now it seems necessary in many places that some surpliced server or choir-boy should intervene, and receiving the alms at the chancel steps, bear them to the officiating priest. There is probably some good reason for this innovation, but to the plebeian mind it must appear that an ordinary member of the congregation, whether squire or blacksmith and dressed though he be in his Sunday best, is not a fit person to have the privilege of handing the alms direct to the parson.

It cannot, however, definitely be laid down that ritualism *per se* has sufficed by its effect upon the inhabitants to empty our village churches. It is rather ritualism as it has affected the clerical mind in its relation to the parish that has done the harm, since, apart from the impression of aloofness already mentioned, it has led to the disappearance of the minister in favour of the priest, and consequently in many cases to the complete neglect of the individual parishioner by the incumbent. Not often nowadays is the vicar or the rector regarded as the father of his parish and the approachable friend of all, as he used to be regarded in former times. He has become a figure to be seen by those who care to go to church or to attend some meeting, but rarely by many others, except when visiting in the case of sickness, or unless he has some favour to ask. He is so busy being the priest that he cannot spare the time to be the minister. It would almost seem in some instances that he is so busy being a churchman that he has not time to be a Christian. Can it be that he overlooks the fact that the rules of the Church of England are not the Christian religion, but merely a man-made guide or help to its interpretation? The power of an earthly king lies in the number of those subjects who give him loyal and faithful allegiance, and not in the devotedness of a few personal attendants. Why, then, should it be thought that the reverse is true in the case of the Kingdom of Heaven?

THE CHURCH AND THE VILLAGE

II

MUCH has been written of late years, and more has been said, about the decline of the power of the Church of England in this country, a decline which has made itself apparent in the steadily decreasing congregations that attend the services of the Church. Many reasons have been given to account for this fact. It has been attributed to the effects of the war, to the counter-attraction of motoring, to the gradual fading away of the national religious spirit, and to countless other causes. But it can hardly be supposed that the war is entirely to blame, seeing that large numbers, especially of men, formed the habit of attending and enjoying religious services during those difficult years. Nor can the motor car be held to be altogether responsible, since among the poorer classes, that form the bulk of the population of the country parishes, those parishes with which alone this article proposes to deal, a motor car is not a common possession. Moreover, it cannot truthfully be alleged that the spirit of religion in the people of this land has died out, when the astounding interest shown by all classes in the question of the revision of the Prayer Book is remembered. Nor are any of the other various causes put forward based upon sounder foundations. And yet the fact remains that churches which twenty-five or thirty years ago were well filled at morning and evening service on Sunday are now practically empty. What, then, is the reason? Is it not possible that it lies to some extent within the Church itself?

It has been suggested of late that the greatest obstacle to active churchmanship in this country is the Church, and it is an indisputable fact that the decline in church attendance has kept pace with the advance of ritualism, or what may be called churchiness, in the Church of England. That is to say that since the minister has given way to the priest, and the teaching of the Scriptures has been largely subordinated to the rites and ceremonies of the Church, the interest of the village congregation has dwindled almost to vanishing point.

The average inhabitants of an English village are essentially

the parson, whether he is a regular church-goer or not. The parson with 'stiff' ideas regards this as a mere making a convenience of the church; his formula is 'No duties, no privileges.' The people do not understand this, and do not choose to be made to understand it, and insistence upon it will not only make the parson unpopular, it will make him most bitterly hated, and the arts of enmity are well understood in the country. Nor has unpopularity in the country any of the compensations which in the town may make it tolerable. In the town there are always a few to share the unpopular man's point of view, and to admire him for his 'strong stand,' and so on. But in the country the wolves all hunt together—there are no dissidents; and, though divided elsewhere, in enmity village people are united.

But even if the parson is not a 'definite' churchman, but merely a man who wants to do the best he can for the little community, discouragement, in present circumstances, will in most cases await him. The fact is that the church is no longer at the centre of village life for reasons which have already been given, and the vicarage is not the strategic position for its regeneration that it used to be. It is true that the parson, if he have tact and knowledge of human nature, can do much still. *But he will not do it as a parson*: he will only do it as a man. He will have to put sectarian loyalties on one side, treat everyone alike, and not try to induce people to come to church if they do not want to. If he lives as a tolerant, broad-minded man, interested in human beings, he will get on all right, and make for himself a place in the village. But he must not expect spectacular results, and least of all a full church; for often the people he respects most, and who perhaps respect him most, will not come to church.

There may, of course, be a future for the country parson; but it is impossible to say just yet what that future will be. The country has changed rapidly, and will change still more rapidly in the future. It is very doubtful if each village will retain a clergyman of its own. Certainly it does not deserve to, nor is it quite fair to the clergyman to confine him permanently to one village where failure may mean misery. Let him have a bigger flock with more to do, so that if he fails with some he may succeed with others. But let him not expect too much, and let him expect nothing quickly. A crop does not spring up and ripen in a night, especially when the soil is poor. For this is really the root trouble in the country. The human material is inferior, bred for generations out of the less enterprising stocks. This is why the chief hope for the country lies in the importation of new blood.

J. C. HARDWICK.

man, the women, nor the young people, he at least has the children. But this in many cases is far from being true. The children, more or less unconsciously, adopt the attitude of their parents towards the clergyman, since everything that is said is uttered in their hearing. Moreover, even at school they are passing beyond the parson's purview. An increasing number of schools are being handed over to the local education authority, and, under the new system of grouped schools (which applies to Church schools as well as others), a clergyman may find all his children of over eleven years carried off every morning to some other village. In itself this may be a very good thing; and it is not my purpose to argue against it, but only to make the point that the clergyman comes less and less in touch even with the children.

All these contributory causes generate in the parson's mind a feeling that he is a redundancy in the life of the village. It is not that the inhabitants are hostile, only that they are in varying degrees quite indifferent. And it is very hard for a conscientious man to go on offering something for which there seems to be no demand, and to be doing work which no one seems to appreciate. It somehow tends to make him lose his self-respect, unless he becomes embittered; and it is hard to say which of these results is the most disastrous.

It is true that village opinion will always strenuously oppose all proposals which would rob them of a resident clergyman. This is due in part, no doubt, to jealousy of the neighbouring village which could boast of an inhabited rectory, but in part, also, it is due to a certain appreciation of the presence of an official person to baptise infants, take charge (nominally) of the morals of the young, sign papers or testimonials, marry couples, and bury the dead. These things have to be done by somebody, and it is convenient to have someone to do them, especially if you do not have to contribute to his stipend. For it is quite certain that the desire of any village to keep a parson would not run to the length of providing him with an income, or even with a sum of money which would turn an inadequate stipend into an adequate one. Nor, indeed, would the parson's position be tenable if he were dependent on his parishoners for his income. That would be an impossible position for a man to occupy; and those who doubt this are quite ignorant of a village community.

In some ways (and this is rather a sad fact) the parson gets on best in the country who does not take his office too seriously. For example, if he is a man with what are known as 'definite' church views, who has clear and strong ideas about the duties and privileges of church membership, and tries to impose these upon his flock, he arouses much bitterness of feeling. In the eyes of the village every inhabitant has a right to the ministrations of

population in the country. And in their eyes both church and parson belong to a state of things hopelessly out of date, merely because it is old, for it should not be forgotten that our new democracy is entirely without historical background; the education received before the age of fourteen (such as it was) is almost entirely lost before two years have passed Many of these young people can only read print and can scarcely write at all.

Nor should it be forgotten that if the country goes into the town for its amusements the town repays the compliment, and any village which is on a highroad may, and does, spend its Sunday watching the cars go by Standing by the petrol-pump a village lad may see as much life as he desires

The mention of young people brings me by a natural transition to the question of village amusements and recreations, in the organisation of which the clergyman formerly took a prominent part Under present conditions his co-operation is not to the same extent necessary Many villages now possess men's clubs, arising out of ex-service men's associations, the desire of these for the parson's countenance and interest probably varies in different places, and it depends very much whether drink is sold on the premises or not Then, in not a few villages, there will be an institute of some sort, perhaps no more than an army hut, run for general purposes by a committee, and during the winter there will be whist drives or dances every Saturday until midnight. Here the parson's presence would often be regarded somewhat in the light of the skeleton at the feast, especially as the old-fashioned restrictions on dancing in Lent are not observed by these institutions Then, in view of the cheap and easily accessible amusements of the town, the old-fashioned concert or lecture is regarded, at least by the younger generation, as somewhat *demodé*, especially if a village does not happen to contain very much local talent. One easily becomes weary of hearing the same people singing the same songs.

An increasingly important part is being taken in village life by the women's village institutes, of which it is impossible to speak too highly. These organisations are doing more to civilise village life than the churches and chapels because they are universal in their appeal. They are non-political and non-sectarian, and do their best to unite all classes—an object in which they meet with a far larger measure of success than many pessimistic observers of village life had thought possible But these excellent village clubs can be run quite independently of the parson; indeed, his too active co-operation would be an ambiguous blessing, since this would lend to the institute a sectarian colour which would entirely stultify its work.

But it will be said that even if the parson has neither the

Of course, farmers and their labourers do not comprise the whole of a rural community; there are publicans, carriers, blacksmiths, small shopkeepers, railwaymen, and so on. But in practice it is not found that these act very differently from the rest, with whom in various ways they are closely associated. The parson need not look to these elements for anything but lukewarm support.

There is indeed another section of village society, as yet small, but destined, evidently, to increase, i.e., the bungalow dweller, or non-rural occupant of the 'council cottage' of which few labourers can afford the rent. These may be persons retired from business, or still engaged in it; or they may be more or less impoverished intellectuals, or ex-service men striving to supplement a small pension by chicken-farming. Taking them as a whole, this section of the community does not trouble the parson, but just regards him as a person with whom they have nothing whatever in common. Their outlook is urban, the outlook which has 'neither religion nor superstitions.' These people are undoubtedly an asset to the village, since they bring in a new element of life; but the church does not profit by them. In one village, well known to the writer, a large industrial concern has recently built thirty houses for artisans of an excellent type (superior to the majority of the original inhabitants of the village), and of these none display any interest whatever in the church or attend its services, though a number of the women are joining the women's institute, a non-sectarian organisation. It should be observed that all the households are composed of persons well under forty years of age, and many of them recently married couples. In short, they are of a post-war urban type, probably quite typical of the sort of people who will be populating the country as industry is more and more decentralised and carried outside the urban areas. An admirable type, but having no use whatever for the church.

Then there is another point which deserves attention, and which is a source of much discouragement to the country clergyman—the attitude of the young people, which presents, in some ways, the most radical change of all. It is not generally recognised that the youths and young women, even in the remoter villages, are being steadily urbanised. The young farm lad has his push- or motor-bicycle, and goes into the town every Saturday and Sunday for his entertainment. The young women are not behindhand at accompanying him, and both sexes are out for a maximum of amusement of the cinema and dance-hall type, so far as their resources allow, and perhaps further. The difference between them and the urban proletariat is steadily lessening; there is very little feudalism left in the mentality of the younger

the eighteenth century the status of a country parson was not far removed from that of a gamekeeper (*vide* Fielding's *Tom Jones*). It had developed in a couple of generations to what we see in Trollope's novels. The parson had been transformed into a minor sort of country gentleman. His social prestige was considerable, and second only to that of the squire himself, with whose family he was often connected. Hence the large houses, often with stabling and immense gardens, which to-day are becoming derelict or driving their occupants into bankruptcy.

It is no doubt true that the *ancien régime* left much to be desired, and has been decried by the whole tribe of idealists and doctrinaires who preached that salvation would come through the decapitation of the squire. But, as things are, it is the village which is decapitated, for it no longer has a head, which is always desirable in any community, and especially in a rural one where the level of initiative and intelligence is low. Under the much-abused squirearchy everyone had his place and his duties. Farmers were compelled to treat their land properly, and to keep their premises decent, in return for which they received considerate treatment when times were bad. As for labourers, they may not have had much done for them, but they had more to hope for from the squire than from the farmer.

But it is no concern of mine here to prove that farmer and labourer were both better off under the squire than they now are, though many would admit it. I am more particularly concerned with the status of the parson. He, under the extinct system, had a very definite position. To some extent he was the squire's eye; as the estate agent looked after material things, so the parson looked after social and moral things. He had a very definite place to fill in the little community, and he could rightly feel that his work was useful and beneficial.

Recent changes have transformed his position. The land has passed into the possession either of some successful plutocrat whose mentality is thoroughly urban, or of the now impoverished farmers. Neither class of owner has very much use for the parson. The new landowner regards him as a person of alien traditions; the farmer (no doubt rightly) as a type whose day is done. Thus the parson has lost his two strongest supporters; the squire has gone, and the farmer has lapsed into indifference. As for the labourers, it is perhaps too much to expect that men who had always regarded the church as the affair of their social superiors should support it when those superiors had largely deserted it. After all, a little charity was about all they had ever got out of it, and of this no further prospect remained. As for the church services, they had always been more or less incomprehensible, and were fast becoming more so.

THE CHURCH AND THE VILLAGE

I

THAT the country clergyman is having a difficult time is widely recognised; but it has usually been his financial troubles that have received attention. It is not with these, however, real enough as they are, that the present article is concerned. There are other troubles of an entirely different character, which would not be greatly modified, still less removed, even if all country clergy were freed from financial anxiety.

I refer rather to the changing mentality of country places caused by changing social and economic conditions which have deeply affected the clergyman's position and influence. For it has to be recognised that during the last fifteen years life in the country has been transformed. The changes have not yet worked themselves out to their logical conclusions, and the prevailing agricultural depression, which we hope may not be permanent, is retarding developments. But whether prosperous or the reverse, the countryside has changed. The old days are gone, and with them the prestige of the country clergyman.

After the war a great deal of land changed hands at good prices. In the countryside no event has such important consequences as a change in the ownership of land, which carries with it social as well as monetary status. Especially does the sale of land involve widespread consequences when property passes from one type of owner to another. The post-war changes of ownership have been of this type. Old established families took advantage of the good prices to sell their land, and the farmers took advantage of their temporary prosperity to buy it. In this way the war-time agricultural boom, instead of giving a new lease of life to the feudal system (as might have been expected), ended it altogether. It gave the old owners an opportunity to quit and they took it. An epoch in the history of the English countryside had closed.

The epoch thus terminated was that semi-feudal squirearchy which political and economic changes had weakened, but which had survived with astonishing vitality from its palmy days in the eighteenth century right down into the twentieth. Within this social system—for it was no less—the country parson had his place, which was one that had gradually improved. Whereas in

tends to show that most business communities prefer to cut their losses and terminate unfortunate experiments.

On the other hand, we should proclaim and demonstrate that capitalism, so far from being bankrupt, has performed, and is performing, a daily miracle—notably in the country where the capitalistic organisation of industry was first established. Under what other system would it be conceivably possible to sustain a population of 47,000,000 on a very constricted area which Nature would seem to have designed for the support of (at most) 18,000,000 to 20,000,000?

But even if the goal of the Socialist Party were, in itself, desirable, their financial proposals would, I am convinced, prove utterly inadequate to sustain our people in the pursuit of it.

Before concluding this paper I have thought it proper to refer, very briefly, to the ultimate goal, for a reason supplied by Mr MacDonald himself. 'Only,' he says, 'in relation to the goal can immediate steps be either understood or justified. The party ... ask for power ... in order to lay the foundations of a new social order.'

That new social order must rest upon the foundation of finance. But let the contradiction be observed. The financial success of the proposals now submitted to the electorate presupposes the survival of the 'bankrupt' system of capitalism, and of the 'degrading' wealth derived by opulent individuals therefrom. What reliance can be placed upon steeply graded death duties if Dives is not permitted to amass capital? What would a sur-tax yield if the wealth of the sur-taxed were confiscated? What would the taxation of land values avail if land were nationalised? Let us follow Mr MacDonald's counsel and strive to understand the 'immediate steps' in relation to the 'ultimate goal.' The result would seem to be that the nearer we approach the goal the less effective the steps and the less secure the foundations on which the future structure must, *ex hypothesi*, rest. Thus the programme embodied in *Labour and the Nation* reduces itself to a farrago of contradictions. Partial nationalisation is a possible proposition, but its security is assured only by the successful survival of private enterprise; complete nationalisation is by the same token doomed, as Russia has demonstrated, to end in fiasco. Similarly, Socialism could realise its financial ideals only so long as it failed to attain the ultimate objective at which Socialism aims.

J. A. R. MARRIOTT.

these duties had arrested the development of building estates, led to the diminution or withdrawal of financial facilities and retarded investment in house property.

The facts supported these conclusions. During the six years before the 'People's Budget' the average rate of house building was 115,260. For the four years after that Budget the average rate fell to 61,830, a drop of nearly 50 per cent. There is no question, save unemployment, on which the Socialist Party speak with such vehemence as on housing. Mr Neville Chamberlain, partly by his legislation of 1923, partly by his administration during the last four years, has gone a long way to make good the shortage and thus to solve one of the most insistent of post-war problems. How in the face of the facts recited above Socialists can suggest the renewal of an experiment which proved so disastrous to the social amenities of the poorer classes in this country passes comprehension. Yet the fact obtrudes itself that, undeterred by experience, they give a prominent place in their financial programme to the taxation of land values.

In the foregoing pages I have confined myself, for the most part, to an examination of the Socialist proposals in the domain of 'pure' finance. Perhaps too rigidly, since almost the whole programme is in a sense financial. Some adherents of the Labour Party are inclined to shy at the word 'Socialism,' and to resent the description of themselves as 'Socialists.' Yet Mr Ramsay MacDonald in his Foreword to *Labour and the Nation* leaves no room for ambiguity on that score. 'The Labour Party,' he writes, 'unlike other parties, is not concerned with patching the rents in a bad system, but with transforming Capitalism into Socialism.' Precisely, and we should be grateful to Mr MacDonald for his explicit avowal of his party's goal. Capitalism must be superseded, we learn (p. 13), because it is 'bankrupt.' But is it? In this matter, as in regard to wealth and the wealthy, we Conservatives have been, I submit, too mealy mouthed and apologetic. Of course, no Conservative admits the 'bankruptcy' of capitalism, but I doubt whether we have been sufficiently vigorous in the attack which is often the best method of defence. On the one hand we can and should demonstrate the hopeless failure of 'nationalisation.' Not, of course, in every single instance, since no sane critic denies that it is financially possible to nationalise or municipalise a particular industry so long, but so long only, as the profits of private enterprise are available, if needed, to make good the losses incurred in the 'nationalised' industry. How long private enterprise—*i.e.*, the general body of taxpayers or ratepayers—should submit to the process it is for each community to decide for itself. Recent experience

might remove the yield of the taxes which, as we have seen, the Socialists are pledged to abolish.

Where, then, is the money to come from for this gigantic programme? Some optimists put the yield of the new sur-tax at 85,000,000*l*.; but Mr. Snowden has given it as his opinion that 'a sur-tax of 2s. in the pound on personal income from investments would not be likely to realise anything approaching the figure which has been mentioned.' At the same time he is apparently opposed to any attempt to 'get much additional yield from the ordinary income tax' (*The Times*, October 5, 1928), and if super-tax has (as the past year's diminished yield would seem to suggest) reached its limits, we are left only with increased death duties and one other item to which I have not yet referred.

It were hardly believable were it not true that the Socialist Party still pins its faith to the taxation of land values. That is the last item in their financial policy. Political memories are notoriously short, but can the recent history of this question be already forgotten? By the Finance Act of 1909-10 Mr. Lloyd George imposed certain taxes on land values. In 1920 in entire lightness of heart he persuaded his Prime Minister to their abolition. Their failure as an instrument of fiscal policy was too glaring to be ignored. During the ten years of their operation the notorious land taxes produced a revenue of 1,[illegible],000*l*., of which no less than [illegible] was subsequently remitted by the Treasury as having been wrongly levied. The cost of collecting this revenue (including the setting up and running of the Land Valuation Department, which served, it may be said, other purposes as well) was no less than 5,000,000*l*., showing a debit balance of 4,200,000*l*. Small wonder that Sir Austen Chamberlain, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, insisted on putting an end to Mr. Lloyd George's costly experiment. Is it imaginable that the electorate will endorse the proposal of the Socialist Party to renew it?

Should there be any temptation to do so, there is another consideration which ought to weigh on the negative side. The failure of the Lloyd George taxes to produce revenue may be called ludicrous; their effect upon the solution of the housing problem can only be described as tragic. 'That the Finance (1910) Act actually had a considerable effect in checking house building there can be no doubt.' Such is the testimony borne by the Report of the (Liberal) Land Enquiry Committee, 1914. Four years later the Tudor-Walters Committee on Building Construction (1918) reported as follows:

There was a consensus of opinion amongst the builders and land developers that the land duties in the Finance (1909-10) Act had seriously retarded the carrying on of their business. The evidence given was that

tician naturally seizes with avidity this opportunity of redressing the inequalities he deplores. A more detached observer may feel apprehensive as to the policy of meeting current expenditure out of capital. For death duties are, of course, a species of 'capital levy.' They are, be it admitted, less objectionable, both on psychological and on purely fiscal grounds, than the cruder form of levy proposed a few years ago but they differ from it only in degree, not in principle. They are more diffused in operation and less deterrent to accumulation. None the less they drain the life-blood of industry and thus accentuate the problem of unemployment.

The same objection may, indeed, be taken to all taxation; the only discretion left to the Treasury is a choice of evils. But the wonder is that those who claim in a special degree to represent the interests of manual labour should be so blind to the only means by which, in a time of [illegible], the lot of the wage-earner can be substantially and permanently improved—a reduction in public expenditure, national and local. Such reduction is, however, on principle repudiated in the Socialist programme. That true economy is concerned less with a wise distribution of expenditure than with actual saving is a commonplace. But nothing would at the present moment do more for the revival of trade, and consequently for the diminution of unemployment, than a drastic cut in public expenditure. Admittedly it is difficult to see where the knife is to be applied. Debt conversion offers the most obvious opportunity, but the financial outlook is at present none too favourable. The contributory pension scheme ought to do something to diminish the vast expenditure (nearly 55,000,000l. in 1927) on the relief of pauperism; but bitter experience should restrain us from excessively sanguine expectations. It was anticipated that old age pensions, unemployment insurance, and health insurance would go far to wipe the slate clean of pauperism. Yet the unhappy fact remains that though the aggregate expenditure (exclusive of employers' and workmen's contributions) on these services is now [illegible], expenditure on poor relief has more than trebled since old age pensions were introduced. But the point on which for the moment I insist is that, while no party can honestly hold out any immediate prospect of a large reduction in expenditure, the Socialist Party is alone in its opposition to such a reduction, and in the advocacy of lavish expenditure on grounds, not merely of policy, but of principle.

Moreover *Labour and the Nation* embodies a large and ambitious scheme of 'social reform'; its accomplishment would involve increased expenditure variously estimated to amount to anything from 200,000,000*l.* to 300,000,000*l.* That would mean a Budget of at least 1,000,000,000*l.* But from the credit side we

duties produced (1927–8) only 3,515,000*l.* and the 'safeguarding' duties about 1,700,000*l.* Even this much of revenue is acceptable to a depleted Treasury, but if revenue were the main purpose of these duties they could hardly be defended. They are imposed in the hope of providing more employment for British workmen and of cheapening the cost of production of British commodities. A discussion of the merits or demerits of 'safeguarding' is outside the scope of this article; but it may summarily be said that the results of an experiment initiated on a very modest scale have thus far falsified the predictions of the rigid 'Free Traders.' Prices to the home consumer have not been raised by the imposition of 'safeguarding' duties, nor has the power to export safeguarded commodities been prejudicially affected. It is true that, with one exception, the industries affected have been of minor importance: it does not necessarily follow that similar results would attend an extension of the policy; but at least it may be said that the apprehensions of timid adherents of the new policy have been largely dissipated and that a *primâ facie* case has been established for somewhat bolder, if still cautious, experimentation.

Items 3, 4, and 5 of the Socialist programme may be considered together. Death duties and income tax already furnish the Chancellor of the Exchequer with about half his tax revenue; but this does not satisfy the Socialists. If they obtain the power, they propose to screw up both death duties and income tax with a steep graduation on the larger fortunes and higher incomes. Inherited fortunes are a tempting hen-roost for the predatory financier. On the face of it a revenue which depends on the rate of mortality among the rich would seem to be peculiarly precarious; yet in fact it has proved unexpectedly constant, and during the year just ended provided Mr. Churchill with no less a sum than 80,570,000*l.*—a sum not far short of our total revenue towards the end of the Victorian era. Last year's yield was, indeed, *more than 8,000,000l.* in excess of expectation; but this fact is not likely to diminish the appetite of the Socialist financiers. Of all forms of wealth, inherited wealth evokes their loudest denunciations; of all methods of raising revenue, the taxation of inheritance is with them the most popular. They resent the power of the 'dead hand,' and envy the good fortune of the living but undeserving heir.

Yet it may be doubted whether on a broad, comprehensive, and unprejudiced survey of national economy there is any form of taxation more essentially objectionable. Death duties have, it is true, proved easy to collect, but they invite evasion and they dissipate capital. Agreeably with his tendency (already noted) to rivet attention upon Dives, as an individual, the Socialist poli-

and (iii.) current expenditure on the Army, Navy, and Air Force. Debt interest accounts for 9s. 7½d. out of every 20s.; pensions for 1s. 7½d., and current expenditure on the defence forces for 2s. 11½d. As a fact, the estimated expenditure for 1928–9 was 2s. 10½d., which compares with 3s. when the Socialists were themselves in power. But let that pass. There is, however, a serious question which demands an answer. Are we to infer from this argument that the Socialists are prepared to repudiate the interest on the National Debt and to withdraw all pensions paid to those who fought in the Great War and to the dependants of those who fell in it? If not, only the last item (2s. 11½d.) can properly be contrasted with the 5s. 10½d. spent on peace services, and the latter, it should be noted, takes account only of expenditure from taxes, ignoring altogether the immense sum contributed to the social services, to education, poor relief, etc., by the local rates. As to these social services, maintained partly, it is true, by contributions from employers and workmen, but mainly out of taxes and rates, it may safely be said that no country in the world is spending anything like as much as we are. For the year 1927 expenditure from taxes and rates under this head amounted to the gigantic total of nearly 400,000,000l., or 340,000,000l. should the charge for war pensions be excluded. That we have already gone a very long way along the path of social [illegible] State Socialism must therefore be admitted by any unprejudiced commentator on English politics.

I pass to the second item in the Socialist programme, the abolition of all taxes upon the necessaries of life and of protective duties. To achieve this object would admittedly involve a loss of revenue of nearly [illegible]l., and apart from that would practically remove all contribution to the expenses of the State from which they benefit so largely the great mass of the population. Only last October Mr. Snowden himself pointed out that a married man with an income of 500l. a year and three children to-day paid no income tax at all, and if he had the wisdom to be a teetotaller and non-smoker he could escape practically any contribution to the national expenditure. Of commodities which can be described as necessaries only sugar (1[illegible],784,000l.) and tea (5,952,686l.) make any substantial contribution to the revenue, the total of the 'breakfast table' duties (including dried fruits) only slightly exceeding [illegible]l. The tea duty has already been abolished in the Budget of 1929.[3]

The 'protective' duties raise, of course, another issue. They are not imposed primarily for revenue purposes.[4] The McKenna

[3] I use popular language, of course, and do not ignore the necessary legislative sequel.

[4] The silk duties are in a somewhat different category. They produced over 6,000,000l.

may be, perhaps generally is, purely self-regarding; but that does not alter the *effect* of his conduct. He may lose his own soul; but the world is the gainer by his loss. Prejudice dies hard. Society approves free spending, not close saving. The man who 'flings his money about' wins the applause of the crowd. The person who 'hoards' incurs unpopularity if not contempt.

In the days of the chimney corner and the old stocking there was some justification for this prejudice. In these days of joint-stock enterprise, of infinite opportunities for the investment of capital, there is none. Nevertheless it persists, and it is strikingly reflected in the financial proposals of the Socialist Party.

These proposals I propose to examine in somewhat more detail. The programme is set forth officially in *Labour and the Nation*, a booklet of [illegible] pages, concluding with a list of legislative and administrative measures [illegible] no fewer than seventy-two items. The financial proposals are summarised as follows:

1. The [illegible] armaments.
2. The [illegible] and of protective duties.
3. The [illegible] estates.
4. The [illegible] the smaller and [illegible].
5. The [illegible] war tax on incomes from property [illegible].
6. The [illegible].

As to the first item, there is no dispute. All parties are agreed in the [illegible] upon armaments. But one or two observations seem in this connexion to be called for. The first is that in [illegible] armament Great Britain is already leading the world. We are indeed the only country which is really reducing expenditure on armaments. The Secretary of State for War has recently pointed out that while our own military expenditure has actually decreased during the lifetime of the present Government by 4,000,000*l*., that of Germany has increased by [illegible], of the United States by 8,000,000*l*., of Italy by [illegible], of France by 24,000,000*l*. and of Russia by 40,000,000*l*.

Nothing, on the other hand, could be more utterly misleading than the attempt made by the Socialists to prove that the present Government is spending more on war services than on peace services. In Socialist Notes for Speakers, No. 17 (August 10, 1928) it is alleged that out of every 20*s*. spent by the Government in 1926–7 14*s*. 1½*d*. was for war and only 5*s*. 10½*d*. for peace services. This result is arrived at, ingeniously if not ingenuously, by lumping together (i.) the interest on the National Debt (*i.e.*, money 'spent on old wars'); (ii.) expenditure on war pensions;

which are injurious to him, injurious to his poorer neighbours, and injurious to the commonwealth.

This is the point on which we Conservatives must boldly challenge our opponents. We have, I submit, been too apologetic in our attitude towards wealth and the wealthy. Every thoughtful person (unless blinded by political prejudice) must be aware that in the vast majority of cases the wealth of a rich man, so far from representing a *subtraction* from the poverty of the poor, constitutes an *addition* to the wealth of the community—an addition by which the poorer members of that community can hardly fail to benefit. From this generalisation we should perhaps except the few lucky speculators who amass riches at the expense (mainly but not invariably) of the many unlucky speculators. The passing of money from the pockets of one speculator to those of another does not in itself much affect the wealth of the community; nor indeed does the gain of one [illegible] invariably mean the loss of another. But [illegible] it may be said generally [illegible] represents sheer gain to the [illegible]. Ford, a M[illegible] himself without [illegible].

Socialist [illegible] *entrepreneur* [illegible] society and [illegible] in principle we ought [illegible] it is the poor man who [illegible] State. [illegible] rich man but the poor [illegible] the number of the [illegible].

There [illegible] whether the [illegible] will avail to [illegible]. It is [illegible]. The habit of saving is [illegible] begun as a small capitalist. Every [illegible] baton in his [illegible]. In the modern industrial world there is a wonderful career open to talent even without capital. There is a still greater career open to talent combined with thrift; and there is a comfortable competence assured to thrift even if unaccompanied by talent. Only, however, on condition that the fruits of thrift are not confiscated by the misguided policy of those who decline to practise that virtue and refuse even to ponder these things.

For thrift is in reality one of the most indispensable of *social* virtues. It is not, as a rule, so regarded; and for a simple reason. The thrifty man is not always the most agreeable member of society; he is rarely a popular member. His motive

[illegible],000 investors, only to be assured by an eminent banker that I had greatly under-stated it, and that the amount was nearer 4,000,000,000*l*.[1]

Whichever be the true figure, it should suffice not only to 'stagger' Mr Snowden, but to give pause to the policy advocated by his political associates. The latter do not ignore the fact that the number of small capitalists is large. The better informed Socialists so far recognise it as to propose that the sur-tax, on which, as we shall see, they rely as the main plank in their financial platform, shall be levied only on 'investment' incomes exceeding 500*l*. a year. People who have saved less, say, than 10,000*l*. would therefore be exempt from the additional levy.

Will this differentiation avail to dispel the alarm of the small capitalist and to conciliate his opposition to the Socialist programme? For two reasons I venture to doubt if it will. On the one hand, the small capitalist, however small he be, is shrewd enough to perceive that confiscatory taxation has a nasty way of extending in a downward direction. The super-tax, when originally imposed, extended only to the 5000*l*.-a-year men; nowadays the net has been widened to catch the relatively small man with 2000*l*. a year. Mr Lees Smith and men of his kidney may desire to exempt the working-class investor and even the *petit bourgeoisie*. But Mr Maxton would show them no such tenderness. To him the capitalist is anathema whether he be a large or small man; he 'battens upon the industry of the poor,' and so forth. Mr Lees Smith and the 'moderates' may strike the note of Socialist policy to-day, but logic is on the side of Mr Maxton, and where logic goes to-day power may rest to-morrow. Anyway, the thrifty workman who has invested his savings in small house property, either directly or through a building society, or in home railway or industrial shares, knows perfectly well that his savings are secure only so long as the principle of private property is sacrosanct.

It may be suggested that the Socialist proposal of a sur-tax or of more drastic death duties only carries a stage further methods of taxation already accepted by Liberals and Conservatives. That is quite true; but here the motive of taxation becomes all-important. All taxation is in a sense confiscatory; but no Conservative—no sane man—would impose taxation except to meet urgent national requirements or to fulfil national obligations. Taxation may be a necessary evil, but it remains an evil. The Socialist, on the contrary, regards taxation as *per se* potentially beneficent; it supplies the readiest means of redressing inequalities of wealth, of divesting the rich man of those 'superfluities'

[1] For details of my estimates I may perhaps refer to my article on 'The Diffusion of Capital' (*Fortnightly Review* for September 1926).

some (economic) motive for the exercise of the economically important virtue of thrift. Moreover, direct taxation still falls lightly upon the thrifty poor, the small capitalist, and the contribution of the latter to the capital resources of the country is astonishingly large.

Mr. Walter Runciman, M.P., has from time to time published the results of his researches into this important question, and I remember that Mr. Snowden himself, when Chancellor of the Exchequer, confessed that he was 'staggered by the magnitude of the contributions which are made by the working people of to-day, in one form or another, to provide for what we colloquially call a "rainy day."' He subsequently furnished me with the figures to which he referred. For the year ending March 31, 1924—by no means a prosperous year—they amounted to no less than 216,380,000*l.* This total was made up of the following items:

		£
1	Post Office Savings Bank (gross deposits)	81 [illegible] 000
2	Trustee Savings Bank (do.)	[illegible] 000
3	Railway Savings Bank (do.)	4 000 000
4	Co-operative Societies (average net increase in shares and deposits)	4 000 000
5	Building Societies	[illegible] 000
6	National Savings Certificates (net)	11 [illegible] 000
7	Friendly Societies (partly estimated for 1923)	[illegible] 000
8	Collecting Societies (premium income 1923)	[illegible] 000
9	Trade Unions (benefit fund)	[illegible] 000
10	Industrial Assurance Companies (premium income)	[illegible] 000
	Total	£216 380 000[1]

These figures (some of which, be it noted, are gross and take no account of withdrawals) are in truth 'staggering,' but they tell only half the story, or, at least, a fragment of it. They take no account of small investments in railway companies, banks, industrial companies, [illegible], a very popular form of security for small investors in Lancashire, and above all in small house property. The last item alone would still account for at least 300,000,000*l.* of savings on the part of persons not liable to income tax, and before the war accounted for much more. The shareholders in the four great railway groups number about 800,000, a large proportion of whom hold very small amounts. The 'big five' banks have between them over 275,000 shareholders with average holdings (nominal) of a little over 200*l.*

It is difficult to arrive at any exact estimate of the aggregate savings of the small investor, but two or three years ago I hazarded an estimate of 2,500,000,000*l.*, contributed by some

[1] In his Budget speech (April 13) Mr. Churchill put the increase of savings in this class of investment, since 1924, at 170,000,000*l.*

attention upon the rich man, the individual millionaire, wallowing in a luxury which is as degrading to him as it is hurtful to his poorer neighbour. Despite their label, the Socialists or Collectivists seemingly find it difficult to think in terms of society, of the aggregate wealth of the community. It is Dives and Lazarus who respectively excite their scorn and their pity; of the wealth or poverty of the community they are characteristically though paradoxically careless.*

From this generalisation it is only fair that certain individual Socialists should be at least partially excepted. Mr Snowden, for instance, repudiates the idea that "the Labour Party wishes to tax the rich for the fun of the thing or from a spiteful envy of the rich." Yet in the very same article (*Morning Post*, February 23, 1926) he betrays the vindictive temper which in terms he repudiates. "The existence of a rich class is responsible for the poverty of the masses and for the social evils of the slums, physical deterioration, ill health, inadequate education and industrial inefficiency."

Can this indictment be sustained? Is it even remotely true that the wealth of the rich is responsible for the poverty of the poor? If it were, who would not lend a hand to the Socialists in their policy of taxing the rich out of existence?

Nevertheless the views held and emphasised by Mr Snowden make a wide and powerful appeal. On that point let there be no mistake. Nor is it unintelligible. Every one can recognise Dives in the flesh, and the existence of Lazarus is patent to everybody. How easy then is it to argue that if you relieved Dives of his superfluity you would redress the balance and make Lazarus quite comfortable. In the individual case you could; but the economy of a highly organised society is not so simple as that.

Let it be admitted that the social and fiscal legislation of the last twenty years has gone some way towards a realisation of Mr Snowden's ideal. We have, by taxation, depleted the "hoards" of the rich; we have, by taxes on inheritance, broken up great landed estates and have multiplied occupying owners of land; by Pensions Acts, Health and Unemployment Insurance Acts and similar social legislation, by transferring the burdensome cost of education from the individual to the community, we have undoubtedly improved the lot of the poorer folk at the expense of the richer. But we have stopped short of the point at which all incentive to accumulation is removed. We have not actually destroyed the fabric of our industrial organisation. The basis of that organisation is *still competitive and capitalistic, not socialistic.*

The remuneration of capital *per se* is small, and is being constantly diminished by the incidence of direct taxation. But *mere* capital does still earn a modest reward, and there is still

SOCIALIST FINANCE

FINANCE is the keystone of the Socialist arch. The control of the purse-strings is the essential condition of political power. True of all forms of government, that is pre-eminently true of a democracy, for democracy, as Aristotle long ago taught, is the rule not merely of the many, but of the poor. Democracy, therefore, must necessarily divorce the exercise of political power from financial responsibility. Those who do not (palpably and directly) pay the piper call the tune. Mr. Lloyd George has many of the characteristic attributes of a Cleon, and he shrewdly perceived this truth when he [illegible] claimed the Chancellorship of the Exchequer from Mr. Asquith to the exclusion of the Premier's preference, Mr. McKenna. Of all the ministerial posts the Treasury was the one for which Mr. Lloyd George, alike by training and temperament, was least qualified, and there is little doubt that Mr. Asquith, bred in the straitest sect of economic orthodoxy, quickly realised he had made a weak concession to an impetuous colleague. But from his own point of view Mr. Lloyd George was right: at the Treasury he held the key position.

To-day the Socialist Party is making a gigantic effort to secure the control of the political machine for the next five years. Who can blame them? We may hold them to be utterly misguided in their views, but none can question the passionate conviction with which their doctrines are held, or the untiring zeal with which they are preached.

Like Mr. Lloyd George the Socialists perceive that finance is the key to the political fortress. Accordingly they have been at special pains to elaborate the financial policy which they intend to lay before the electorate, and for which they hope to secure the approval of the nation. It is, therefore, pertinent to scrutinise it with some care.

That their proposals are superficially alluring none can deny. Crudely stated, the proposals boil down to this: we will take away the superfluities of the few rich in order to increase the comforts and minister to the well-being of the many poor.

On the threshold of our scrutiny let it be noted that it is eminently characteristic of the Socialist to concentrate his

as he can, rejoicing in their advance. His patriotism will be the cult of a national ideal. His vision will be to see his country, without thought of himself, always lessening the gap between it and perfection.

This, it may be objected, is very vague—mere words. Hardly. A possible harmony or way of harmony between patriotism and future conditions is all that is attempted—a rational harmony that must precede in the citizen's mind any expression of the vision in fact and detail. It is something to give a right direction, though you do not put the inquirer one foot upon his way.

HAROLD HODGE.

we shall have the justification asked for. Can we? In so far as patriotism demands self-denial and self-sacrifice it is in character Christian; but in so far as it consists of desire and effort to surpass other countries no Christian basis for it can be found. The God Christ revealed knows no distinction between the citizen of one country and the citizen of another. It is impossible—it would be profane—to suggest that God had preferences amongst nations as nations; that He can feel any pleasure in one nation surpassing another. That would be to slide back into the religion of a tribal god. St. Paul knew no essential distinction between one man and another except the distinction between him who was in Christ and him who was not. No other distinction mattered—not even that between bond and free. This was no doctrinal statement peculiar to St. Paul. It is of the very essence of Christ's teaching. We must face the fact that it is very difficult to say we are patriots because we are Christians. We may not say we are Christians because we are patriots. What, then, is the patriot who is a Christian to do? He cannot believe that patriotism which has inspired so much that is noble in men and which he feels to be an uplifting power is inconsistent with his Christianity. Yet he cannot show any necessary connexion between them. He can take refuge in believing in both, trusting to his instinct, though he knows that the standpoint of each is different from that of the other. He need not believe them to be incompatible. This may not be a very brave attitude to take up, but it is the attitude nearly all of us do take up in numberless matters both of practice and belief. In fact we often do accept two incompatible truths and do not trouble to reconcile them. There is much to be said for such an attitude, which is as likely to lead to truth as the most thorough-going philosophy. But it may be that the generations that know not war will demand a more rational account of the relation between Christianity and patriotism. The one obviously Christian element in patriotism—sacrifice in national defence—having gone out, Christians are likely to regard patriotism as on its trial.

Can we have a living patriotism that is not based on competition with other countries? That is the *desideratum*. In practice one is prone to despair of it; in theory it is possible. Grant that a nation has an entity—a *persona*, if you will—distinguishable from the men and women and the land that make it up, as a house is something other and more than materials and site. Allow this, and a nation can make progress towards an ideal out of the range of any individual. The object of every citizen will be to help his country to move always nearer to an unattainable ideal—not from any desire to get in front of any other nation. He will rather help forward other nations so far

the use it would certainly assume. There will one day be an International Bank as well as a Permanent Court of International Justice. No particular Government could stand against the League. We shall look to the men who run the League, not to national politicians If the officers of the League have any capacity at all, they will be able always to get their way. There being no naval or military force to reckon with, they can quietly and comfortably play off one Government against another. Public opinion in the end would always back the League But, of course, all this power hangs on the League having really eliminated war and warlike instruments One country with an army and navy, or all countries with them, would change everything, the League sinking into the background

Where, in these conditions, does the patriotic part come in? Is it conceivable that men and women will feel towards their own country the enthusiasm they do now? The pacifist would no doubt say 'No, and so much the better they should not You are on the wrong track your patriotism is material, it should be spiritual and moral Once you have got universal peace, one country is the same as another No country will be in danger; so the national point of view need not be considered I prefer peace without patriotism to patriotism with war'

If the pacifist finds it easy to part with patriotism, most of us do not We would remind him too that he is very much out in his calculation if he thinks that the disappearance of war would mean the coming of the Kingdom of Heaven on earth. The history of long terms of peace does not point that way Certainly in this country the things of the spirit were more in evidence during than after the late war

But we are bound in honesty to admit that touching this matter we are in a strait Shall we let war continue that patriotism may abound? God forbid Whatever the logical *impasse*, we know that would be immoral What, then, is to be the patriotic stimulus? Generous rivalry, some will say Rivalry is apt to be anything but generous, and may result in international relations at least as immoral as open war, if not so painful or destructive No doubt rivalry in games and other fields of competition may stimulate the nationalist sense The desire to surpass other nations in the arts of peace is natural and a strong counter to cosmopolitan forces But rivalry of this kind is a very different thing from the love of country the world has known as patriotism. The desire to shine in the Olympic Games may have been patriotic, but it fell very far short of the patriotism praised by Pericles. We cannot find in the desire to do better than other countries the lofty motive we need.

But if we can show that the springs of patriotism are Christian

up by a majority of the civilised States of the world, and the most powerful (with the exception of America), set up to deal with precisely the issues to which these States are the most sensitive, must be an enormously important factor in the civilised world of the future. Nothing but the League's total and early break-down can prevent this. How far-reaching the League's influence may become is not yet generally realised, because so far the League's action has had the appearance of a conference, and to international conferences we have long been accustomed and have learnt to rate them not much higher than most other political devices. To the man in the street Sir Austen Chamberlain goes to Geneva to look after British interests, and every other Foreign Minister to do the same for his own country. At present the League bears more the character of an assembly of ambassadors than of internationals. The Amphiktionic League was something of the sort to Greeks, but Hellas was but a tiny fraction of the world. Nationalism, so far from receding, seems to be more in view than usual when the Council of the League of Nations is in session and figures large in the Press. But if the League lasts, this cannot. Already an international seed has been sown, and if this seed takes root and grows, it can hardly help growing like the greatest of all seeds. The officials of the League are permanent. They live in Geneva; they are on the spot; the League is their head-centre, the greatest thing in the world to them. As years go on this permanent body will become more and more international, until a generation arise really and literally international. These will not forget their country, for they will never have had a country to forget. These may appear before we reach the final success and postulation of the League, which is the postulate of this article all through. How great their influence must be is easy to calculate, but not easy to realise. We have had nothing like them.

Think of the prestige of an international body that had succeeded in getting rid of war, in establishing a final world peace. Think of its overwhelming advantage in dealing with the Government of any particular people or Power. We have to think of the League as a permanent independent body, responsible only to itself, for that is what it must become if it succeeds. The Papacy is the nearest analogy. The League will be a kind of secular Papacy. Purporting at its beginning to be international, it will, if it succeeds, end in being supernational. Nor is it possible to put a limit to its activities. Already the League has been dealing with matters of supreme social importance—such as labour hours and other conditions and the 'white slave' traffic. Why should it not in the interest of the world deal with tariffs by abolishing them? The freedom of internal waterways and of

tends to merge them—cannot tend to intensify patriotism. It is true that in the Roman Empire, the greatest merger in history, there was patriotism of no small kind. But it had behind it a mighty military past. The empire too, although coincident, if we omit Parthia, with the civilised world, was far too busily and too constantly occupied with barbarous and hostile nations on its borders to lose its Roman character. These wars, if they sapped the Western empire in the end, did much to keep Roman patriotism alive. But undoubtedly the larger patriotism of Roman citizenship submerged the narrower patriotism of many of the States or peoples Rome absorbed. Where it did not quite submerge this local patriotism it weakened its intensity and changed its character. It is a commonplace with historians that patriotism burns at its hottest and brightest, though hardly at its best, in small (and quarrelsome) States, such as the Hellenic republics, Judaea, the Italian States of the Renascence, and Ireland. Scottish, in relation to imperial, patriotism shows the same process at work as does the influence of and regard for State rights vis-à-vis the Federal Authority in the United States. It is the old story; connotation and denotation vary inversely.

If, then, the League of Nations succeeded in eliminating war, civilised nations would find themselves in a world polity in which no State would have to defend itself against any other State, nor have any need to consider the question of military defence against civilised Powers at all. Uncivilised peoples might still have to be corrected by an appeal to force. How the force would be applied or by whom does not yet appear. But anyway it does not require an acute imagination to see that in such a world the citizen of a civilised State would find all his bearings as a citizen completely changed. His relation to a polity greater than has ever been known, but yet not a State, must occupy him to the overshadowing, to comparative forgetfulness, of his relation to the State in which he happens to have been born or to which he belongs by descent. If incorporation in a larger State absorbs or lowers the patriotism of the smaller, how much more must patriotism weaken in face of a new world which is not a State but includes all States? Will anyone be able to feel affection for such a community, such an order? Will there be room for patriotism in this new polity? Will there be any ground left, some might say any justification, or even excuse, for devotion to a particular State in face of a world-wide polity finally at peace? What need for the particular State at all?

At present, it is true, not many are afire with enthusiasm for the League of Nations. Very few of us know much about it; very few follow what it does or know what it has done. But no one can help seeing that machinery, to put it no higher, set

has more than its ruinous and horrible side. The truth is that war, from the side of endurance, is great and sometimes magnificent. In what he suffers and how he suffers the good soldier is a hero. It is contemptible to try to belittle these great qualities of courage and endurance. Neither is it certain that these qualities would abound or reach the height they do now in any other school than that of war It is no service to peace not to tell the whole truth about war

Let us look the matter in the face Do we realise for how much war has counted in the patriotic citizen's conception of his country and his country's history? We may wish not to think that patriotism owes much to war, that it is difficult to envisage history at all, and not least the history of our own country, without war Yet can we, looking back, have any intelligible conception of our national history if everything connected with war is taken out? Do we ever honestly consider how far victories and great national struggles with other countries go to the making of our patriotic feeling? It is no use saying 'yes' if the honest answer is 'no', and 'no' is the honest answer, and the only honest answer to this question We do not look this matter in the face If there were no military street and place names in London, no naval or military monuments no soldier or sailor in St Paul's and Westminster Abbey, what would be the blank? Blank over English history and strike out Cæsar's invasions, Claudius's campaign, the raids of Hengist and Horsa, the Danes the Battle of Hastings the Crusades Crecy, Poitiers, Agincourt Joan of Arc the Spanish Armada, Van Tromp, de Ruyter, Quebec, Dettingen, Fontenoy, Blenheim, Malplaquet, Nile, Trafalgar the Peninsular War, Quatre Bras, Waterloo, Inkerman the Alma the Hindu revolt, Omdurman, Mons, the Marne, the Somme the German push in March 1918, and the final advance of the Allies If none of this had happened would our patriotism be what it is whether good or ill? Do any other memories stimulate patriotic enthusiasm in the same way or to the same extent? Do any others appeal so strongly to national honour? If we knew that the question of defence could never arise, that we should never be called on, could we say 'Breathes there a man,' etc , with the same verve that the patriotic citizen does now? A country that never asked for sacrifice from its citizens, or at any rate never the supreme renunciation, could hardly inspire what most men mean by patriotism now. But without war there would not be this sacrifice

Necessarily war must give an edge to patriotism because it brings out in sharp relief one nation's entity as against another. It is difficult to imagine patriotism in a single world State. That which tends to obliterate distinctions between nations—which

THE FUTURE OF PATRIOTISM

HAS patriotism a future? It has a great past; it has a present. Has it a future? This may seem a fantastic, even a foolish, question. Most questions that have never occurred to us do seem foolish. Patriotism as a sentiment, a belief, an ideal, and a stimulus we feel to be essential to our civilised life, if not to existence. The thought of its not enduring never enters our heads. So do we dispose of the whole matter—a very comfortable way, no doubt, of doing it. The easiest way to answer inconvenient questions is not to ask them. Yet they have a way of recurring: they will not be put by for ever. The idea of patriotism giving place to a new order comes as a shock. I should be ready to add, and *should* come as a shock. Still, it is right to face every question, even the most remote. Have we considered the possible or even all the probable effects of the elimination of war? To trouble about a consequence of the success of the Kellogg Pact or of the League of Nations may suggest some simplicity of mind. Yet the League's ideal—no more war—if to the cynic foolishness, to the practical man impossible, to the well-wisher improbable, has now at any rate been envisaged. It is something, whereas until lately it was nothing. It has at least grown from οὐκ ὄν to μὴ ὄν. The elimination of war can now be taken, and is taken, as a reasonable subject for discussion. Nor only amongst visionaries. Quite hard headed men will now stop to consider the question seriously who a few years ago would have dismissed it as idle. Therefore there is nothing unreasonable or unpractical in considering what might be the effect on patriotism of the success of the League of Nations and the supersession of war.

Just now naval and military stock is down. The present way is to speak of military display as tawdry and the profession of arms as uncivilised. We are not to think of soldiers and sailors as defenders of our country: we are rather to regret or question their necessity. The flag must not be mentioned very often and imperialism and military distinction are taboo. All this is mainly reaction from the Great War, and natural. But it is foolish to pretend that war fosters no good qualities in men and

admissible only in other peoples. The State having neglected to teach the masses what British Imperialism has done and is doing, or to explain its ideals, they have been left at the mercy of the written and spoken lie lavishly imported. For these and other reasons, the splendid inheritance that we received from our forefathers and reconsecrated with the sacrifice of our best manhood in 1914-1918 is in growing peril.

The depths of confusion and darkness, which for centuries followed the destruction of the Roman power, supply the measure of the gifts of Roman Imperialism to world progress. Who shall say what would attend the fall of an Imperialism purer and nobler than that of ancient Rome?

SYDENHAM OF COMBE.

might be tolerated! And the world was to see the sudden emergence of the most aggressive imperialist autocracy it had ever known, which in wholesale destruction of human life far surpassed the most sanguinary triumphs of Tamerlane.

Perhaps, therefore, the Great War accentuated confusion of thought, and helped to create an unreasoning preference for republican Governments, regardless of the fact that an empire, a monarchy, a republic are meaningless terms apart from actualities. A republic may be 'imperialistic' in the worst possible sense; an empire or a monarchy may exist to diffuse freedom, which, as is now evident, democracy inexorably tends sharply to restrict. Here lies a fertile field of historical research on which I may not enter

Through the mists of centuries looms the majestic form of the Roman Empire, of which, when in its prime, Gibbon could write:

> If a man were called to fix the period in the history of the world, during which the condition of the human race was most happy and prosperous, he would without hesitation name that which existed from the death of Domitian to the accession of Commodus The vast extent of the Roman Empire was governed by absolute power under the guidance of virtue and wisdom The armies were restrained by the firm but gentle hand of four successive emperors whose character and authority commanded involuntary respect The forms of the civil administration were carefully preserved by Nerva Trajan Hadrian and the Antonines who delighted in the image of Liberty and were pleased with considering themselves as the accountable ministers of the laws

The Roman Empire was, like our own, the creation of the genius of a great people, who at length found 'the guidance of virtue and wisdom A future Gibbon can unhesitatingly say this and more of what Dr Murray Butler describes as 'the most extraordinary political development which the world has seen' since the fall of Rome—an Empire which has given peace and order and 'freedom of opportunity' to 'regions Cæsar never knew.'

Two strongly contrasted movements can be noted to-day. On the one hand, a great patriot and born leader of men, successor to the Antonines, by appealing to the best traditions of imperial Rome and recalling its old-world glories, has brought back his corrupted and faction-riven countrymen to patriotism, to pride in the achievements of far-distant ancestors, and to bright hopes for the future Mussolini is building up a disciplined and regenerated nation

On the other hand, the British Empire is being assailed by enemies without and by traitors within, by pacifists of all degrees who hold that the use of force is always a crime, and by internationalists who regard patriotism as obsolete and nationalism

countries,[1] the attacks on patriotism and the family, the corruption of our youth, and the parade of the red flag in mockery of the old emblem under which Britons have fought and died on most seas and lands—over all these signs and many more lies the trail of Marx, himself a scion of the French and older revolutionaries.

So far all is easily explained; but there is an intellectual drift which is baffling in the extreme. The old universities might have been expected to prove stalwart guardians of Imperial history, high traditions and culture. Sane Imperialists, like Seeley or Froude, Sir Charles Oman or Sir John Marriott, are becoming rare, and, according to Mr. Hilaire Belloc, our universities have created a system which

> makes men regard that tradition which moulded England and the whole of our civilisation as a special enemy.

Professors, some of them aliens, labour to travesty British Imperialism, to belittle or to ignore the valour of our forefathers, and to dishonour our dead. A high official of the League of Nations Union individually appeals to the Government against the Royal Tournament at Olympia as a military display, while pacifist pundits bid us disarm and turn over our obligations of honour to international agencies. Is the treachery of too many intellectuals also due to forces generated by the Great War?

To republican America the destruction of three empires may have seemed a necessary and obvious gain to humanity, though it would be easy to show that this indiscriminate judgment is radically false. Under the ironically styled Peace Settlement a number of rickety republics were erected; but it may be doubted whether the cause of true freedom was substantially advanced, and it is at least certain that many elements of the European population are distinctly less free than in 1914.

On August 15, 1915, Colonel House wrote to President Wilson after the outbreak of the so-called 'Russian' revolution:

> It is more important, I think, that Russia should weld herself into a virile Republic than that Germany should be brought to her knees.

For hopeless nescience this opinion of the most intimate adviser of the President can hardly be beaten; but the underlying idea is transparently clear. A great empire had fallen; let what might be called a republic arise over 140,000,000 Russians, and the gain to freedom would necessarily be so great that a German Empire

[1] Including the United States, where American Imperialism is represented in as hateful a light as our own. The American branch on January 7, 1927, sent out an appeal to the South American States: 'Join with us. Together we shall be able to defeat the armies of the Imperialists.'

and, as Mr. Hoover considers, the 'negation of Imperialism,' created by British genius.

Our Empire is, directly or indirectly, maintaining peace, law and justice over nearly 14,000,000 square miles of the earth and about 450,000,000 peoples—a task far beyond that accomplished by Rome at her zenith. What this world-wide orderliness has meant, and still means, to other nations, what benefits the policing of the seas and the fine hydrographic work of our seamen have conferred upon world trade in the past defy all estimate. And these invaluable services have been rendered to mankind at an immense cost of British lives and efforts. American Imperialism in the form of Monroe Doctrine was upheld for years by the Royal Navy.

The causes which have led to the persistent attempts in our day to bring Imperialism into discredit and to induce Britons to regard with shame the unique achievements of their race may provide an absorbing study for some Gibbon of the future. One main source of inspiration is evident. The most sinister product of the war was the powerful stimulus given to the world revolutionary movement by its capture of the Russian Empire. With a centre at Moscow and large resources of all kinds at their disposal, the revolutionaries were able to carry on a raging propaganda of subversion directed, as their apostle Marx had advised, principally against the British Empire as the outstanding bulwark of world stability. By every means that a diabolical ingenuity could suggest the campaign to wreck the Empire is being waged. No influence that could be brought to bear is neglected, and all over the Empire revolutionary organisations have sprung into active existence to undermine our national life and to evoke external and internal hostility to our authority and ideals. The Communist Party has been instructed to proclaim that

> The existence of the British Empire creates not only a continual danger of war, but is a constant means of oppressing many hundreds of millions of people.*

The Socialist Party in *Labour and the Nation* * is less explicit; but, taken in conjunction with Lord Olivier's deliverance and with indiscriminate insistence on President Wilson's incendiary doctrine of 'self-determination,' this electoral manifesto also affords clear evidence of the Marxian sources of its inspiration. Over the painful signs which we see around us—the creation of the 'League against Imperialism,' with numerous branches in other

* *Class against Class*, the election programme of the Communist Party.

* The Socialist election programme.

Spain, Sweden and Norway combined. Surely, therefore, President Hoover's suggestion of a righteous divorce from the imperialist tendencies of older Powers, which he ascribes to absorption in 'the building of a new political system,' needs qualification, as does his view that 'aspirations of freedom of opportunity . . . are the negation of Imperialism.' The most beneficent of empires can be convicted of errors from which we and the United States are not immune; but the outstanding result of British Imperialism has been to spread 'freedom of opportunity' broadcast, and America will certainly not fail in this respect.

Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler has recorded a notable tribute to British Imperialism while dropping the now unpopular term:

> The British Commonwealth of Nations is the most impressive and the most extraordinary political development which the world has seen since the fall of the Roman Empire. It is neither imperial nor federal in form. It combines and exemplifies the advantages of both and is sufficiently elastic to compass the globe and to give to its constituent elements freedom, self-government, independence combined with loyalty to a common sovereign, a common purpose and a common tradition.*

There are spots on the sun, and we are conscious of blemishes in our Imperial record, especially in the days when we were fighting rivals or defending existing British territory. Under the Roman Empire founded by Augustus and reconstructed by Vespasian, Trajan and Hadrian, expansion seemed to have ended, and the *Pax Romana*, not enforced, but willingly accepted, prevailed for a lengthy period. Since the stabilisation of our Empire our responsibilities have been worthily shouldered, and Dr. Murray Butler's striking tribute is not undeserved.

The Dominions, owing their existence, their security, and their progress to British Imperialism, enjoy complete 'freedom of opportunity' which can never be granted to an American State. Since the disastrous Imperial Conference of 1926, they remain linked to us only by the Crown, by race sentiment, and by the economic and defensive advantages which the Empire bestows. Two of them have already discarded the flag. India and the Colonies have governments greatly varying in form, but all based upon the principle of entrusting an increasing measure of responsibility to the populations. The Indian politicians engaged in endeavouring to eliminate British rule owe their education, rise to influence and abundant opportunities wholly to British Imperialism. What freedom of opportunity had they, or the peoples of Egypt, Iraq, Ashanti and Benin, before they came under the aegis of the Empire? It can fearlessly be claimed that this 'freedom,' with much more, is the very essence, and

* Speech in New York, December 10, 1928.

In one respect American Imperialism has transcended our own. Monroe Doctrine, suggested by Canning a century ago, and deeply grafted into American policy, by asserting special authority over the whole of the South American continent went far beyond our national determination that the flag should defend all the territories under the Crown. Monroe Doctrine if now somewhat frayed, was eminently beneficial, and it stands to the credit of American Imperialism.

It would be easy to show in greater detail the curious resemblances between American and British Imperialism, and when, after the Spanish War, reluctance to shoulder the responsibilities entailed was manifested in some quarters, I had no doubt of the ultimate decision.

Replying to articles by Senator Morgan and Mr. Carnegie, I sought to emphasise the moral gain of Imperial responsibilities.* The occupation of the Philippines was regarded as specially undesirable by the former because 'the United States are, in every sense, American' and the islands 'are not within the sphere of American influence, but are Asiatic and should remain Asiatic.' The latter declared that 'they (the Philippines) will yield us nothing, and 'Americans cannot be grown there.' These misgivings seemed to me unworthy of a great people. If, I wrote,

the Senators of Rome in 260 B.C. after the subjugation of Italy had set their faces against expansion, proclaiming that foreign territories were not within the sphere of Roman political influence, they would have indefinitely retarded the progress of the world.

And I claimed for what Mr. Carnegie pronounced to be our 'most grievous burden' that

India makes men though it does not 'grow' them, and the influence, example, and education of the men whom India makes reacts powerfully upon the whole social and political structure of the nation.

With unerring insight and prescience our greatest national poet rebuked the doubters of his day:

If we shall stand still,
In fear our motion will be mock'd or carp'd at,
We should take root here where we sit, or sit
State-statues only.

At the third great turning-point in their short history the instincts inherited from the island people, disciplined by Rome and fed by the most adventurous of sea-going races, prevailed, and the United States took the road of Imperialism. Including Alaska, their overseas territories and protectorates rose to about 716,000 square miles—an area greater than that of France,

* 'Imperial Responsibilities a National Gain,' *North American Review*, February 1899.

Marathas rose to power on the ruins of the Moghul Empire, or by the stout Sikhs of the Punjab. For the most part, therefore, American continental expansion was effected by peaceful penetration; but, while the contrast between this process (identical with that of our Australian colonists) and our prolonged campaigns in India may be falsely set down as a blot on our Imperial escutcheon from which America—more virtuous—has escaped, the forces which dictated both were precisely the same. In India we were feeling for a stable frontier, and the Americans, faced with similar conditions, would have acted precisely as did our successive Viceroys. Their equally inevitable continental expansion was fortunately favoured by circumstances,* although the senseless and unnecessary war of 1812, largely prompted by Napoleon, was in part inspired by the idea of annexing Canada in order to close the North American continent to European flags.

What may be called the overseas expansion of America began with the acquisition of nearly 600,000 square miles of Alaska, closely following the consolidation of the United States after the Civil War. The futile dream of Napoleon III to found a Mexican Empire under French auspices was quickly dispelled by American Imperialism.

The Spanish War of 1898, preceded by the annexation of the Hawaiian group, led in the ordinary and perfectly proper course of American Imperialism to that of the Philippine Islands, Porto Rico and Guam, together with the virtual conversion of Cuba into an American protectorate. In 1917 the Danish West Indies passed to the Great Republic by purchase.

How closely American Imperialism has been constrained to follow the British strand from which it derives is shown by the establishment of a Panama Zone in 1904. More than a century earlier Napoleon's disastrous expedition to Egypt had been directed to place French power astride a main line of our Imperial communications, and when after the completion of the Suez Canal the Egyptian army revolted against the Khedive in 1882, we were forced to intervene to safeguard what had become a great British—and international—waterway.

Precisely the same action became necessary to America to make sure of the hardly less vital waterway of Panama, and again her good fortune prevailed. There was no need for such expensive military operations as fell to us, but new and important overseas responsibilities were incurred, involving Central American States, and Nicaragua, through which another interoceanic canal may be driven, must in future be guaranteed against disorder.

* Immensely assisted by the advent of railways.

The universities at least might have been expected to cherish historical truth.

It is interesting to note that in America there are signs of fear lest the Republic should be viewed as tainted with Imperialism. In his impressive inauguration address President Hoover said:

> Superficial observers seem to find no destiny for our abounding increase in population, in wealth and power except that of Imperialism. They fail to see that the American people are engrossed in the building for themselves of a new economic system, a new social system, a new political system—all of which are characterised by aspirations of freedom of opportunity—and that these are the negation of Imperialism.

'Superficial observers' could easily find much to say with regard to this important and evidently sincere pronouncement. The United States owe their form of government, most of their institutions, and the entire basis of their culture to British Imperialism. But for British sea power, America would have been colonised in the first instance by Spain, probably to be superseded by France. The stout seamen of Elizabeth and their valiant descendants in the war of the Spanish Succession, and the Seven Years War determined the destiny of America, which but for British Imperial instincts must have been widely different. Those instincts—now misconceived as a virus—were deeply implanted, and it was inevitable that the inherited genius of her people should have led America to follow the dictates of British Imperialism.

Mutatis mutandis, therefore, American policy and expansion developed on lines closely analogous to those which Mr. Andrew Carnegie's 'ancient mother' had traced in far earlier years.

Until Italy had been unified, imperial Rome could not exist. Consolidation at home made British expansion possible. The task of Americans—to colonise and bring a continent under control—long absorbed their energies and involved purchases and cessions by which the elimination of European ownership was completed. The acquisition of 828,000 square miles of Louisiana was accomplished in 1803, and the southern frontier of the United States was rounded off in 1848 by the annexation of 529,000 square miles of Mexican territory. The stabilisation of the northern frontier, at times a burning question, was happily reached by mutual agreement.

This gigantic task of absorption on a huge scale was rendered comparatively easy because, over large areas, there was only a sparse Indian tribal population. American expansion was not opposed, as was ours in India, by a powerful native chief like Tippu Sultan of Mysore, who could arrange for an Afghan invasion and enter into negotiations with France, by the warlike

'The tumult and the shouting' died. There remained the sacred memory of our million heroes who died on sea and land and in the air to save the Empire, the innumerable maimed victims doomed to life-long trials, and the economic devastation affecting in greater or less degree the territories on which the burden of the war had fallen. The invocation and the warning of our Imperial poet rang in our ears

> Lord God of Hosts be with us yet
> Lest we forget . . .

We could never forget. From the cleansing fires of the Great War there should spring an Empire chastened and disciplined by shared sacrifices, realising that in union lay its safety, and sternly but with humility resolved to fulfil its responsibilities to mankind and to hold the place it had won in the vanguard of human progress.

The vision faded. The critical years following the Armistice found us without a leader with Imperial instincts and imagination, and at a most momentous turning point in our history we seemed to have lost our way. We can now, therefore, note with humiliation that the Imperial idea is being associated with wholesale oppression, and that our Empire is represented to its inheritors as something to be ashamed of or excused. We may still speak of a British Commonwealth of Nations—an inaccurate because totally inadequate term—but in too many quarters there is growing reluctance to refer to the Empire or to claim for it the greatest of all human achievements.

'Labour,' infinitely indebted to our Imperial status, must apparently be eager to discard it, if Lord Olivier can be accepted as representing the sentiments of his party. Speaking on January 5 last at a luncheon at Manchester in connexion with a University Labour Federation, the ex-Secretary of State for India was reported to have announced with conscious pride that

> I am glad that the British Empire is being broken up and internationalised, because I am not an Imperialist. We are not concerned with the relations of a Socialist Government to the British Empire. The Colonies and Dominions are looking after themselves.[1]

There were in the last century individual politicians who on false economic grounds affected to believe that the Colonies were public burdens; but, even fifty years ago, rejoicing at the disintegration and internationalisation of the British Empire would have been associated with lunacy by an educated audience.

[1] In the House of Lords on March 13 last Lord Olivier disclaimed the use of the words 'broken up' but did not supply the correct text. His public dissociation of his party from Imperial responsibilities remains on record.

THE
NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER

No. DCXXVII—May 1929

IMPERIALISM

All to whom the British Empire has been a life-long inspiration and the greatest of incentives to national service must view with alarm and resentment the nescient discredit which has come to be attached to the term 'Imperialism.' There were signs of concerted efforts, before the fateful August 1914, to represent our legitimate pride in the achievements of our forefathers as unworthy—even irreligious. But we thought that the splendid uprising of the British people in all lands in defence of their free existence as an Imperial race, and the even more significant loyalty to a common cause of unrelated peoples whom we had led from darkness towards the light, must tend to draw closer the ties which bind the members of the British family scattered throughout the world. For the first time the Empire had fought, suffered and triumphed as a whole, and alike in the valour and devotion of all ranks of our own people and in the staunch fidelity of the princes and chiefs and the martial classes of India and of contingents from every possession and protectorate of the Crown, we read bright hopes for the future of British Imperialism.

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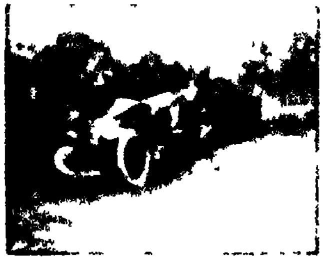


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PTO

[illegible] and it is no use trying to say that it does not. In discussing a road tunnel he has missed a point he might have used as an argument in his favour. That is that there is now a road tunnel under the Hudson River with an elaborate ventilation system, and it may be that in a few years such a system could be further elaborated to serve a tunnel as long as thirty miles. And why are special trucks for road vehicles being designed? There are plenty in existence.

On page 293 it is stated that a subterranean river was successfully dealt with when the Severn Tunnel was made Quite so; but at what cost? It is things like this that upset the best calculations as to the cost of tunnelling. The amazing statement is then made that 'explosives go upwards': but this is a point of little importance Later, Sir William is 'confident that the money could be found privately' Very likely, but that would not make the scheme pay

On page 294 revenue and expenditure are discussed Whether the estimate of 4,000,000 passengers is justified or not I have no idea, but the receipts of 3,300,000*l* appear to presume a fare of 6½*d* per mile, so there would perhaps be 4,000,000 people with more money than sense. We are not told what is covered by the expenditure on works of 1,000,000*l*. per annum Does it, for example cover motive power and signalling? We are told that the rolling stock would be the property of the existing railways, but no allowance is made for handing them their portion of the fares. Is it expected that they would run their trains for nothing? On page 295 tunnels under the Forth, the lower part of the Severn, and so on, are mentioned Obviously no reason is given for such ventures, because there could be no conceivable object in building them And perhaps the most important point of all is overlooked by Sir William Bull, as by other supporters That is that Continental passenger rolling stock could not run over English railways—not because of the rail gauge, but on account of the loading gauge limitations imposed by platform clearances and bridge and tunnel heights and widths Has Sir William discussed this aspect of the matter with any railway engineers? If so, who does he think is to pay for the necessary alterations to all our main lines? If he has not considered this, he should do so before enlarging on the possibilities of through-carriage connexions

Yours faithfully,

C E Turner-Jones.

Communications should be addressed to the Editor of the Nineteenth Century and After, 10 *&* 12, *Orange Street, Leicester Square, W C.2.*

Letters as well as articles will be considered for publication, but letters should be confined to criticism or amplification of articles which have already appeared in the Review. No anonymous contribution is published.

THE CHANNEL TUNNEL.

To the Editor of the NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER

SIR,—Having hitherto believed, without very serious consideration, that the Channel Tunnel proposal had sufficiently strong points in its favour to outweigh its drawbacks, I find my ideas undergoing a change as a result of recent articles in your Review. Your article in the February number set out the objections clearly, but Sir William Bull's article in the March number exposes the weakness of his case more vividly than any opponent of the scheme could have done, and if that is indeed the best that can be said for it by one of its leading advocates, surely it is time to abandon it. There are so many obvious weaknesses in Sir William Bull's statements and conclusions that one hesitates to undertake the task of mentioning each one, while even on simple and unimportant aspects his comments are so wide of the mark that one wonders whether he wishes to be taken seriously. May I refer to a few points?

At the top of page 290 we are told that none of the long tunnels now existing can be called dark or stuffy, and that at night he is often not conscious of them. He must be very unobservant. Which tunnels are not dark? And does he expect us to agree that the atmosphere is the same inside a tunnel as in the open air? In the next paragraph he discusses American visitors. Is it not the fact that those who wish to visit England do so, and that those disembarking at Cherbourg wish to visit the Continent? If they want to come to England afterwards they do so. At the bottom of the same page he refers to the advantages that will accrue to the cause of peace, good will and understanding between the nations. Just in what way could a tunnel improve international good will? It might have the opposite effect by giving rise to discussions on the defence aspect of the matter; but how could it improve good will?

On page 291 we are referred to the absence of bridges and train ferries. Personally I agree that a bridge is a fantastic idea, but one train ferry to the Continent already exists, and presumably there are not more because it is realised that the demand does not justify them at present. As soon as it does no doubt more will be operated; meanwhile the very fact that it has not been thought worth starting more of them is surely a warning that a tunnel would not be justified at present—at any rate for goods traffic.

On the defence aspect Sir William Bull is surely rather confused. He assures us that there are numerous ways of stopping the traffic without doing an act amounting to a declaration of war, but he evades the question of what these ways are, and who would operate them, and when, by saying that the occasion would not arise. It does not matter whether the defence scheme provides for destruction or merely for interruption of traffic, there is still the question of 'pressing the button' to do it, and all schemes of the kind have this weak point. He says, further, that a garrison of 12,000 presumes at least an equal invading force; it presumes nothing of the kind. If Sir William Bull does not understand these defence questions, why does he not ask a competent person to explain them?

On page 292 he mentions that more and more timid people go flying, but the importance of this lies in the fact that it is one reason for doubting the real need for a tunnel. Lower down he says that there is room for both

instruments is no more true than to say, for example, that red is a failure as a colour because it is less suitable for solo or exclusive use than, say, black or blue.

Professor Sabaneev ventures the statement that 'only 5 per cent. of the orchestrator's art is devoted to distribution of colour.' It is of course impossible to arrive at any figure in this case which could be proved to be correct, but I suggest that if 95 per cent. of the orchestrator's art were purely the overcoming of technical difficulties connected with the imperfection of instruments we should have many more masterpieces of orchestration than we at present have. How are we to account for the outstanding work in orchestral effect alone achieved by Berlioz, Wagner, Strauss, and Rimsky-Korsakov if 95 per cent. of it could have been achieved by any other orchestral technician? If 5 per cent. is the correct estimate of the art expended on distribution of colour, then we surely have a startling example of the part being greater than the whole!

As to the constructive part of Professor Sabaneev's article, it seems to amount to the substituting of a gigantic organ for the complex modern orchestra. For my part I cannot see why Professor Sabaneev does not turn his whole attention to the development of the organ as a substitute for the collection of [illegible] of every kind. In the organ the compass of every instrument is extended, and the only thing requiring attention is the closer resemblance of the tone [illegible] to its original pattern. It is a matter of taste whether one [illegible] the construction of a perfect orchestral organ or would prefer it to the orchestra itself. Personally, judging from the [illegible] from the musician's point of view, of most of the attempts at [illegible] of music—witness the modern [illegible] the carnival steam band—I confess that I [illegible] the mechanised orchestra. [illegible] the orchestra may be desirable in [illegible]. The complaints of the lack of bass notes [illegible] and the alleged lack of deep bass tones, as also of the 'very [illegible]' double bassoon, double bass, and tuba, are matters in which Professor Sabaneev will find few, if any, musicians to agree with him. The [illegible] of the compass of the various sections of the orchestra is a matter which would have received the attention of great orchestral writers long before now had it really been worth consideration. We are still far from exhausting the possibilities of the existing [illegible].

The idea of wind instruments provided with uniform keyboard and bellows is simply fantastic—and not a very good fantasy at that—for all that can be found in a complete organ, with the additional advantage of economy in labour, as the whole kist o' whistles can be worked by one man. It is very unlikely that any such sudden and premeditated change will ever overtake the orchestra. Gradual changes have taken place and are still taking place. But they are only likely to be brought about by the musicians, especially composers themselves, as they find occasion for or feel need of an extension of the resources at their disposal.

Yours faithfully,

JAMES DEAR.

CORRESPONDENCE

'THE EVOLUTION OF THE ORCHESTRA'

To the Editor of the NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER

SIR,—I am afraid Professor Sabaneev's article on 'The Evolution of the Orchestra' in your March issue must have been somewhat perplexing, if not quite misleading, to the general reader. It is a gloomy picture he draws of the orchestra as being a collection on the one hand of string players who are musical failures, and on the other of players of wind instruments which are failures as having 'lost their capacity for individual work.' From Professor Sabaneev's point of view the orchestra must indeed be, in his own words, 'a collection of defects of every kind.' But there is surely something fantastic about such a point of view, and, fortunately for the other side of the question, many of his statements are open to severe criticism.

On the destructive side of the Professor's argument we have such statements as that 'all wind instruments have ceased to live as soloists,' 'have lost their capacity for individual work.' Now that is assuming that all instruments were originally intended to be equally effective as solo instruments—an assumption which is obviously false if by *solo* instruments we mean, as Professor Sabaneev seems to mean, instruments capable of being played in a satisfying way without any accompanying instruments. On the other hand, if that is not the meaning intended, then the statement is all the more false in that these so-called dead wind instruments are for the most part used in solo passages accompanied by the rest of the orchestra. In the first place, these instruments never had, and were never intended to have, a power of solo expression equal to that of the pianoforte. So they cannot be said to have *lost* that power. In the second place, the solo function for which they are best suited, and which is a feature of their present use—namely, that of judicious accompanied, or even on occasion temporarily unaccompanied, solo work—far from being a result of decadence, is actually a result of their development in the direction indicated by the particular and individual tone-colour peculiar to each.

The proper way to regard the orchestra is not as a 'sarcophagus of instruments which have lost their capacity for individual work,' but, to use one of Professor Sabaneev's phrases of which he himself does not seem to realise the whole significance, as 'a palette of tone colours.' The wind instruments are of their very nature more orchestral than solo, more suited for concerted use or occasional colour effects than as solo instruments, in the sense that the pianoforte and less so the stringed instruments are solo instruments. But to say that on that account they fail as solo

Here you will see life's drear machinery
Where nothing dares run loose, and men are bound
To the same tracks, and man's old bravery
Seems useless and few things wait to be found,
And but in chambers of the scientist
The ancient dream lives on from man to man
That from the unseen world something unmissed
Shall give its secret up: such a wild plan
Was not for these, driving their narrow trade
And hemmed by close horizons. So they sought
And built a city half of longings made,
And let her hold in stone the things they thought,
Until in her unconscious moods she grew
And flowered into the Spirit of us all,
That holds our hopes, and gives us back the true
Calm echo of life's inner rise and fall.

EDWARD SNELSON

LONDON LINES

THERE goes a workman, soon astir, with face
Graven like marble in the ashen air
Hark ! others come, and others, and the race
Of life summons its runners everywhere
See how the crowds pass by and on to work
Look in their faces as they go and find
If in the shadows of their eyes there lurk
The fires that keep a man from going blind
Is there the same stern generosity
As lights the brow when men struggle alone
With wind and unkind sky ? Yet look and see —
Who in this town can keep his soul his own ?
The countryside shares hers with men, but they
Gave theirs to this, who plays her symphonies
Upon men's heart-strings and so steals away,
And keeps whatever grave and noble is,
And builds therewith into the very stone
The shy half-sadness of the English heart,
Showing what ways are bred deep in our bone
Until we see and know them with a start
So may a stranger home from travelling,
Seek his old haunts and find them gone, yet know
The line of London skies, and hear her sing
The silent songs that held him long ago
Watch how the people hurry let us too
Go with them in their business of the day
Theirs is a different life, and lacks a true
Calm homeliness, but slips unwatched away
By counting-house and bench and busy street
Till men look round for something they have lost
And spy their lonely soul Then, lest they meet,
Clap to the doors and soon deny the ghost
'Tis to such lonely ones that London plays
The tune that you shall hear her play, and sets
Her spell deep in the heart, till old dismays
Are stilled, and the sad spirit half forgets

a self-functioning cinema projector, screen, and loud-speaker combined. Human intercourse will then be nothing but the shooting out and receiving of sensual impressions in an endless reel, never repeated, nowhere conserved. Locke's *tabula rasa* will then have come to figure the mind more nearly than he ever dreamed; and the old Greek philosopher's doctrine of perpetual flux will be completely realised. Then, if ever, will Nature cease to abhor a vacuum.

ORLO WILLIAMS

trouble his head with the cumbrously stored knowledge of t past, since a super-Smith can present it briefly and brilliantly picture form to the receptive Smith-consciousness. There is necessity to waste time on the discussion of abstract principl proofs or ideas, since principle resolves itself into a graph affecti Smith's standard of life, groundless conviction (upon any topi works better than reasoned belief, and the abstract, in gener is a chimera, since Smith himself the great norm of univers value, is concrete in every fibre In fine, nothing is interesti which does not interest Smith, and should Smith wish to lo below the surface of things the only lid he need lift up is his ow lid Then, with a thrill of mixed admiration and repulsion, l can contemplate his subconsciousness and his libido cunning directing his ideas and controlling his actions

The fallacy of Rousseau's social contract lay in the ro assumption that by nature all men were equally good and free the fallacy at the root of modern complacency is that by natu all men are equally interesting and intelligent Smith's capacit Smith's understanding Smith's desire for knowledge, Smith passions, Smith's use of his leisure, are in process of becomin the standard of what is desirable in politics, in education an above all, in literature This self-imposition of Smith is actin in Smith's own despite, by keeping him down to the lowe common measure of rational development and supplying n stimulus to rise above it

Optimism for the future can only rest on the hope that thi fallacy will be exploded and that one day after many hidde workings, another Renascence will burst upon the world, in th light of which the common values of our time will seem but measure of the darkness of the age If this hope is not fulfille and if the Smith-function goes on cumulatively working, the the mental processes of humanity must themselves change, th reasoning and judging faculties grow as useless and inconvenien as the appendix, and the apparatus of perceptual apprehensio become incalculably enlarged In the day when that change i consummated there will be no more books A library will consis of a store of talkie-films, by which every possible subject—th equations of Einstein, the life of Socrates, the quality of Eliza bethan poetry—can be pictorially exposed and pithily expounde in the space of a few minutes. In that day, too, if men stil fashion with their hands or in their imaginations a god after thei own ideals, they will surely return to the Hindu tradition fashioning their god with a hundred eyes and a hundred ears the eyes gazing and the ears straining, but the once noble cast o a reflective countenance distorted into a monstrosity. Or th change may go still further, and the mind of man itself becom

psychological change. Anybody who doubts this has only to consult a fifty-year-old file of some paper or review and mark his impatience of the old ponderous methods. Mr. Lytton Strachey, Herr Emil Ludwig, Monsieur Maurois, and even Professor Eddington with his similes of golf balls and halfpence, though not Smiths themselves, are signs of the Smith-function. We are all impatient of dulness, and we are all pressed for time; but so long as it is only dulness against which we revolt there is gain as well as loss. Unfortunately it is true that by the word 'dulness' we are too often only describing our own disinclination to read anything which needs concentration or prolonged attention. This growing disinclination, this increasing non-participation of the thinking faculty in what are presumed to be cultural pursuits, is one of the most disconcerting phenomena of our day. Human knowledge, control of natural forces, and facilities for universal intercourse are growing by leaps and bounds; books and newspapers multiply, the voice of a speaker can now reach to the ends of the world, and the humblest individual has immense fields of activity and observation at his command; yet the reflective faculty is, apparently, becoming extinct. It might seem as though humanity were going backwards from a reflective to a purely representational consciousness.

We need not yet be wholly pessimistic. The reflective faculty can still be discerned at work in the world, the fruits of study have not yet ceased to stimulate thought, and even novelists, here and there, still excite the imagination without tickling the senses. These high things have not, perhaps, diminished in quantity, but they are swallowed up in the immense vogue of the merely representational. This is the working of the Smith-function. The vast Smith public wants from literature three things: emotional excitement, factual (not conceptual) information, and flattery. The most fatal of these is flattery. The very satisfaction of the first two wants may lead to higher demands and higher standards; but the desire for flattery is insatiable, and its satisfaction kills. Of what flattery is the Smith family most susceptible? It is of being told that no such interesting or intelligent persons have ever lived on this earth before. Day after day, in all the languages of civilisation, the Smiths, young and old, are being assured that only in them—the busy, avid, restless beings, with a highly developed self-consciousness and a moderately developed mind—is the generation of enlightenment at last beginning; that to them, for the first time, the structure of the universe is clear, that they now walk surely where the sages of old ponderously stumbled, and that by the now revealed secrets of their personality all the previous mysteries which baffled philosophers are unlocked. There is no need—so runs the subtle suggestion—for Smith to

Smiths' highest principle, the reflective, do while the Smith brain is busily receiving and despatching all these impulses? That is one of the mysteries of which we still have no popular picture; but we may be fairly certain of one thing—that the Smith brain is too busy to concentrate.

The relation of literary production to potential readers to-day is, then, the following. More than enough good books are annually produced to occupy the whole of any individual's reasonable leisure. At the same time there are more than enough occupations easily accessible to drive away dull care without any recourse to the ancient pastime of reading. Books have now to compete with as many rivals as there were instruments in King Nebuchadnezzar's band. Smith is anything but an anchorite; therefore he must renounce the effort to be well read; let us admit that he does so without parade. Moreover, if a statistical inquiry were made into the books actually read by Smith, it would certainly be found that those predominated which competed most successfully with the other favourite means of diversion, in particular with the cinema and radio. In other words, the most successful books commercially are the most entertaining, those which immediately convey to a reader something very close to a vivid visual or auditory impression. And this is not only because such impressions are pleasant in themselves, but also because a prolonged sequence of them is far less fatiguing to the receiver than a sequence of arguments addressed to his reasoning faculties or of abstract ideas demanding an intellectual effort to connect them. In fact, the arithmetical ratio of books produced to Smith's available hours of leisure is only one factor in the far-reaching effect which the rapidity, intensity, and variety of modern life are exercising upon literature. This whole effect, which is making writers specious and readers cursory, might well be called the 'Smith-function,' since the co-ordinates are economic and psychological attributes of Smith, whose wants and inclinations now control the general literature of the world.

This effect is obvious, not only in journalism, but in every department of writing but the purely technical. Editors and publishers, with their fingers on the Smith pulse, now regard solidity as a definite defect: they insist on vividness, plot, 'punch,' 'pep,' the 'human touch' or the 'personal approach.' Everything must be stated graphically; scene is more important than atmosphere, personality than process; psychology reigns and metaphysics is dead; every kind of description must have a direct visive quality; and first-hand knowledge goes down before sparkling but facile exposition at second hand. This is not merely the complaint of a supercilious intellectualist, for we are all Smith part of the time. Not one of us is exempt from this

than five hours of recreation a day without curtailing the hours due to sleep. Is it likely that the whole of this time will be given to books? Lydia Languish, no doubt, did not find the ratio of books to hours available excessive. She was enchanted when a *Clarissa Harlowe* came out in more than ten volumes, for it meant so many hours' release from dreariness and vapours. There were no matinées for her, no cinema theatres giving at least two programmes a week, no wireless set that could be switched on at noon and continue to provide an unfailing hotchpotch of music and speech till midnight, no gramophone on which she could hear, over and over again, the roulades of the divine Farinelli or the country dances played by the Pump Room Quadrille Band, and no dance-teas at dance palaces, clubs and private houses. She neither played golf nor tennis, and though she frequently rode, her distances were short, for she could not hitch her horse indefinitely to a gate or leave it in a side road as can her modern counterpart her *motor cycle or motor car. Except in town,* she saw her friends only at long intervals. The master of the house controlled the carriage horses, and to send her even ten miles to a tea or card party would have been a thing not lightly to be thought of. And how could she invite or be invited at short notice, when she had no telephone? Her mother and father, her uncles, aunts and brothers were similarly restricted. If they cared for books at all they had plenty of time to give to them. Even sermons were a godsend: for how could a heavy Sunday ever have rolled by? Solidity was thought no harm in those days, whether in books or food, and nobody hurried over either.

There are no Languishes nowadays. A plain name is the symbol of *joie de vivre*. The vapours and the spleen are mythical diseases. Nobody stays long in any one place unless it be in an office. Charabancs, motors, motor cycles, electric trams, aeroplanes, are ready to take Smith somewhere else at any hour of the day. A golf link or a tennis court is within his reach wherever he lives; the cinema, the theatre, the dance and bridge take him from home at least twice a week. And when the Smith family are assembled at home, their energy not at all impaired by a light meal shrewdly composed on the principles of modern dietetics, are they compelled by want of an alternative to spend any of their energy upon thinking, or upon what is supposed to be its stimulus, reading? Indeed, no. Should they be so unenterprising as to find nothing to do, they have always something to listen to, provided by the broadcasters of the world. So well, too, have many of the Smiths learned to co-ordinate their faculties that they can read a novel with their eyes while listening to a concert with their ears, smoking with their mouths, and knitting, darning, or writing letters with their hands. The only question is, What does the

every week. This margin just allows for one crossword puzzle a week and five bad headaches or other incapacitating misfortunes. This very delightful prospect, of course, makes no allowance for the effects of the Daylight Saving Act, travelling abroad, or staying in other people's houses. We assume for these statistical purposes that our gentle but determined reader devotes himself to fiction from the moment he has sipped his after-dinner coffee till the moment when he ought to be thinking of going to bed. If he does not do so, he will fail to hold tight to the novelists he admires now. 'Ah, but I also read after tea,' some light-hearted person, probably a lady, will exclaim. We can only reply that we are delighted to hear it, but presume that between 5 and 7 o'clock she reads books of another kind. If not, when does she read them?

For nobody can deny that to keep abreast of the intellectual, or at least literary-artistic, output of the day one must read more than fiction. Biography is all the rage; and biography, even when it is written by Lytton Strachey or André Maurois, takes some time to read. I doubt if six hours is too much for the average book of biography. Then there is poetry, if any; but that, mercifully, takes no time at all to read. There are also travel, criticism, economics, history, and such books as Professor Eddington's *The Nature of the Physical World*, which strive to put abstruse scientific knowledge into plain words. These last linger upon one sadly: it takes two hours to read a chapter, and then one is no nearer to conceiving a curved space-time or understanding the importance of 'entropy' than before. Altogether, I do not think we should exaggerate if we undertook to find two good books of these kinds for every week of the year, which comes to 600 book-hours a year. In fact, our reader is now provided with serious reading matter from 5 to 7 p.m. on every day of the week but Sunday. She will be glad of these two hours on Sunday, for they will enable her to read the Bible, Shakespeare, Dickens, Milton, Wordsworth, Keats, Shelley, all books in such foreign languages as she knows, and such critical and weekly journals as she has not had time to deal with during the week.

Four or five hours' reading a day would not, of course, be excessive for a person of complete leisure, a student or a man of letters. But the student and man of letters are, *ex hypothesi*, excluded from this inquiry, being special cases; and the person of complete leisure has practically ceased to exist. On the one hand, the rise in the cost of living has compelled most of what used to be called the leisured classes to work; on the other, the improved mechanism of civilisation has enormously increased the opportunities for diversion. The average person has a fixed daily occupation; he or she, therefore, cannot count on more

fastidious individual would contain another fifty names of writers to whom he could not deny merit. 'Let us hold tight to the authors we now admire,' says Mr. Harwood. This means that we must hold tight to about 200 above-average novels a year; and this process, according to our capacities, will take us from 600 to 800 hours of reading. But that is not all. The average reader, who reads mostly for the sake of entertainment, but is not averse from instruction, reads other books besides those which qualified their authors for inclusion in the list. To begin with, there are detective and mystery stories, the modern standard in which is high. One could easily find a good story of this class for every week in the year, at a low computation. Let us put the figure at 50, and, since the reading of such books is apt to be breathless, the number of book-hours involved at 125, or two and a half per volume. Next there are novels by American writers. Of these, without thinking very hard, I can write down a list of twelve whose works are deservedly well known in England :-

Sherwood Anderson	J. Hergesheimer
James B. Cabell	Fanny Hurst
Willa Cather	Sinclair Lewis
Theodore Dreiser	John Dos Passos
Susan Glaspell	Upton Sinclair
Ernest Hemingway	T. S. Stribling

Add to these other foreign novelists whose works command a large circulation in translation, such as Paul Morand, André Maurois, Pirandello, Arnold Zweig, Sigrid Undset, Selma Lagerlöf, Knut Hamsun, J. Bojer—a list which could be easily extended. We might, therefore, reckon on twenty-five good American and translated foreign novels a year; nor can we be too stingy of time to them. Bearing in mind the enormous length of Dreiser's *American Tragedy*, Mann's *The Magic Mountain*, or Zweig's *The Case of Sergeant Grischa*, one cannot allow, on an average, less than four book-hours for a foreign novel. Finally, in the domain of fiction alone, we must not leave the countless magazines out of account. There they are, employing most of the best authors and making a bookstall of to-day look as gay as a bazaar. Shall we say—a modest estimate—half an hour a week for fiction magazines, or twenty-five hours in the year? If so, then the total of average book-hours for fiction alone now stands at 600 + 125 + 100 + 25 = 850 per annum.

Now, if one read for two and a half hours a day for 360 days, the total number of reading hours would be 900. In other words, there is enough high-class fiction published in English to furnish a diligent and rapid reader with entertainment from 8.30 p.m. till 11 p.m. every evening but five in the year, with one idle hour

ON BOOK-HOURS

FOUR years ago, in the *Nineteenth Century and After*, Mr H. C. Harwood wrote an interesting article[1] in which he made a quantitative survey of English novelists. Ironically abandoning criticism, though himself one of our acutest judges of fiction, he set out to compile a list of those English writers of fiction who, by a generally accepted standard of artistic achievement, would be considered good. After propounding a list containing 267 names to a voluntary jury of eight people, and after striking out all names which obtained three or more blackballs, he arrived at a list of 150. Those who refer to this list, which was given in full (April 1925), will agree that all the names deserved their place, and that, since writers of 'shockers' and detective stories were purposely excluded, the number of surprising omissions was small. Mr. Harwood confined himself to the process and result of this compilation, defending its principle on the ground that it was not for us, but for posterity, to arrive at the final estimate of these authors. Instead of trying to draw up a class list, he said, 'Let us hold tight to the authors we now admire as things are, and to the novels we enjoy here and now.' The only conclusions which he drew from his statistics were the meagre ones that women novelists are not so preponderant as they supposed, and that our present supply of pure humorists is very small. Figures of this kind, in my opinion, are pregnant with far more alarming conclusions; and, since the fashion of to-day is to state things in figures and functions, those who believe, with Mr. Harwood, that the 'science of statistics happily endures' may be interested to proceed a little further.

Let us begin with Mr. Harwood's list of 150 novelists. Some four or five of these have died in the interval, but their places can easily be filled, let us say, by such names as Miss Sheila Kaye Smith, Mr. E. Sackville West, Miss Naomi Royde-Smith, Mr. Charles Morgan, and Mr. Christopher Morley. Moreover, Mr. Harwood's original list contained 267 names, and the jury were not asked to add any names of their own. It may safely be assumed, then, that any similar list compiled by one not over-

[1] 'Current Fiction,' April 1925.

set its mark upon our later literature; and which remains, in the best sense, a national possession.

There is little to add to Percy's biography. The *Reliques* were not too well received, jeered at as they were by Johnson, Warburton, Hurd, and others, but in the end they gained public favour and were mainly responsible for Percy's advancement. During his thirty years at Dromore he lived rather like another Evelyn in an Irish Deptford, absorbed in such varied interests as literature, the origin of round towers, birds, and forestry. (He is credited with having planted most of the woods which clothe the adjacent hillsides at Dromore.) In his last years he became totally blind, but lived on to the advanced age of eighty-two, becoming the sole survivor among the original members of the famous Literary Club. He died on September 30, 1811, and is buried beside the faithful Anne in the transept which he added to Dromore Cathedral.

MAURICE McGRATH

The last three verses conclude the argument, the man's keen observation in the first and the woman's shrewdness in the second concluding with the whimsical resignation of the man in the final one:

O Bell my wiffe! why dost thou flyte?
Now is now and then was then.
Seek all the world now throughout
Thou kens not clowns from gentlemen,
They are clad in black, green, yellow, and blue,
So far above their own degree,
Once in my life I'll take a vew,
For I'll have a new cloak about me

King Henry was a very good King,
I trow his hose cost but a crown,
He thought them 12d. over to dear,
Therefore he called the tailor clown
He was King and wore the Crown
And thou rt but of a low degree
It's pride that puts this country down,
Man, put thy old cloak about thee

O Bell my wife! why dost thou flyte?
Now is now and then was then,
We will live now obedient life
Thou the woman and I the man
It's not for a man with a woman to threap
Unless he first give o'er the play,
We will live now as we began,
And I'll have my old cloak about me

There is no need to labour the metaphor nor to delve for signs of the times in this ballad. It has a charm that age cannot stale. And what is true of this is true of the majority in Percy's collection, ranging as they do from the ballads of Robin Hood to those of the Percy and the Douglas on the troubled border, from the songs of rare Ben Jonson to the sonnets of the exquisite Lovelace. Therein lies Percy's claim to appreciation. His researches pale before the work of Child, Gummere, and others; his editorial methods are frowned upon by a more highly critical age; but at least he did edit these old ballads, labouring on them to an extent that betrays his affection. And when he waxed apologetic for introducing them 'in the present state of improved literature,' and when he 'improved' them so deplorably, he was probably acting wisely in view of contemporary practice and the taste of the period. One feels, too, that he loved these ancient songs more than he thought it advisable to admit. In any event, he gave us in the *Reliques* a collection that has inspired some of our finest romantic and historical works both in verse and prose, that has

No wonder that Percy in his preface to this ballad should declare: 'Indeed, if it had no other merit than the having afforded the groundwork to Prior's *Henry and Emma* this ought to preserve it from oblivion'!

In a collection so extensive as the *Reliques* even to mention some of the better known titles is merely to construct a catalogue. Furthermore, by their very nature they are either above or below the application of the Higher Criticism. As Professor Gummere says elsewhere of ballads in general: 'From one vice of modern literature they are free: they have no "thinking about thinking," no feeling about feeling.' One simply reads and responds to their direct and simple appeal. But if it is impossible to criticise, it is possible to quote enough from one of the shorter ballads to illustrate the nature of this appeal. One can scarcely do better than follow Cassio in *Othello*, who, when Iago sings two verses of *Bell my Wiffe*, declares: 'Why, this is a more exquisite song than the other.'

In the bitter winter weather the goodman, urged by his wife to 'take his old cloak about him' and tend the needs of the cow, protests against his lot:

> O Bell, my wife, why dost thou flyte?
> Thou kens my cloak is very thin:
> It [illegible]
> A [illegible] thereon [illegible]
> [illegible] the court with [illegible]
> [illegible]
> I [illegible] the court within
> For I'll have a new cloak about me.

The wife, less prone to rebel against the daily round, confines herself to the stolid qualities of 'Cow Crumbocke,' the immediate nature of that excellent animal's needs, and concludes:

> [illegible] follow my counsel now,
> Forsake the court and follow the plough,
> Man, take thine old cloak about thee.

The man grumbles that after forty-four years' wear his cloak is useless. Womanlike, the wife twists this into an appeal to sentiment that betrays her whole simple philosophy:

> It is forty-four years ago
> Since the one of us the other did ken,
> And we have had betwixt us both,
> Children either nine or ten:
> We have brought them up to women and men:
> In the fear of God I trow they be;
> And why wilt thou thyself misken?
> Man, take thine old cloak about thee.

descending patronage. The ballad was 'rustick' and 'bucolick,' and, though its gambols might be quaint enough when confined to the village-green of literature, they could not be tolerated in the salons wherein a polished age languidly approved an equally polished Muse. True, on a few occasions in the early eighteenth century the ballad had been privileged to enter polite circles, but only when suitably dressed. This decking-out process was begun by Dryden and continued by Parnell, Tickell, Prior and others. An example mentioned by Hales admirably demonstrates at once the lovely quality of the ballad, the decking-out process that had become fashionable, and the taste of an age that could admire new shoddy at the expense of old homespun. It is contained in the volume of Prior's poems published in 1718 in which that poet printed the famous old ballad of *The Nut-Brown Maid* side by side with his own 'decked-out' version, *Henry and Emma*; and the comparison is even more enlightening than Prior intended it to be. The girl goes but lumpishly in her native russet:

> O Lorde, what is this worldis blisse,
> That chaungeth as the mone!
> The somers day in lusty may
> Is derked before the none.
> I hear you say, Farewell! Nay, nay,
> We departe not soo sone.
> Why say ye so? Wheder wyle ye go?
> Alas! What have ye done?
> Alle my welfare to sorrow and care
> Sholde chaunge yf ye were gone;
> For in my mynde of all mankynde
> I love but you alone.

But see how daintily she can foot it when Mr Prior has re-dressed her:

> What is our bliss, that changeth with the moon,
> And day of life, that darkens ere 'tis noon?
> What is true passion, if unblest it dies?
> And where is Emma's joy, if Henry flies?
>
> * *
>
> O! cease then coldly to suspect my love,
> And let my deed at least my faith approve.
> Alas! no youth shall my endearments share,
> Nor day nor night shall interrupt my care;
> No future story shall with truth upbraid
> The cold indifference of the nut-brown maid;
> Nor to hard banishment shall Henry run,
> While careless Emma sleeps on beds of down.
> View me resolved, where'er thou lead'st, to go,
> Friend to thy pain, and partner of thy woe;
> For I attest fair Venus and her son,
> That I, of all mankind, will love but thee alone.

It is only within comparatively modern times that the ballad has been seriously studied, and the literature that has now grown up around it, out of all proportion to the amount of original material, is too vast and too speculative for detailed consideration. It is sufficient to say that with the ballad proper we are at the very dawn of poetry. Its origin is lost in antiquity. Even as poetry existed before prose, so, in all probability, the ballad, made by the people for the people and preserved by oral tradition alone, preceded the poem constructed on more or less artistic principles by the bard, the minstrel, the professional poet. Though it lingered in an early form among rural communities, it was obviously impossible for it indefinitely to continue unaffected by literary influences; and with the passage of time it developed into the lay, the epic, the *chanson de geste*, the romantic and historical ballad, and all those forms and variants that begin before the *Song of Canute* and end with halfpenny broadsheets similar to those which Silas Wegg exposed for sale on his stand in the vicinity of Cavendish Square. These vexed questions of origin and descent, however, can be left to the authorities. For the scholar the ballad has this attraction, that it presents a vivid period picture; that it is a peculiar and independent species unique in English literature; and that while it has long ceased to exist, it is impossible that the circumstances which produced it can ever again recur. It is therefore a closed chapter in literary history. For the general reader it recaptures the atmosphere 'under the greenwood tree,' the glamour of border warfare, and the authentic spirit of Merrie England. Above all, whatever its form, it has a direct appeal, an impersonal simplicity that gives it a peculiar and abiding charm, a charm that is quite independent of such attractive externals as quaintness, curious refrains, and archaic spelling.

Its previous neglect is extraordinary. As an essentially 'popular' product the ballad was scorned by the mediaeval scholar, ever contemptuous of anything in the native tongue. Left to haphazard preservation by oral tradition, the vast majority of the ballads have been totally lost, and those which yet exist owe their survival to a fortunate chance: to the introduction of paper as a writing material, to the seventeenth-century practice of papering the walls of rooms with broadsheets, and to occasional enthusiasts who championed, though usually unavailingly, their cause. It is curious, when the ballad had such stout supporters as Sidney, Selden, Dorset, Dryden, Addison, Rowe and others, that the disfavour with which it was generally regarded should have continued for so long. Yet when Percy brought out the *Reliques* the mediaeval pedant's honest scorn of the ballad had been replaced by something rather worse, a con-

The manuscript is a long and narrow folio of which a few of the front and back pages and the half-sheets of many of the early pages have been torn off and destroyed. This work of destruction was furthered by the printer to whom Percy sent it to be bound, and who carefully pared away the top and bottom lines of many of the leaves. The manuscript dates from the mid-seventeenth century and contains 191 ballads, apparently written down hurriedly from dictation. Percy's handling of this material, however well intentioned, was scarcely praiseworthy. The first edition of the *Reliques* contained 176 pieces, only 45 of which were taken from the discovered folio, and of these the majority were sadly doctored, 'improved' in some instances almost out of existence. When the *Reliques* appeared certain doubts were expressed regarding the authenticity and the actuality of the original manuscript from which they were taken, notably by Ritson, who clamoured for its production and did not hesitate to charge Percy with literary forgery. Percy defended himself, and correctly stated that the manuscript had been seen by various gentlemen; but the folio was not forthcoming, it was preserved with a certain amount of secrecy, and it was not until a century later that Furnivall was able to obtain the loan of it and to give the full text to the world.

Since this complete text was made public the *Reliques* in Percy's edition is perhaps less widely read than formerly. For a strictly accurate reading of at least a part of Percy's collection one goes instead to Hales and Furnivall. But it remains a work that has delighted untold readers during nearly two centuries. Scott tells us how he came upon the book and devoured it, while 'the summer day sped onward so fast that, notwithstanding the sharp appetite of thirteen, I forgot the hour of dinner, was sought for with anxiety, and was still found entranced in my intellectual banquet.' In her old age Miss Mitford recalled having read it with infinite delight sixty years previously, when she was a child of five; and Wordsworth, Coleridge, and Southey all found inspiration in its pages and gratefully acknowledged their debt. These are tributes to its unfailing delight, but it has an importance quite apart from the intrinsic beauty and interest of its contents. With Macpherson's *Ossian*, Hurd's *Letters on Chivalry*, and Horace Walpole's *Castle of Otranto*, it is an early symptom of that reaction in favour of 'Gothic' and mediæval 'darkness' which first manifested itself in the mid-eighteenth century. Other factors contributed to make it a work of yet greater value: the interest of the ballad as a literary form and the importance of its preservation; the artificial condition of English poetry at the time of the book's publication and the ultimate effect on that condition of a revival of interest in the ballad.

Biblical commentaries. With the exception of the *Reliques*, they have now but small value. His translation of Mallet's *Northern Antiquities* did good work in creating interest in the Scandinavian myth and in Northern literature. *The Household Book of the Earl of Northumberland in 1512*, which he compiled at the request of his patron, Hugh Percy, Duke of Northumberland, also deserves mention. Pickford says that 'it has done perhaps as much for the illustration of Early English domestic life as the *Reliques* have done for Early English literature.' It was certainly the forerunner of a long line of similar publications, documents illustrating the domestic history of the past; but the book itself did not reach the general public, and its interest is, of course, confined to the student of history. As his chief claim to consideration as a poet—apart from *O Nancy* and his additions to various ballads—*The Hermit of Warkworth* must also be mentioned. This was an imitation by Percy of the ballad in the ancient fashion, and one cannot, however well disposed, commend it very highly. It seems only to demonstrate that a certain faithfulness in outward form cannot compensate for absence of inward content. Here are two specimen stanzas selected without prejudice:

> O tell me, father, tell me true,
> If [illegible]
> A gentle [illegible] I lately left
> [illegible] tree.
>
> [illegible] place
> [illegible]
> [illegible]
> [illegible] away.

This is sufficiently feeble almost to justify Johnson's parody:

> [illegible] meek and mild,
> [illegible] upon a stone;
> The nurse took up the squealing child,
> But [illegible] still squealed on.

The interest or value of these and all his other writings, however, is entirely overshadowed by the work with which his name is associated, *The Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*, a collection of old ballads which Percy had accidentally discovered and a selection from which he published, together with others taken from another folio which he already possessed. He tells the story of his discovery in a memorandum inside the manuscript cover:

> This very curious Old Manuscript in its present mutilated state, but unbound and sadly torn, I rescued from destruction and begged at the hands of my worthy friend Humphrey Pitt, Esq., then living at Shiffnal in Shropshire . . . I saw it lying dirty on the floor under a Bureau in ye Parlour, being used by the Maids to light the fire.

Bishop of Dromore, in Ireland, which office he retained for thirty years until his death in 1811. Meanwhile, in 1759, he had married Anne Gutteridge, who, in the words of Fanny Burney, was 'a good creature.' She was also a great favourite with Johnson, who courteously declared that 'she had more sense than her husband.' Cradock, speaking of Percy as a pleasing companion and a steady friend, goes on to say that 'there was a violence in his temper which could not always be controlled', but he had a wife

> Without one jarring atom form'd,
> And gentleness and joy made up her being.'

A peculiar interest attaches to Anne, for she was the 'Nancy' of that famous ballad of Percy's which Burns held to be the finest in the English tongue:

> O Nancy, wilt thou gang with me?
> Nor sigh to leave the flaunting town;
> Can silent glens have charms for thee,
> The lowly cot and russet gown?
> No longer dressed in silken sheen,
> No longer deck'd with jewels rare,
> Say, canst thou quit each courtly scene,
> Where thou wert fairest of the fair?

This poem earned for Percy a poetical reputation that posterity would gladly have confirmed. Unfortunately it is obviously borrowed. Dr Rimbault traced its inspiration to *The Royal Nun*, found in a manuscript dated 1682, which begins

> Canst thou, Marina, leave the world,
> The world that is devotion's bane,
> Where crowns are toss'd and sceptres hurl'd,
> Where lust and proud ambition reign?
> Canst thou thy costly robes forbear,
> To live with us in poor attire;
> Canst thou from courts to cells repair
> To sing at midnight in the quire?

Rimbault adds that the same words, with trifling variations, are found in Nat Lee's *Theodosius*. This certainly betrays close kinship with Percy's poem; but his debt to an old ballad, *The Young Laird and Edinburgh Katy*, which Allan Ramsay had edited in 1733, is yet more obvious, even in the first two lines:

> O Katy! wiltu gang wi' me,
> And leave the dinsome town awhile?

His other writings, belonging almost entirely to the Easton Maudit period, took that form which might be expected in a country clergyman with a taste for antiquity. They were mainly translations, editorial works, one or two critical essays, and

THOMAS PERCY'S BICENTENARY

THE bicentenary of Bishop Percy on April 13 will scarcely occasion any widespread interest. His is not one of the great names in our literature; his work was mainly editorial, and therefore secondary; and his reputation is based on a solitary achievement—*The Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*. Unfortunately for his standing in a later and severely critical age, he was not too happy in his methods of 'improving' upon the ballads contained in this celebrated work, and his efforts have earned more blame than praise, from the furious attacks of Ritson to the just censures of Furnivall a century later. Other than by his genuine affection for antiquity, Percy was scarcely suited to this task, for it must be admitted that he was not distinguished either by great intellect or by what Macaulay would have termed severe scholarship. As Johnson said, unkindly but not altogether inaccurately, 'Percy runs about with little weight on his mind.' At best, he was a man of cultured, and particularly of antiquarian, tastes; at worst, an indifferent and artificial poet. Yet, when all that is disparaging has been said, it remains an indisputable fact that he gave us in the *Reliques* a work that formed the groundwork of English balladry; that marked the approach of a literary epoch; that not only in some degree influenced the taste of his age, but was also primarily responsible for the return to naturalness, for the sweeping away of that artificiality which had rendered contemporary poetry as gracefully rounded, as polished, and as generally lifeless as the marble effigy on a tomb.

Percy's life was largely uneventful, and it may be very briefly sketched. He was born at Bridgnorth, Shropshire, on April 13, 1729. Both his grandfather and father were prosperous grocers and burgesses of the borough. He was educated at the local grammar school and at Christ Church, Oxford, this latter college presenting him on his graduation with the living of Easton Maudit, Northamptonshire. Here he remained for twenty-five years, enlivening the tedium of existence with a variety of literary activities. Later, when his writings had earned him recognition, he became in turn chaplain to Hugh Percy, Duke of Northumberland, and to George III; then Dean of Carlisle; and finally

reproach. As no one rose, the legate turned to Marlberg with the words, 'You who stood in the Roman Curia state your case.' Marlberg, solicited also by the brothers, then proceeded to give an exhaustive account of the crimes and excesses of the abbot. His able and scathing exposure occupied no less than nine hours in its delivery, and the monks, with only two or three exceptions, declared that they endorsed all his statements. When he had finished his indictment the abbot protested that he could prove that there was a conspiracy against him, but, as the day was now far spent, the legate ordered an adjournment of the trial to the following morning. He afterwards dined in the refectory with the abbots in attendance and the monks of the abbey and wax candles were lighted.

The abbot entertained the other members of the legate's retinue in his private apartments, apparently unconscious of the fact that his doom was sealed. When the legate took his seat on the morrow it soon became clear that the abbot was able to offer no defence worthy of a moment's consideration. The conspiracy, such as it was, to which he referred had already been dealt with by authority. Nothing therefore remained but that the legate should pass sentence of deprivation. With the words 'Woe to the man by whom the offence cometh' on his lips, the legate calmly told the abbot that he was relieved of his office and bade him ask for the dismissal that was his due.

The abbot hesitated, but at length, flinging himself on the floor, obeyed the legate. Before leaving the abbey he was compelled to restore various vestments, chalices, and rings which he had appropriated. He was then led away from the chapter-house. As it was considered unseemly that one who had occupied the princely position of Abbot of Evesham should be destitute, he was appointed Prior of Penwortham. There he was guilty of his usual excesses, and, dying in 1323, closed a career which is a grave reflection on the ecclesiastical administration of his day. The succeeding abbot was appointed by the legate himself, and his record was in all respects a good one. At his death the abbey remained vacant for three-quarters of a year, during which period the revenues were seized by Henry III. Marlberg, who had held the offices of dean, sacristan and prior under the previous abbot, was then chosen by the monks to succeed him. He proved a wise, capable and liberal administrator, advancing in every way the fame and fortunes of the abbey which he loved so well.

H. P. PALMER.

from the abbey. The monks were resolute to throw in their lot with him, and all, save the old and infirm, left the abbey together, bearing staves in their hands. The abbot and the friends accompanying him mounted their horses and went in hot pursuit, only to be handsomely routed. He was then ready to promise anything, and the monks listened to his prayers and entreaties and returned to the house of bondage.

The publication of Innocent's famous interdict in 1208 prevented, for the time, the pressure of the Italian moneylenders on Evesham Abbey or elsewhere, for these financiers were all seized by the king, despoiled of whatever money and documents they had with them and driven from the kingdom. The Evesham documents were lodged with others of the same kind at Corfe Castle. The elusive abbot thus obtained a respite of no less than five years more. When however in 1213 the interdict was taken off the country by Nicholas of Tusculum, the papal legate, the moneylenders were allowed to return and their documents restored by King John. They agreed to a composition for debt and interest of a sum of 1,000*l.*, but the abbot, swearing by the 'Queen of the Angels,' refused to pay a penny of the money, and indeed the debt remained undischarged until the appointment of his successor. Marlberg discussed this refusal at Croydon with his old tutor, Stephen Langton, now Archbishop of Canterbury, and his fellow pupil, the Dean of Salisbury. Until far into the night these three old friends and learned ecclesiastics sat by the archbishop's fire, and argued, not merely the question of wresting this money from the abbot, but also that of deposing him from his position. Langton would much have liked to have gone to Evesham himself and ejected the abbot, but, as he was not a papal legate, there was grave doubt whether he would not be exceeding his powers. Greatly encouraged by the archbishop's sympathy, and no doubt in accordance with his advice, Marlberg went on to Oxford with the express purpose of seeing Nicholas, the papal legate, and invoking his assistance in dealing with the abbot. Nicholas was sitting in his chamber with the envoy Pandulf, before whom King John, surrounded by his prelates, barons and knights, had recently taken his oath of fealty to the pope. Marlberg found Nicholas not only prepared to visit the abbey, but highly indignant that he had not been appealed to before. He arrived at the abbey on November 20, 1213, and was attended by a great retinue of abbots and secular clergy. The cavalcade was met by a procession of the abbot and the monks. It was not until the day following the legate's arrival that he met the abbot and monks in the chapter-house, and at once expressed the hope that a spokesman would be found to make a full statement of the causes which were rendering the abbey a byword and

Innocent's to one of the counsel: 'You and your masters most certainly drank too much English beer when you picked up such teaching as this.'

Marlberg was now anxious to leave Rome and himself to bear to the abbey the news of his success. The pope, however, forbade his departure at the instigation of the Italian moneylenders, from whom the large sum necessary for the conduct of the case had been borrowed by the abbot, and by whom it had not been refunded. Marlberg, however, had already sent off the decree of exemption; but other valuable documents, including one which ordered the bishop to pay the costs of the suit, were handed by the pontiff to the moneylenders as security for their loan and impounded by them. Innocent was evidently an excellent man of business.

Shortly after Innocent's decision a bargain was struck between Marlberg and opposing counsel which reflects little credit on either. Though the principal case was settled, the pope, who is described by Marlberg as 'most courteous,' was continually being troubled by the adversaries on minor issues, and seems to have done his best to please them. Marlberg and opposing counsel at last came to a private agreement to renounce all opposition to one another, and mutually to abandon all grounds of dispute. It was then that a document was shown which, if revealed to the pope, would at once have brought about the deprivation of the abbot. Unable to procure the testimony of the monks against the abbot, the Bishop of Worcester, doubtless at the cost of great trouble and expense, had procured the evidence of his misconduct from people living in the district. This proof was attested under the seals of all those in positions of authority in the diocese. The document was now handed by his opponent to Marlberg, with a result which may best be described in his own words. 'Thus it came to pass that the abbot was not deposed by the pope, for, if he had seen the report in which the abbot's crimes were set forth, unquestionably he would have deposed him.' There can be no greater condemnation of Marlberg's *suppressio veri* than these his own words.

Marlberg for some time despaired of leaving the Holy City. He could not pay the debt, nor was he able to give the pope or cardinals any further fees or presents. Resolving to ignore the papal prohibition against his departure, he slipped quietly out of the city, and in due course arrived at Evesham, where he was soon to experience another adventure.

The abbot was now secure from any action by the bishop, and that security was due to the courage and pertinacity of Marlberg. The hard and callous heart of the abbot was, however, a stranger to gratitude; the feeling he entertained towards Marlberg, whose influence among the monks was greater than ever, was that of an intense hatred. He determined to eject him

to Innocent, who exclaimed, 'We cannot have so long an introduction; do get to the point.'

Though Marlberg had retained such eminent counsel, he seems to have taken principally on himself the office of spokesman for the abbey. At the conclusion of his opening address the pope wittily remarked, 'That man takes away everything from the bishop and then lets him have the remainder.'

Documents produced by Marlberg to show that from the first the abbey had enjoyed exemption from episcopal jurisdiction were declared by his opponents to be forgeries.

Innocent, knowing well that professional forgers of charters and privileges plied a busy trade and were patronised by monasteries, at once called for Marlberg's documents, and scrutinised them with attention, noting particularly whether the seals could easily be removed. He then declared himself as satisfied that they were genuine.

When the court sat again, after an interval of three days, counsel for the bishop argued that the abbey was subject to 'visitation,' inasmuch as successive Bishops of Worcester had actually visited it. Marlberg countered this contention by maintaining that such visitations had always been held under protest.

At the conclusion of the case the pope declared that his decision would very soon be announced, and he was as good as his word. Marlberg spent the interval in striving to enlist the suffrages of the saints, in deeds of charity, in prayers and fasting. Not a beggar did he meet, whether he asked for an alms or not, to whom he did not freely give. On Christmas Eve, which happened to fall on a Saturday, he went to the Curia quite worn out with fasting and anxiety. The pope, attended by his procession of cardinals, entered at nine o'clock, and all passed to their seats. Innocent, pleased with the prospect of his Christmas holidays and of good hunting, was in his most cheerful mood. 'Stand,' he said to the opposing counsel, 'all of you together. There is no strife between you now. All is peacefully settled.'

The papal notary at once read the judgment, which was adverse to the bishop. Counsel on both sides then crowded affectionately round Innocent to thank him for the care and attention bestowed on the case. Marlberg was among those who kissed the pontiff's feet. 'But,' he tells us, 'whether from joy or fasting, my spirit failed me, and I fainted, so that I could not rise.' Innocent at once asked others present to assist him, and, with the papal benediction upon him, Marlberg left the court. Assuredly he and his friends had won a great victory, but in the case which followed, that of the jurisdiction of the bishop over the abbey churches in the vale of Evesham, they were less fortunate. It need only detain us as the occasion of a pleasantry of

the coming battle with the bishop's counsel, in which he was to prove so valiant a combatant.

In the meantime the abbot, who had done nothing but enjoy himself and look after his own interests, had set out on his own return journey to England. The jealous cruelty which was so conspicuous a feature in his character was illustrated by his treatment of Adam de Sontes, once a university professor, and at the time a monk of Evesham, whom he met on his way home. The monk had been sent by his colleagues to aid in the prosecution of the case against the bishop. The abbot compelled him to turn back and took possession of the three marks which was all the money he then retained. The monk's horse had given out, and though the abbot's servants pitied him and offered him an occasional mount on theirs, the abbot forbade this indulgence, hoping to bring him to the grave by the toilsome journey over the mountains on foot. Eventually the abbot proceeded by a route unknown to the unfortunate monk, who was dragging himself wearily along in the rear of the party. Such, however, were his courage and resource that, though left destitute in a foreign country, he contrived to reach England before the abbot.

Soon after his arrival the Bishop of Worcester made yet another attempt to visit the abbey. He informed the monks of his earnest wish to make inquiry into their grievances and their treatment by the abbot, but they threw down their cowls before him, protesting that if the visitation were persisted in they would leave the abbey. Their dogged determination induced the bishop to defer the visitation, and the monks remained the slaves of the abbot.

When Marlberg returned to Rome from his six months' residence at Bologna, in October 1205, the whole case between the Bishop of Worcester and the monastery came on for immediate trial. The suit must have been a most expensive one, and, if we may judge from the amount of the fees paid to the advocates, fully accounts for Innocent's remark that there was always a large supply of counsel at the Curia. Marlberg briefed four counsel; to the leader, who had been counsel for King John and the bishops against the monks of Canterbury, he gave a 'refresher' of 100*l.* daily, and the junior counsel as well as the four counsel of the bishop were treated with similar liberality. The pope, who was accompanied by the cardinals in residence, himself presided over the court, and speedily showed that his was the master-mind present. He behaved with tact, judgment and kindness, lighting the proceedings with many a flash of pleasant wit, while he showed a steady resolve to get to the heart of the case and be troubled with no irrelevant issues. The long and learned address of the bishop's 'leader' soon became distasteful

with which they had left Evesham. Marlberg significantly says that they had been exchanged!

The monastery evidently intended to meet the expenses of the trial by loans from the Italian moneylenders, of whom we learn so much in the bishops' registers and other ecclesiastical documents. The pressure on their resources was thus deferred to a distant date, and Marlberg hoped to win his case and get his costs out of the bishop. The abbot, starting later than the two monks, was arrested and imprisoned at Chalons, and Marlberg insinuates that the reason was disgraceful. He arrived at Rome four months after the brothers, by which time Marlberg had at last seen the face and heard the voice of one of the most famous popes in history, Innocent III. Marlberg's first thought was to obtain the suspension of the judgment by which, for the time being, the bishop possessed the right of visiting the abbey. Innocent forthwith granted letters of suspension of the judgment. Marlberg was enchanted, and, brimming over with gratitude, presented the pontiff with a golden cup. He was not quite so well pleased when afterwards he asked Innocent for the letters and his request was evaded. When he pressed him for them, the pope grew angry and said he should not grant them. Marlberg was still insistent and was sharply told to withdraw. The delays at the Curia were proverbial, and nothing more was done there for some months.

The abbot fancied that Marlberg was plotting against him and gave him good reason to suppose that he sought his life. At last, however, the enemies were reconciled and worked together to obtain privileges for the abbey, among which was permission to the abbot to wear the mitre and other episcopal insignia. The abbot soon purchased the ornaments, and appeared in them several times in the presence of the pope. The usual system of 'tipping' the pope and cardinals was adopted. Innocent was visited with a fee of 100*l*., of which the modern 4000*l*. is about the equivalent, and the cardinals were not forgotten.

By this time it was April of the year 1205, nearly a year and a half since the monks left Evesham. Disguise it from himself as he might, Marlberg had as yet accomplished none of the objects for which he had come to Rome. The time of the year had now arrived when it was dangerous to those unaccustomed to the climate to remain in the city. Marlberg therefore sought and obtained Innocent's permission to retire to Bologna, and left Rome after receiving the papal benediction. He spent the ensuing six months in the diligent study of the canon law, that bulky and unsatisfactory code, a kind of *olla podrida* of everything, which was regarded as a divine light on all ecclesiastical topics and disputes. He desired to be equipped and armed at all points for

monks by slow starvation. When they tried to obtain a little food by reaping one of their own fields, which the abbot had seized and sown with corn for his own use, he excommunicated Marlberg and also brought on him the anger of the king and the archbishop. Marlberg tried to have a personal interview with King John, but, as might have been expected, he received a brusque and discourteous refusal, while from the courtiers he met with nothing but taunts and threats; happily he was not thin-skinned and survived them. The abbot proceeded by law at Worcester against the monks for the recovery of the land which they had reaped. Marlberg attempted to give evidence, but, as he was an excommunicate, his claim to do so was disallowed by the court. He was then illegally arrested by the abbot, who placed him in the hands of a guard to convey him to prison. He was, however, rescued by three of the chaplains of the archbishop whom he happened to meet.

Marlberg probably never had a more narrow escape from death than on this occasion. He notes the subsequent fate of three of the four men who were carrying him off as the abbot's prisoners, evidently in the belief that in each case it was a punishment for their treatment of himself. One was slain by robbers, the second fell on his own arrow, the third was thrown from his horse and was killed.

It was arranged that the journey to Rome for the personal appeal to the pope should be undertaken by Marlberg, a monk named Thomas of Warwick, and the abbot himself. Before making arrangements for their departure the abbot and the two monks swore mutual fidelity. The abbot put off his journey for some time. He knew very well that his conduct on the way would not bear the scrutiny of others. Marlberg was chosen to represent the abbey as its proctor. 'I, indeed,' he says, 'relying on the mercy of God and on the merits of the blessed Mary and our patronal saints, undertook the journey appointed for me with lamentations and tears, protesting that, unless successful, I should never again see the faces of the brothers save in the kingdom of heaven.'

The morning of departure arrived. Four horses were brought to the abbey gate; the brothers and the two servants attending them mounted them and, amidst the tears and prayers of the convent, started on their mission. Of the perils and adventures of the party we know nothing, but their fate must have been that usually experienced by travellers of those days—the crowded, uncomfortable, rocking boat, the miserable insect-ridden inns, the coarse fare, the sour wine, the fleecing and plundering then so prevalent. The travellers on arriving at Rome, six weeks after the day of their departure, possessed but one horse out of the four

Marlberg, as spokesman of the monks, that they preferred to endure flagellation and starvation until they were visited by the papal legate. They were resolved not to make a present of their liberties to episcopal authority. It was now three o'clock, and all the monks began to stream into the church for the service of nones. Marlberg then ordered the bishop to leave the church, with the remark that he was a fool for coming. The bishop, after remaining in the chapter-house for some hours and endeavouring to win over the twelve representative monks, suspended the whole body and placed an interdict on the church. On the following day the Abbot of Alcester and other clergy appointed by the bishop arrived at Evesham to excommunicate the monks. They found that all possible means of entrance had been closed against them. They were however not intimidated. Candles were lighted and fixed in the churchyard gate, and the service of excommunication proceeded in due form.

It was this attempt of the bishop to 'visit' the abbey which led to the corrupt bargain between Marlberg and the abbot that no proceedings should be taken against the latter if he threw himself wholeheartedly into the impending struggle with the bishop. The monks appealed against their excommunication to the archbishop, by whom the whole case was considered in the presence of the bishops of the Province of Canterbury. The primate, who seems always to have been of doubtful mind, said that the case must abide the decision of papal delegates. The bishop viewed these delegates with suspicion, regarding them as biassed. He therefore undertook the journey to Rome to make a personal appeal to the Curia. New commissioners were appointed; they ordered the monks to do penance for their hostile reception of the bishop, and gave him temporary jurisdiction over the abbey pending the final decision of the pontiff on the whole case. On one point at least both parties were agreed. An appeal must be made to Cæsar, and unto Cæsar both bishop and abbey were to go.

Two years had now elapsed since the bishop's visitation. They had brought with them every kind of litigation, delay, expense and trouble. The cumbrous ecclesiastical machinery for dealing with such matters creaked and strained and groaned, accomplishing nothing for anyone except the lawyers who advised the litigants. The proceedings in the case of the bishop and the abbey are a mediæval anticipation of those of Jarndyce *v.* Jarndyce in Dickens' *Bleak House.* And even when the parties faced one another before the pope himself the same interminable delays and postponements were the despair and ruin of the suitors.

In the meantime the abbot, safe, as he supposed, from the righteous wrath of pope, legates and bishop, was killing the

failed at first owing to the purblindness and incapacity of the legate.

In 1195, in response to an appeal by the monks, Hubert, Archbishop of Canterbury and papal legate, paid a personal visit to the abbey for the purpose of inquiring into the condition of the monastery and the conduct of the abbot. The latter, however, by pampering certain of the brothers at his own table, and also by restoring the little luxuries called 'pittances,' consisting of wine, meat and flesh, to which the monks were entitled, succeeded in undermining the unanimity of the convent. The archbishop, faced with contradictory statements and influenced by the winsome manners and plausible arguments of the abbot, departed, leaving him in possession. The moment danger was over the brothers were treated worse than ever, and in 1198 the legate's intervention was again requested. The same corruption, the same promises, the same disunion, the same seductive manners once more conspired to deceive him, and he did nothing. The old crimes and abuses arose almost at once. In Marlberg's own words, 'the abbot flogged us worse than ever and appropriated all our belongings.'

Another fifteen years of tyranny and misrule were destined to drag their slow course along before the abbot was to fall. Malgere, the saintly Bishop of Worcester, if allowed to visit the abbey, would speedily have dealt with the abbot. He had heard with pain and grief of the perilous state of things and longed to remove the scandal. He was undoubtedly swayed by this desire when, after obtaining papal sanction, in the year 1202 he resolved at all costs to attempt a visitation. Denying as they did the bishop's right to visit, the monks were determined to defeat him. The abbot played his usual self-seeking game. He made an offer to the bishop through some of his friends that, if he would not proceed against him, he would consent to his visitation. The bishop ignored this proposal, and the abbot retired to one of his manors, leaving the issue in the hands of the monks. The bishop in due course arrived, attended by abbots and other clergy and guarded by his armed and mounted attendants. His reception was indeed most inhospitable. The guest-house, the kitchen and the stables were locked, and the bishop's suite made their way to an inn, after tethering their horses in the monastic grounds. The bishop himself passed through the cloisters to the church, and, after reciting a few prayers, sat down by the high altar. The abbot and convent were then summoned to appear. Twelve monks only, who had been previously chosen by the others, obeyed the summons. The bishop proceeded to explain that he was visiting the abbey by papal sanction with a view of reforming all that was amiss within its walls. He was at once informed by

Except for the costly feasts provided by the abbot for his roistering friends, hospitality utterly ceased in the abbey. The fragments of the monks' miserable meals were bestowed on their servants; there was not a crumb for Lazarus at the gate. The abbot increased the wretchedness of the brothers by constantly ordering flagellations of great severity, and the monks were not the only victims. He had formed the belief that the steward of the abbey had amassed a small fortune out of his stewardship. With a view to extorting money from him, he lodged him in the monastic gaol and had him flogged until scarcely a breath was left in his body. When he saw that the man was dying, he sent him to his own home, where he soon expired. In Marlberg's opinion, the abbot was quite capable of committing actual murder with his own hand, and on more than one occasion he himself expected to experience this fate, and trembled for his safety.

Not only did the abbot obtain the means for his riotous and luxurious living by depriving the monks of necessaries, but he also alienated lands belonging to the abbey. With the object of obtaining money for his pleasures he made collusive bargains with those who coveted abbey property. These swindlers made their claim in the royal courts, and, as no defence was made by the abbot, the land was lost to the abbey.

Norreys was accustomed to boast that he would leave the abbey a wreck and a ruin, and he was almost as good as his word. The buildings were utterly neglected, the roofs unrepaired, as those who sat or slept under them found to their cost. Squalor and misery prevailed everywhere, save in the manors and apartments where the abbot spent his time.

It may well be inquired how a man of character so abandoned could be tolerated for so many years in a splendid and wealthy abbey. Were there no means by which he could have been ejected? Is it possible that a Church with pope, legates and bishops, all armed with corrective powers, could stand helpless before such a spectacle of greed, cruelty and guilt?

There were undoubtedly three means by any one of which the deposition of the abbot could have been effected. The monks might have appealed to the Holy See, or recourse might have been had to the papal legate in England, or the Bishop of Worcester, if allowed to visit the abbey, might, and would, have ejected the abbot. An appeal to the pope for the personal hearing of a case at Rome was, as we shall see, a most costly proceeding, and was eventually barred by the fact that Marlberg was base enough to ally himself with the abbot in order to obtain a prohibition against the Bishop of Worcester's visitation of the abbey. The legatine interference was actually invoked, but

even the abbey servants turned away from it in disgust and declined to touch it. The monks were quite accustomed to be without any food whatever until the evening. When, by some extraordinary chance, food was provided which required cooking, the monks were disappointed to find that the fuel had run short and that there were no means of getting it ready. The abbot's economy extended to the smallest articles, among which salt was a conspicuous item, with the result that if a few eggs greeted the eyes of the starving monks they were compelled to exchange some of them for salt at a dealer's shop in the town. If complaints were made to the abbot that the monks were badly fed he either replied that the abbey was in financial straits and nothing better could be offered, or he shouted down the monks with the remark that he was their master and should do as he liked.

The clothing of the monks was as defective as their board. Many of them had no frocks, others possessed no breeches, and some had neither frocks nor breeches. Like the poor poets of Grub Street fame, having little or nothing to wear, they were forced to remain in bed and were found in the infirmary. The absence of breeches disqualified from presence at Mass, and when the abbot was finally arraigned before the papal legate evidence was given that on one occasion he lent a pair of breeches to one of his chaplains to enable him to celebrate that service. When Mass was over the chaplain was compelled to restore the breeches to the abbot. The legate at the same trial called one of the brothers before him as he was struck by the apparent scantiness of his clothing. His scrutiny revealed the fact that the poor monk was quite unclothed save for a cowl and shirt. If we may borrow the language used by Macaulay in describing the treatment of Frederick the Great by his father, it may be truly asserted that Oliver Twist in the parish workhouse and Smike at Dotheboys Hall were 'petted children' when compared with the monks of Evesham.

Starving as they were, the monks scoured the country in search of food. They begged at all the neighbouring abbeys and priories and of their friends and acquaintances. They became vagrants and wanderers, and their conduct on these occasions sometimes gave rise to serious scandal. The abbot took no exception to the monks' excursions. Indeed, he rather rejoiced that they should bring discredit on the abbey, as it gave him something with which he could taunt them. For the fame and credit of the abbey he cared nothing. In spite of all their efforts, however, the monks could find no effectual relief in these haphazard measures. Many of them died from inanition, and several of their servants perished from the same cause.

Richard to promote him to the headship of the great and wealthy Abbey of Evesham.

Norreys was a scholar and a man of letters, of winning and persuasive manners, keeping a splendid table, generous and bountiful when he wished to please.

He had many friends among the great and influential, who helped to save him when, as sometimes happened, his fortunes trembled in the balance. He built princely houses on his manors, and in them, as also in the abbey itself, he entertained the courtiers of his time with almost regal munificence. Moreover, he adopted the sensual habits of these nobles and of the king himself. He was the slave of drink, and no one who visited him was quite sure whether he would find him sober or intoxicated. To this habit he added vices of a deeper dye. He was constantly surrounded by a troop of profligate women, who were often met by visitors to his apartments. Among his victims were married women, and to his shame it is recorded that three nuns succumbed to his blandishments. He was accustomed to lure unfortunate women to their ruin by insinuating to them that he was not a monk but a baron, and owed his great position to a royal gift. Assuredly he possessed none of the habits usually associated with the ascetic life. He never took his meals in the refectory, never sat in the cloisters, never, if he could avoid it, was to be seen in the abbey church. His dress showed no outward and visible signs of the monastic profession; on the contrary, he ostentatiously appeared in lay apparel. Marlberg informs us that he violated the canonical rules by lying in linen sheets, wearing linen shirts, and parading in boots which seem to have been an anticipation of Wellingtons.

If he were the genial and pleasant gentleman with his associates, he could find no more courteous terms for the monks than 'puppies,' 'vassals,' and 'rogues.' By the constitution of the monastery the income of certain lands was earmarked for the service of definite departments. The manciple was entitled to certain rents for the provision of food, the chamberlain to others to supply the means of paying for the clothing of the monks, and the almoner and all other heads of the services were furnished in like manner with necessary funds. But the abbot laid his rapacious hands on everything; among the monks he seems to have been supported by a party whom he feasted at his table with his accustomed profusion. With all the wealth of the abbey tightly gripped in his hands, he reduced the monks to the last extremity of want and destitution. They had scarcely anything to eat but bread and crude vegetables. Their drink was almost invariably water. If at rare intervals beer appeared on the refectory table, it needed a connoisseur to distinguish it from its main ingredient. The bread was so coarse and repulsive that

path of rectitude owing to this cause. In this matter, at any rate, he accepted the fallacy that the end justifies the means, and, as usually happens, his conduct recoiled on his own head.

Had Marlberg been a man of less flexible integrity, the abbot who disgraced the convent would have fallen many years before the day came when he was expelled from the abbey. Marlberg lived to appear more than once as proctor for the abbey before Innocent III, well known to all as the intrepid Pontiff who laid England under an interdict in John's reign. Innocent seems to have greatly appreciated Marlberg's abilities, and paid him the compliment of sending him a Christmas present of venison, the spoil of his own hunting.

Marlberg's account of the earlier life of Roger Norreys, the bad Abbot of Evesham, is corroborated in all important particulars by the correspondence of the monks of the Abbey of Christ Church, Canterbury. Norreys began life as a monk of this famous monastery, was appointed as its treasurer and sent to France to defend its interests against Baldwin, the Archbishop of Canterbury. Norreys proved a traitor to the monks, betrayed the cause which he represented, and revealed the secrets of the convent to the primate. In consequence of his defection this false brother was arrested on his return to England and kept in close custody in the monastic infirmary, and not in the prison, as incorrectly stated by Marlberg. But Norreys was a man of influence, and lost no time in appealing to the Crown against his imprisonment. The Sheriff of Kent was then commissioned by Henry II. to demand his release; the monks, however, defended their action, and Norreys remained in confinement. He managed at last to baffle the monks and escape from captivity by the ingenious process of creeping through the drain. He hastened to join the archbishop, who was then at Otford. The archbishop received the traitor with open arms, attached him to his person, feasted him and treated him as a friend and brother.

On October 6, 1188, he installed Norreys as the Prior (or acting head) of Christ Church, 'kissing him and placing him on the prior's seat.' The monks vainly protested, and their representatives made a personal appeal to Richard I., who had recently succeeded to the throne. The king, however, said that he could not be worried about Norreys.

The new Prior of Christ Church accordingly remained in possession and plundered the abbey to the utmost of his power, while he caroused daily in the sumptuous style of the nobles of his time. The scandal which he created at Canterbury must have been reflected on the archbishop, who was the nominal Abbot of Christ Church. It was not long ere he inclined to the prior's removal elsewhere, and he was successful in inducing King

THE BAD ABBOT OF EVESHAM[1]

The story of the life of Roger Norreys, Abbot of Evesham from 1191 to 1213, has been recorded by Thomas Marlberg, a brother of the same abbey, who himself became abbot at a later date. Marlberg was a gentleman and a scholar. He possessed a mastery of the Latin language, which he wrote and spoke with grace and fluency. He seems to have acquired his eminence in this tongue by the study of Cicero, Juvenal, and other classical writers. He was a skilful dialectician, a brilliant advocate, and master of a telling and persuasive eloquence. In later life he became an adept in the canon law, which was then considered a necessary accomplishment of a learned ecclesiastic.

In his youth he had studied at Paris, when Stephen Langton, afterwards Primate of England, presided over the university of that city; there he contracted a life-long friendship with his teacher.

After receiving the best intellectual training which could then be procured, and after thus sitting at the feet of the Gamaliel of his day, Marlberg presided over a kind of nascent university at Exeter, and subsequently occupied a similarly proud position at Oxford. Comparatively late in life he abandoned secular pursuits and became by far the most influential of the brothers at the Benedictine Abbey of Evesham. He carried to the abbey his literary tastes, and, when at last he had the means and opportunity, presented its library with many valuable books.

When we come to examine the conduct of Norreys the abbot, we shall form a dim idea of the miseries, so repulsive to a man of taste and refinement, with which Marlberg had to contend. His troubles in this respect would soon have been over had he not been perpetually haunted by an obsession against the episcopal visitation of the abbey. This mania always beset him. It biassed his judgment and warped his principles. He was undoubtedly guilty on more than one occasion of serious deviations from the

[1] The interesting biography of Norreys, Abbot of Evesham, in the reign of Kings Richard I. and John, is practically inaccessible to the general reader, for it is in mediæval Latin and is buried in the Rolls Series. There is no English translation of it, as far as I know; I have therefore summarised the story in this article, prefacing it with a short account of its origin.

the same chapter. The riots started in a disturbance during the races at the hippodrome, and ended in the slaughter of 30,000 of the citizens. After this 'the hippodrome itself,' writes Gibbon, 'was condemned during several years to a mournful silence; with the restoration of the games, the same disorders revived; and the blue and green factions continued to afflict the reign of Justinian, and to disturb the tranquillity of the Eastern empire.'

STANLEY W. KEYTE.

Touch anything of hers, and if her train
Sweep on the ground, let it not sweep in vain;
But gently take it up and wipe it clean;
And while you wipe it, with intent to please,
Who knows but you may see her pretty knees!
Observe who sits behind her, and beware,
Lest his encroaching knees should press the fair
Light service takes light minds, for some can tell
Of favours won by laying cushions well,
By fanning faces some their fortunes meet,
And some by laying footstools for their feet [13]

The later history of the Circus Maximus reflects the decay of Rome. Darker passions than those of philandering Ovids clouded the atmosphere of the races. Public men began to take sides; and party hatred, stirring the ranks of the four colours, turned sporting teams into political factions. The result was violence and bloodshed. It is noteworthy that from the earliest times the Christian Church was unfavourable to public shows of every sort. The first Synod of Arles passed a decree denying communion to members of the Church who drove chariots at the games. At the end of the fourth century one of the grounds on which a man could divorce his wife was 'frequenting the circus, theatre, or amphitheatre after being forbidden by her husband.'

In A.D. 476 Romulus Augustulus, last Roman Emperor of the West, was deposed by Odoacer, King of the Heruli. Thereafter Rome acknowledged Teutonic masters. But still the games went on; and we find King Theodoric interfering to save the Green faction from the open violence of magistrates who supported the Blues.

As the West fades from sight we hear of the extravagant passion for racing that had grown up in the capital of the East.

> Constantinople (writes Gibbon) adopted the follies, though not the virtues, of ancient Rome; and the same factions which had agitated the circus raged with redoubled fury in the hippodrome. Under the reign of Anastasius this popular frenzy was inflamed by religious zeal; and the greens, who had treacherously concealed stones and daggers under baskets of fruit, massacred, at a solemn festival, three thousand of their blue adversaries. From the capital, this pestilence was diffused into the provinces and cities of the East, and the sportive distinction of two colours produced two strong and irreconcilable factions, which shook the foundations of a feeble government.[14]

During the reign of Justinian this strange disease came to a head, and all laws, human and divine, were set at nought in the terrible Nika riots of A.D. 532. A hair-raising account of the scenes then witnessed in Constantinople is given by Gibbon in

[13] *Ars. Amat.* i. 135.

[14] Ch. XL.

The circus games were going on, which haven't the faintest attraction for me. They show nothing new, nothing different, nothing that deserves seeing more than once. Why, I wonder, do so many thousands of men get the childish desire again and again to see horses running and men standing in chariots? It would be reasonable if they were attracted by the speed of the horses or the skill of the drivers; but it's the driver's colours they applaud, it's the tunic they love. In the middle of a race if the order of the colours is reversed you will see the sympathy of the crowd reverse too; all at once they will abandon the very drivers and horses which they recognised so far off and whose names they have just been yelling. Such is the power of a worthless tunic! It may be excusable in a crowd that's worth even less than a tunic but what about serious men? When I think that they sit there and never tire of such a frivolous, futile, long drawn out affair, I feel glad that such an amusement doesn't amuse me. And the days that others spend in the idlest of occupations I give delightedly to the pursuit of letters. Farewell.[18]

Pliny, in vaunting his own superior taste, forgets that not all of the male spectators attended in order to see the races. A large number merely enjoyed the betting, the gossip, and the excitement. Another large contingent cared nothing for the races, but liked looking at pretty women; for at the circus women were not (as in other public establishments) separated from men.

On this less noble aspect of the ancient turf let Ovid be our guide. The following passage, taken from an early verse translation and slightly altered in two lines, deserves quoting, if only for the lively picture it presents of a Roman flirtation:

Nor shun the chariots and the courser's race;
The circus is no inconvenient place.
No need is there of talking on the hands;
Nor nods, nor signs, which lovers understand.
But boldly next the fair your seat provide,
Close as ye can to hers—and side by side.
Pleas'd or unpleas'd, no matter, crowding sit;
For so the laws of public shows permit.
Then find occasion to begin discourse;
Enquire whose chariot this, and whose that horse?
To whatsoever side she is inclin'd,
Suit all your inclinations to her mind;
Like what she likes, from thence your court begin,
And whom she favours, wish that he may win.
But when the statues of the deities,
In chariots roll'd, appear before the prize,
When Venus comes, with deep devotion rise.

If dust be on her lap, or grains of sand,
Brush both away with your officious hand.
If none there be, yet brush that nothing thence,
And still to touch her lap make some pretence.

[18] Ep. IX. 6.

For he knew that Julius had offended the people by reading his dispatches and dictating replies during the games.

Suetonius, who could make his fortune to-day by writing memoirs and retailing court gossip, has plenty to say about the behaviour of the emperors at the races. Caligula, it seems, like most of the succeeding emperors, favoured the Greens.

> So devoted was he (says Suetonius) to the Green faction that he often dined and passed the night in their stables. At a banquet he gave the driver Eutychus two million sesterces (16,000*l*.) as a table gift. Lest the sleep of his horse Headlong should be disturbed the night before the games, he used to send soldiers to order silence in the neighbourhood. He gave this horse, besides purple trappings and a collar studded with gems, a stable of marble with an ivory manger and furthermore a house with furniture and a staff of servants so that those who were invited in the animal's name might be received with more splendour. They say, too, that he intended to make this horse a consul![10]

Caligula, like Nero, raced his own chariots. The Eutychus mentioned in this passage is the driver to whom Phædrus dedicated a book of his fables.

Nero's infatuation for horses began in his boyhood. There were times when he talked of nothing else, and escaped his tutor to attend the races.

> At the beginning of his reign (says Suetonius) he used to play with little ivory chariots on a table . . . Soon afterwards he wanted to drive a chariot himself and exhibit himself in the races. Having practised driving in his gardens among slaves and the dregs of the populace, he then appeared in public in the Circus Maximus. And from the box where magistrates of Rome are wont to drop the flag a freedman now gave the signal.[11]

Not satisfied with this, he went to Greece and competed in the Olympic Games. Driving a ten-horse chariot, he fell off his vehicle, and did not even finish the course. But he received the victor's garland just the same, and on his return to Italy made a triumphal entry into Rome.

It is not surprising that sensible men found racing under these conditions not only tedious, but ridiculous. Yet the passionate love of the populace for circus shows never diminished. On the contrary, it increased. Domitian, when celebrating the Secular Games, reduced the laps from seven to five in order to give 100 chariot-races. The Emperor Julian was frankly bored; he would impatiently watch five or six races and then depart. What Pliny the Younger thought of it all can be gathered from one of his letters to a friend :

[10] *Cal.* 55.   [11] *Nero*, 22.

driver flourishing his whip, with the names of himself and his horses beneath. The achievement of Avilius Teres deserves notice: a freedman of a family which supported the Reds, he was the first charioteer to win 1000 races for his faction. The fame of Eutychus, a charioteer of the Greens in the reign of Caligula, linked the race-course with literature; for to him Phaedrus dedicated the third book of his fables. Once again literature celebrates a driver when Martial composes an epitaph on young Scorpus:

> I am Scorpus the glory of the myriad throated circus You gave me your applause, O Rome, and for a little while I was your delight But the Fates were jealous and carried me off in my 29th year, for when they counted my victories they thought I must be an old man.*

A winning driver, on receiving the wreath from the president of the games, carried it, if he was still a slave, to his master; if a freedman, to his employer He himself could look forward to more substantial rewards, for the salaries of charioteers equalled in purchasing power the salaries of our most expensive screen actresses Juvenal tells us that a schoolmaster would earn in one year just what a winning driver received for one race. But prosperity and applause went to the heads of these men. We find them behaving so outrageously that Nero took measures to repress their insolence They were in the habit of swaggering through the streets of Rome, filching anything they had a mind to, and treating it all as a great joke

By a simple device racing news could be flashed from Rome to the provinces Pliny the Elder shall tell the story:

> Caecina of Volaterrae a man of equestrian rank and an empresario of racing-chariots, took some swallows with him to Rome, and let them fly back to announce the winning colours to his friends They returned to their nests painted with the colour of the winning faction *

As Volaterrae (the modern Volterra) lies 130 miles from Rome, the empresario's friends would receive the news about two hours after the race.

As the King of England is expected to attend Ascot, so was the emperor expected to grace the circus with his presence. 'Disgrace the circus' might be a juster phrase, as the sequel will show, when referring to certain of these Roman rulers; but at all events the people liked their emperor to be present. And they liked him to pay attention, too. Augustus, if unavoidably absent, delegated someone to preside in his place; when present, whether interested or not, he took care to watch attentively.

* X. 53. * X 34.

age of twenty, and then used as stud animals. Their proud owners sometimes erected tombs over them, on which their victories were inscribed. Calabria, Thessaly, and the Peloponnese produced celebrated breeds. Others came from Spain, Sicily, and Cappadocia. The favourite colour, especially with betting men, was white; in fact, the speed of white horses became proverbial. As with us to-day, all good racers had pedigrees. More than one man-about-town could recite from memory the pedigrees of the winners of those days. In their choice of names for horses the Romans fell short of the fancifulness of modern owners, contenting themselves with such commonplace epithets as 'Elegance,' 'Courageous,' 'Pride,' 'Victor,' 'Disdainful'

Race-horses were ridden either bareback or with a simple back-cloth held in place by a girth Saddles and stirrups like ours did not appear till the middle of the fourth century A.D Some authorities think that the rider's left foot only was armed with a spur

Chariot-horses needed the utmost care in their training if they were not to be the death of their drivers The two-wheeled, springless chariots, just large enough for the driver to stand in, must have been singularly uncomfortable vehicles from which to handle four spirited horses On mounting these cars the drivers literally tied themselves to their horses by fastening the long reins round the waist This gave them great leverage. In case of a spill they could disentangle themselves by a quick slash of the knife which they always carried in front of the tunic.

Professional charioteers were mostly slaves or freedmen We hear of young men of the best families taking part in chariot-races under Julius Cæsar, and again under Augustus The crazy Caligula even arranged racing events for senators only What a shock this must have been to dignified Romans of the old school —if any such remained—can be imagined In general the charioteer's profession was held in contempt

When a magistrate wished to offer circus games to the public he had to deal with owners of studs or with companies able to supply horses, chariots, and men By degrees four of these companies, each of which maintained an imposing stable, came to be recognised purveyors to the circus Each of them adopted a distinguishing colour, and in this way arose the four teams or factions called the Greens, Whites, Reds, and Blues

Certain drivers acquired a degree of celebrity comparable to that of our champion boxers. Sculptors copied their features in marble. Several statues of Roman charioteers survive; and the Bardo Museum in Tunis possesses a Roman mosaic of a victorious

round the far end in an even line. If an insider makes a wide turn to avoid slowing up, an outsider can cut in between him and the spina and keep the inside if he prefers it. An outsider, of course, has farther to travel, and, since a race consists of seven full rounds, many a driver will snatch the inside when he can, just to husband the strength of his horses. At the same time more collisions and spills happen on the inside than on the outside of the track

The distance run was a little over four miles, which a chariot could cover in about fifteen minutes. Some modern authorities hold that twenty-four or twenty-five chariot-races were run in one day. If so, allowing fifteen minutes to each race and only five minutes for presenting the palm and wreath to each winner, it follows that the audience endured eight solid hours of racing. No doubt a chariot-race in Roman style provided far more thrills than can be felt at Epsom or Ascot, but how any audience could stand eight hours of it is a mystery which the present writer makes no attempt to explain.

The fact remains that Roman race-goers never seemed to tire of cheering and stamping. They had a habit, while yelling themselves hoarse, of waving violently the folds of their togas. This often ruined the elaborate coiffures of women in front; and then the trouble started. The ladies' voices, too, rose in shrill protest, accompanied by the deep-voiced remonstrances of their male companions—in short, pandemonium must have broken loose twenty-five times a day.

Ovid and the elder Pliny testify to the intelligence of race-horses. They dwell on their pride in victory and on their responsiveness to applause or encouragement 'Look!' says Ovid, 'how much higher the winner holds his head, and how he courts the applause of the crowd!'[6] To illustrate the intelligence of horses Pliny tells a story, amusing enough, but, like others of his, bordering on the marvellous.

> At the Secular Games held in the reign of Claudian a driver of the White faction named Corax was thrown from his car at the barrier; but his horses took the lead, and after outrunning the other chariots, and even upsetting some of them, kept the lead. In fact they did everything they would have done if the cleverest of charioteers had been driving them. And while the other drivers were smarting with shame to see runaway horses getting the better of their own dexterity, these animals duly covered the whole course and pulled up at the chalk-line.[7]

According to the same author, horses were trained for the circus from the age of three; were not admitted to the race-track till their fifth year; were withdrawn from service at the

[6] *Hal.* 69.   [7] VIII. 65.

as they enter. Apples are the favourite projectiles; in fact they constitute the legal missile. In earlier days stonethrowing was in high favour with the mob; in order to stop this the city ædiles found themselves compelled to legalise the use of apples.

Just before the opening large quantities of powdered mica are scattered on the course, which makes the ground a dazzling white. The games start with a solemn *pompa*, or procession down from the capitol, past the temples on the forum, through gaily decorated streets, into the circus by the main entrance and once round the course. The *ædile*, or whichever magistrate is holding the games, rides first. Wearing a purple toga, he drives in a carriage drawn by four white horses. Bands of young nobles, mounted and on foot, follow him. Then come the chariots, two-horsed, three-horsed, and four-horsed, the charioteers and the jockeys; next the athletes who are to contend in other games; then choirs of men and boys followed by the musicians; and finally the statues of the gods borne on cars of state or on men's shoulders, and accompanied by the colleges of priests.

The statues are ranged along the *spina* while the priests and magistrates perform the religious rites. Then, in the words of Juvenal,

> like a general in triumph the prætor takes his seat and ruins himself at the races. Without offence to the people it may be said that all Rome is at the circus to-day. I hear the loud applause and gather that the 'Greens' have won; if they were to lose you would see the city mourning as it did when the consuls were defeated at Cannæ.[4]

The impatience of the spectators becomes audible. 'You would think,' says Horace, 'the grove of Garganus, or the Tuscan Sea, was roaring.'[5] The horses in their stalls behind the barrier are visibly affected by the din. Then, as the first race is announced, complete silence. The drop of a flag gives the signal; the barriers open, and out dash four chariots. In a flash they reach the course to the right of the *spina* and pass abreast of the hither turning-post. The stalls from which they start are built on the arc of a circle whose centre lies in the middle of the course even with this post, so that no driver is handicapped by his position at starting. Reaching the further post, they turn sharply round it to the left. Here, again, position (even that of outsiders) is no handicap; insiders cannot negotiate the hairpin bend without slowing up considerably, while outsiders can keep going their hardest. So it often happens that competitors swing

[4] XI. 193. [5] Ep. ii, 1, 202.

remained in the circus for sixteen centuries, when Pope Sixtus V. had it removed to its present position.

Twelve marble stalls, from which the chariots started, occupied the fourth side of the circus, facing the semi-circular end. Six stalls lay on either side of the *porta pompa*, or processional entrance. Above were more seats for spectators and a stand for the orchestra

The emperor and the presiding magistrate had their private boxes near the winning-post (the *meta* nearest the stalls), and distinguished visitors were invited to watch the games from one or the other Senators took their seats in the front row; the next fourteen rows were assigned to people of equestrian rank, as was the rule at theatres

The Roman games included races, athletic contests, armed contests on horseback, wild beast hunts, sea fights, gladiatorial combats, and dramatic entertainments The first five of these were for a time held in the circus Later the hunting and fighting were transferred to more appropriate ground, the circus being used mainly for racing

Some days before the event the authorities had programmes posted up in various parts of the city Betting, among all classes and both sexes, then started, and everyone awaited the day with childish impatience At midnight before the opening of the games crowds began pouring into the unreserved sections of the circus Once, under Caligula, these noisy enthusiasts disturbed the mad emperor's rest, for the Palace of the Cæsars was almost directly above Caligula sent orders to have the people turned out; and the guards wielded their clubs so brutally that in the ensuing panic forty men and women of rank, besides a great number of lesser folk, were crushed to death. The incident serves to give an idea of what large crowds must already have gathered at that early hour

Till daylight the audience amused itself as best it could by listening to fortune-tellers and touts, and munching fruit and sweetmeats The odour of the 'gallery' must have been slightly different from what we are accustomed to. Tobacco, of course, was unknown, and so were oranges and bananas; on the other hand, grapes, olives, figs, nuts, apples, onions, garlic, and wine—not to mention bread and pastries—may very well have found a place on the trays of the vendors.

All spectators, rich and poor, came dressed in the toga, the national costume; for a ruling of Augustus makes the circus a full-dress affair. The celebrities of the day, famous or notorious, begin to make their appearance. Popular idols are greeted with cheers, others with raillery and jeers. Sometimes public men who have incurred the anger of the people get hissed and pelted

flocked to the race-course. The public demanded nothing but free bread and free shows. Barbarous games, *e.g.*, gladiatorial combats, were of all exhibitions the most demoralising; but racing, as will appear later, exercised its own evil influence. 'These people,' exclaims Juvenal bitterly, 'once had it in their power to bestow the highest commands, the fasces, the control of legions, in fact everything there was to bestow. But now their pretensions have fallen: their ambition is reduced to just two things, bread and shows'[8] It is with this period, a time of licence and decay in the capital, that most of our information deals.

Rome's greatest race-course, the Circus Maximus, was a gigantic stone structure, roughly rectangular in shape, faced with marble, three storeys high, about 180 yards wide, over 600 yards long, and not far short of a mile round. One of the narrow ends formed a curve; round this and along both sides ran tiers of seats which sloped down from the outer wall to the track within, like the seats in a modern stadium. The place accommodated such an audience as probably never assembled in one building before or since. We have not the details necessary for an exact calculation of the number of seats, but several authorities, both ancient and modern, would agree that 150,000 is a conservative estimate. This number of spectators would fill the Albert Hall fifteen times over. Like the Colosseum, the Circus Maximus was built in superimposed tiers of arches; on the ground floor 100 arches formed the entrances, the other 200 being let to shop-keepers.

Down the centre of the long arena ran an isolated wall or embankment, about 380 yards long, 5 feet high, and 20 feet wide, round which the horses raced. This wall (or *spina*, as it was called) occupied only two-thirds of the total length of the enclosure, and so left ample room at each end for turning. The turning-posts (*metae*) stood 4 yards out from each end of the *spina*, and in the same alignment. Each turning-post consisted of three conical gilt pillars, 30 feet high, set close together in a triangular pattern on a stone base. A chalk line drawn from the home turning-post across the left half of the track marked the end of the course.

Seven rounds made up a race. On the *spina* stood a device for scoring which enabled spectators to see at a glance how many laps had been covered. The statues and altars of certain divinities and an Egyptian obelisk 80 feet high completed the adornment of the *spina*. This obelisk, which now stands in the beautiful Piazza del Popolo, was brought by Augustus from Heliopolis; it

[8] X. 78.

[illegible] every year; (2) at the end they took up four months every year.

In Rome, as also in Greece, all sports had a religious origin and formed part of the national worship. The early games were instituted in honour of particular gods. By degrees their number increased till, in republican days, games with racing could be seen ten times a year. Horse-racing was introduced before chariot-racing, but the latter soon outstripped the former in popularity, and it is with chariot-racing that Latin authors usually deal when they mention the games.

As a result of vows made in wartime the racing calendar went on growing. The Romans did not worship their gods for nothing: they expected a return on their investment. So nothing could be more natural than bargaining after this fashion: 'Help us to beat the enemy, and we will then celebrate games in your honour.' Or again, the celebration was instituted as a thanksgiving. A quaint vow of the bargain type appears in Livy:

> If the war, which the People has ordered to be undertaken against King Antiochus, shall be concluded agreeably to the wishes of the Senate and People of Rome, then, O Jupiter, the Roman People will, through ten successive days, exhibit the Great Games in honour of thee, and offerings shall be presented at all the shrines of such value as the Senate shall direct.[1]

In later times, when racing had become too popular for the good of Rome, a magistrate who was anxious to ingratiate himself with the public would give additional games on any trivial pretext; in such cases the candidate for public favour bore the cost of the show. At first the State had defrayed expenses; later, the *ædiles* (magistrates whose duty included the exhibition of the regular games) were expected to contribute from their private means. Some of them, while spending their own fortune, drew so heavily on the public revenue that the Senate had to interfere. When T. Sempronius Gracchus, father of the Gracchi, held the ædileship in 182 B.C. he spent such enormous sums on the games 'as to be burdensome,' says Livy, 'not only to the Latin allies and Italy, but even to the provinces abroad.'[2]

Under the empire extravagance increased. The shows were rather 'daubed with cost' than 'graced with elegance.' Successive emperors squandered the revenue on games of fantastic splendour. No doubt some of them did this deliberately: to amuse the Roman people and divert their thoughts from their own abject condition was the best way to keep them demoralised. During this period race-going became a crazy passion. All Rome

[1] Bk. 36, ch. 2. [2] Bk. 40, ch. 44.

THE ROMAN TURF

A GOOD way to understand Roman life is to buy an illustrated daily paper and study the pictures. Our eye, let us suppose, lights on a very grimy, but very happy, gentleman in a leather cap and raised goggles, who has just won a motor race. Happiness radiates from every pore. He enjoys being photographed with the evidence of his ordeal still on him. In fact, we feel that if he were still dirtier he would be still happier.

We glance up, and suddenly, mysteriously, our thoughts glide back to the time when we were first confronted with Horace. We recall the scene. 'To-day,' comes the master's stern voice, 'we begin the first book of the *Odes of Horace*. So-and-so' (meaning us), 'will you, please, try the first ode?' Falteringly we construe; our translation of the third line—

> Sunt quos curriculo pulverem Olympicum
> Collegisse juvat

ran something like this: 'There are those whom it delights to have collected Olympic dust'; and as we translated we wondered why the divine Horace should make such meaningless remarks. As if anyone enjoyed collecting dust!

And now, after twenty years, the significance of the line dawns over us. Horace understood men. We look again at the grimy gentleman in the newspaper, happy in his dirt—and we understand. Thus there are times when a penny paper, the mirror of modern life, will interpret the classics just as well as a scholar. It is in this spirit, and with the aim of dwelling on the human aspects of the subject, that the following sketch of Roman life on the race-course has been written.

The Roman turf as an institution lasted for more than 1000 years; and even after the downfall of the city the racing traditions of Rome were carried on in Byzantium, the capital of the Eastern Empire. If it were necessary to compress this history of 1000 years' racing into two sentences, we might perhaps put it in this way: (1) At the beginning the public games (of which racing was an important feature) occupied a week, or

[illegible]

[illegible] folk stories and legends, but it seems one of the first to wane as man rises towards civilisation; yet not completely vanish, perhaps. My suggestion is that our modern attitude to mothers-in-law is, in part at least, a relic of the primitive taboo. Or rather, might we not feel differently about them had the taboo been unknown?

Even the most civilised of us contains within himself a shadow world of old savage beliefs and ceremonies; sometimes this shadow world emerges—suddenly or insinuatingly—into the world of contemporary reality. A mother-in-law taboo imposed untold generations ago—or if not an actual taboo, a mentality favourable to its imposition—may well have disposed our mind in a certain direction and sensitised it to impressions based upon mixed fear of the mother-in-law and reverence for the lady who is the mother of our dearest upon earth. But the more we learn of human nature, the more do we discover its refusal to live up to our expectations. The wisest and best of mothers-in-law is human, apt, maybe, to overstress the clanship of sex between her daughter and herself, and to imagine that the fulfilment of mother-love is sufficient to put the man in the wrong when he ventures to demur to the creed that 'a daughter's a daughter for all of her life.' Reverence dwindles, the more rapidly because of its former exaltation; fear, an ineradicable instinct, remains—not as abject terror (I doubt whether it was ever that, fundamentally), but, in these days, as a sense of tension and perhaps irritation. On his deeper fears a man will preserve silence; on his distresses he will chatter and derive a glow of self-justification from the doing. As in the Great War we dubbed the Germans 'Jerry' and felt that thereby we had in some inexplicable fashion got even with them, so in the too frequent domestic war have we invented the great mother-in-law joke. However well it may succeed in poking fun at our wife's mother, does it not also, though unconsciously, bolster up in our minds the very taboo our rational selves would be the first to deny?

W. BRANCH JOHNSON.

himself open to a charge of gross neglect of social duty. The underlying reason in this instance, however, is that of the inheritance of property; and there is thus material inducement as well as social pressure to urge a man towards a union which he would probably seldom choose of his own free will.

Still, in general, this fear exhibited by primitive man towards his mother-in-law is undoubtedly active and powerful (far more powerful and active, incidentally, than a woman's for her father-in-law; which reminds us that the mother-in-law joke is a man-made joke). Many theories, most of them conflicting, have been put forward to account for the phenomenon—the sacredness, and therefore danger, of familiar objects; sexual modesty; the substitution of the mother-in-law for the wife as scapegoat for the breaking of sexual taboos. It has been attributed to the fact that mother-in-law and son-in-law are of different family groups, or phratries, and to the reserve with which a son-in-law is liable, in primitive communities, to be treated by his wife's parents, even though the young couple live in their house. It has been termed a natural consequence of marriage by capture. The relative value of these theories is for my purpose of less importance than the recognition of the large and sinister *rôle* played by the mother-in-law in three continents. When it is borne in mind also that, over and above the social power she wields, she is an individual whose personality may reveal itself, in whatever indirect fashion, as that either of a saint or of a virago, it will surely be a matter for wonder that any savage plucks up courage to marry. In the lottery of marriage one would imagine, the first prize, to him, is not his wife but his mother-in-law.

Admittedly it is a far cry from the savage to ourselves; and, admittedly also, the mother-in-law taboo does not appear to be enforced among all primitive peoples, although even among Greeks friendship everlasting was enshrined in the words, 'And may thy mother-in-law burst!' But it has been definitely observed in a sufficient number to suggest at least the possibility of a more widespread diffusion; and among tribes not of the 'primitive' order remnants of it still exist. Thus, for example, a member of the Igwala (a Berber tribe of the Great Atlas Mountains) kisses his mother-in-law on the forehead when he first meets her after her arrival in the house, but subsequently shows bashfulness in her presence. He may not speak to, nor eat with, her unless she comes to live with her daughter. Elsewhere in Morocco son-in-law and mother-in-law speak only 'sensible words,' or else refrain from looking at each other; and near Fez a man will not speak to either of his parents-in-law until after his own parents are dead.

Hints and suggestions of the same taboo creep to light in a

that object, but must find a circumlocution for it. In the island of Loh a man must not pass within five or six yards of his wife's mother; if for any reason he has to approach her more closely, he will crouch in doing so and will not pass her at all if she is sitting. The old lady, for her part, will invariably pass him on her hands and knees

A not dissimilar state of affairs is found in Africa. In Uganda a mother-in-law must turn aside and hide her face when she passes her son-in-law, communication with him may be established only through a third person, or through a wall or closed door. If a Zulu mother-in-law meets her daughter's husband she also will avert her head and, according to an observer, will cover the breasts that suckled his wife Again, among the Baganda tribe of the Congo, a man will neither enter the presence of, nor speak to, his mother-in-law because he has seen her daughter's nakedness. And among the Basutos, if a mother-in-law comes to nurse her sick daughter, the husband must flee the house until she has departed therefrom

As with the Africans, so with the American Indians. The Navahos of New Mexico believe that both man and mother-in-law will be struck blind if they so much as look at each other; nor might he look at her, at one time, in the tribe of the Winnebago Among this latter, however, the taboo has been gradually modified, and nowadays he is not permitted to take the smallest conversational liberties with her But among the Apaches it is still in full force, to quote a famous anthropologist, To avoid meeting his mother-in-law face to face a very desperate Apache Indian, one of the bravest of the brave, has been seen to clamber along the brink of a precipice at the risk of his life, hanging on to the rocks from which had he fallen he would have been dashed to pieces'

In short, among a considerable proportion of savage races the mother-in-law is a kind of supernatural being, and the awe and dread with which she is regarded are familiar to every anthropologist At the same time, there are instances which, on the face of them, do not wholly bear out the notion of unmitigated fear on the part of the man Among some tribes the taboo ceases to operate after the birth of the first child; in a few it can be terminated by ceremonial exchange of gifts On the Melanesian island of Loh a man might formerly, if he chose, marry his mother-in-law—although, it is recorded, such an event would have been the occasion for a fight But among the Garos, a Mongolian tribe of Assam, the man has little or no choice in the matter. When he marries the daughter he takes up his abode with her parents; and on the death of his father-in-law he is obliged either to take the widowed mother-in-law as second wife or to lay

And there an illuminating condition of affairs presents itself to us—a condition which, though easy to describe, is not nearly as easy to explain. In effect the mother-in-law, in a large number of savage tribes, forms the subject of one of the most inexorable social taboos.

One point it is well to make clear at the beginning. The taboo seems to arise, not out of her womanhood—though to primitive mankind all women are dangerous, since they can rob a man of his strength—but out of her mother-in-law-ness. Thus in Hiw, one of the Torres Islands, public opinion encourages a man to marry his first cousin; but at the same time this marriage seems to be regarded as an imperfect substitute for marriage with his aunt. He may, in short, marry his aunt if he so wishes, and live with her on terms of perfect contentment and companionship. Only after he has chosen her daughter instead, and the elder lady has become, not his wife, but his mother-in-law, does the taboo come into force.

In New Britain, an island to the north-east of New Guinea, a man's most solemn oath is, 'Sir, if I am not telling the truth, may I shake hands with my mother-in-law'; were he actually to speak to her, so harrowed would be his feelings that he would probably commit suicide. On the Australian mainland a native is reported to have almost died of fright because the lady's shadow fell across his legs as he lay asleep under a tree; in another tribe such a calamity could be made a reasonable ground for divorce from his wife. In general, however, the taboo confines itself merely to the regulation of social intercourse; for example, a member of the Hunter River tribes will be temporarily banished for speaking to his mother-in-law (formerly, it is stated, he would have been put to death). Among the Kulin tribe it is thought that should a man speak to his mother-in-law her hair would turn white; this she may avoid, however, by blackening her face. And among the Yuin tribes of New South Wales a man, not content with refraining from conversation with the old lady, must not even look in her direction.

The mother-in-law taboo is equally strict throughout the Southern Archipelago. In the Banks Islands, for instance, a man will not follow his mother-in-law along the beach until the tide has obliterated her footprints. Among the Alfoors of Central Celebes, if the name borne by the mother-in-law is also that of a common object, a man may on no account use the word denoting

James Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, *Folklore in the Old Testament*, *Totemism and Exogamy*; Sigmund Freud, *Totem and Taboo*; A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of S. E. Australia*; E. W. Lane, *An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*; D. Leslie, *Among the Zulus and Amatongas*; W. H. R. Rivers, *Melanesian Society*; Paul Radin, *The Winnebago*; E. Westermarck, *History of Human Marriage*.

THE GREAT MOTHER-IN-LAW JOKE

SOME jokes there are which have their day and cease to be. Y
others persist long after the span normally allotted to quips an
comicalities; they are the ones which spring, not from transien
events and shallow emotions, but from deep and recurrent huma
experience. Typical of such experience is a husband's sense of—
shall I say strain?—in the presence of his mother-in-law; and ou
of it has arisen of all jokes the most persistent, both in Teutoni
and in Latin countries.

Freud suggests that a man's love for his wife is a deflection c
his love for his mother, and that this love tends again to be deflecte
from his wife to his wife's mother—in other words, that a norma
man ought to be at ease with his mother-in-law. Idyllically attrac
tive as we may find this theory, the world presents us every da
with examples of the perfectly normal man whose sense of strai
in the presence of his wife's mother is as genuine as his feelings o
hunger or fatigue. Invariably the joke puts the onus of his dis
comfort on to the lady—sometimes justly, sometimes with mor
than a touch of malice. But, onus apart, can the human experienc
on which this time-honoured yet evergreen joke is based be sai
to have any foundation other than natural resentment at wha
seems to the man interference in the affairs of his household and a
potential alliance against him between his wife and her mother?

In history there have been mothers-in-law good, bad an
indifferent; their status has been largely what they could succee
in making it. Nor does literature greatly help us, except to not
that in most great novels (by male novelists) the man's mother
in-law ceases to be a joke and becomes a portent—which suggest
that the joke as we know it may be one of desperation rather tha
of pure humour. But it is not so much the mother-in-law as a
individual who will answer our question; it is mothers-in-law a
a class. Let us turn to anthropology and try to discover there i
what esteem the mother-in-law is held by the primitive famil
group.[1]

[1] Rather than cumber my pages with footnotes I append a list of the book
from which my facts are drawn: C. S. Burne, *Handbook of Folklore*, 1914
A. E. Crawley, *The Mystic Rose* (revised by Theodore Besterman, 1927); Si

Chicago, in which he found increased speed of typing under quiet conditions, with a decrease of metabolism, the increase in speed ranging from nothing to 74 per cent. The experimenter notes in his preface that 'next to nothing is known of the effects of average industrial noise on average industrial workers.' This should be compared with a paragraph in the International Labour Office brochure already referred to 'It is of value to bear in mind that, from the economical point of view, noise, even though of slight intensity, causes a marked diminution in capacity for work, and a diminution of output which may fall as low as to 40 per cent of the normal.'

This highly important statement is made without any reference to the authorities from which the information is derived, and, since I am aware of the great practical difficulties in devising any means of obtaining output records of work carried out under conditions in which the presence or absence of noise is the only differing factor, I can only express my great disappointment that the source of this information is not revealed.

Allegations that noise affects the health of workers are sometimes made, and here again no evidence is offered. From my own inquiries I am satisfied that there is far less nervous illness in some noisy trades than in some clerical occupations, and my efforts to elicit complaints about noise from the workers in noisy factories have proved futile. It is possible that subjects who are affected by noise would avoid these factories, but I have never met examples of such an occupational choice.

It is far from my purpose to deny that noise affects workers in their general or nervous health, but those who declare that serious harm is being done may reasonably be asked to produce evidence that can be examined.

We can sum up by admitting that unnecessary noise is irritating to most of us, and that to many nervous people it is so irritating as to be actually harmful in regard both to mental and physical health. If it is added that there are grounds for believing that not half the general population are entirely free from nervous symptoms, the arguments for diminishing noise are sufficient to call for the support of all reasonable people.

MILLAIS CULPIN.

[illegible] and our dislike for them purely emotional, but the law gives no protection against them. There is, however, a danger in over-emphasis. I once attended a meeting devoted to propaganda against noise, and my sympathy went out to the speakers as one after another declaimed against the 'intolerable torture' of barking dogs or honking motor-cars ; each one was plainly in an emotional state characteristic of the nervous sufferer, and suggestion had been at work to increase the suffering

There is surely a middle course between, on the one hand, telling the neurotic town-dweller that noise only affects people like him, and that he must grin and bear it, and, on the other, working up his emotions with the assurance that noise in itself is the cause of nervous symptoms in otherwise healthy people. We are faced here with the more general question of whether in our health propaganda we are not stimulating those nervous disorders whose increase is a serious modern problem. One authority recently quoted figures about the increase of insanity as an argument for the reduction of noise, and though the aim was laudable yet the means reminds us of Alice : '"That proves his guilt," said the Queen of Hearts, "So now off with his head."' Suggesting to nervous people that noise can produce insanity is not likely to ease their troubles, especially if, on seeking the seclusion of country life, they are kept awake by the lowing of cattle or the singing of nightingales

The objection to noise arises from emotional causes, whether these causes are specific to the individual, as in some of the cases mentioned above, or whether they depend upon the more wide-spread emotions of resentment at interference with our right to peace and quiet The psychologist is somewhat peculiar in being ready to grant validity to such causes , it is the absence of this readiness that leads to the production of unnecessary and indefensible arguments, of which the invocation of the central nervous system is the chief example Another is the statement that energy is used up in ignoring noise, which seems plausible but is impossible to prove or disprove An experiment upon the reader will illustrate this ignoring of sensation At this moment he is not aware of the tactile impulses streaming into his brain from contact with his clothes or the chair upon which he sits ; but he becomes aware of the impulses as soon as his attention is drawn to them. I will leave him to speculate whether he was using up energy in not paying attention to them.

Another rash claim is that noise causes serious loss to industry. Perhaps it does, but so far the statement only means that someone thinks noise must cause a serious loss—not quite the same thing. The only evidence available to me is a report of laboratory experiments conducted upon four typists by Donald A. Laird at

by something that is inaudible to other people it is because there is, to him, some meaning in the stimulus. The puzzling character of individual reactions to noise thus finds an explanation. Sometimes the meaning may be obvious to the victim, as in one man who assures me that he can ignore nocturnal barking so long as he knows that his own dog is not taking part in it ; but he cannot rest until he is sure Obviously this man is a psychological type different from that of people who declare they can endure any noise so long as they make it themselves

Among specific aversions, often amounting to phobias, may be mentioned the crunching of biscuits by a second person, the sucking noise of water running through a waste pipe, the bouncing of a football on an adjacent sports ground, and the ringing of church bells. The last two 'nuisances' I have known to lead to a change of residence, and the doctrine of meaning probably applied to each case Charles Lamb's peculiarities, cited by Mr W. S. Tucker in the February number of this Review, afford an excellent example of emotional reaction to specific noises. Modern psychology can certainly unravel the cause for such phenomena if the patient is willing to submit himself to the necessary investigation

Running through those complaints about noise that have lately been a feature of newspaper correspondence is a definite indication of meaning The noise is an interference with oneself, with one's right to quiet Here are extracts from a recent letter : 'I actually dread the dirge of the bell on Sunday morning. Times out of number I have left my bed cursing those responsible for such intolerance' 'The perpetual bawls of coalmen and milkmen are insufferable' The writer is annoyed, and I have no doubt that his central nervous system suffers through his annoyance He has my sympathy I feel like that when a motor-cycle passes through my quiet suburban village in the small hours with a row like a battery of machine-guns , but if every pop should mean a shilling on my bank balance I could sleep happily beside a continued procession of motor-cycles and only wake up when the row ceased

There is something particularly irritating about unnecessary noises made by other people when we think we have a right to quiet, and our irritation has a personal quality that is sometimes lacking when our grievance is more material and logical. I know the immense harm done by smoke , yet when I see a big chimney adding its quota to a London fog I may think about the need for prevention, but there is none of the emotional indignation that is called forth by the nocturnal motor-cycle. The emotional nature of our reactions against noise in no way weakens the argument for its reduction. Evil smells may be physically harm-

squealing'; 'I can stand any noise if I make it myself'; 'A squeaking door drives me crazy'; 'I hate music next door, but I can study in a room full of talking people,' are fair examples. One fact emerged that is important, though perhaps not unexpected: those people in whom there was reason to suspect the presence of nervous symptoms provided by far the greatest proportion of complaints about the effect of noise, though even among that group there was a wonderful diversity of reaction, or, rather, reaction to a wonderful diversity of stimuli. Yet some noises are more generally potent than others. Thunder, for example, affects many people, not only by producing the preliminary start that is a biological reaction to a sudden crash, but by inducing a state of irrational fear. In some people the approach of a storm is the signal for loosing a fear of which they are ashamed and which impels them to such absurdities as hiding in a cupboard. Such unfortunates may cower and shiver whilst the sweat pours from them, or they may become faint and helpless; the condition is a typical 'phobia,' and, though known for many years, has been induced in some nervous subjects by war experiences. Some five years ago a memorable thunderstorm raged for hours over London, and when on the next day I saw half a dozen neurasthenic ex-soldiers they nearly all complained bitterly of the nervous disturbance produced in them the night before. On the other hand an eight-year-old child sleeping alone, when asked during this storm by an anxious parent in a soft whisper, 'Are you awake?' answered, 'Yes; isn't it fine? I got out of bed and pulled the curtains back.'

In the case of the ex-service men the meaning of the noxious stimulus is clear to the reader though it is notable, and characteristic of such symptoms generally, that some of them were reluctant to admit that the thunder reminded them of gun-fire. The late Dr. Rows described a case in which such 'suppression' played a part in a specific noise phobia. The patient, an ex-service man, could not travel in an electric tram with an overhead pole for conveying the current; the noise of the pole swishing along the wire produced a state of extreme fear that appeared to him as inexplicable as it was inevitable. Dr. Rows finally recalled to the man's memory a particular terrifying incident in which the rushing noise of a shell played a part. This noise was reproduced with sufficient accuracy by the tramcar to cause the irrational fear in the patient; the fear disappeared with the realisation of its cause and when the man had learnt to face the unpleasant memory.

It may seem a far cry from such a story to the individual reactions to noise that nervous people present. Yet it may be laid down as a general rule that when a nervous subject is affected

which pictures noise vibration as acting upon the nerve cells, exhausting or irritating them, and so producing physical symptoms of nervous disorder. This last conception, which is inherent in the quotation from the brochure of the International Labour Office, must be cast aside before we can usefully consider the subject, though to cast it aside will be unpleasing to any sufferer who de-personalises his reactions by ascribing them to a central nervous system independent of his personality. The path of the physician who casts it aside is also made difficult; he may be accused of blaming the sufferer in lifting his troubles from the physical to the mental sphere, or, paradoxically, if he still regards the symptoms as deserving of sympathetic treatment, he may be accused of fostering neurotic complaints. This dilemma actually faced the physicians who declared that shell-shock was a mental state. They were at first accused of libelling brave men; then, when the mental elements of the condition were admitted, those who gave themselves to the work of treating the sufferers were thought to be encouraging symptoms that every right-thinking person should despise. This intrusion of moral judgment into the sphere of diagnosis must not hamper our consideration of the effect of noise.

Nervous symptoms, even if they arise from difficulties of personal adjustment and not from hypothetical lesions of a central nervous system, are productive of much suffering, and should be as much the concern of medicine when properly diagnosed as they are when allowed to masquerade in a metaphysical disguise. Any reader who believes that the exercise of that fairy force called 'will-power' can abolish nervous troubles may be assured that the neurotic subject is often making a very hard fight indeed against his symptoms and is not helped in the least by advice to use his will, although understanding and reasonable encouragement may help him to carry on in spite of them.

Injury to the central nervous system being ruled out, we must find another point of view from which to study the undoubted effect of noise upon personal comfort, happiness and health. In his reply to a recent deputation Mr. Neville Chamberlain emphasised the fact that noise produced upon himself none of the harmful effects claimed for it, and there are many people whose experience is the same. Obviously reaction to noise is more personal than general, and hence information must be sought from individuals. I have asked of several hundred intelligent people of both sexes the question, 'How does noise affect you?' and the answers, always expressing a strong element of individuality, are startling in their incongruities.

'I hate quiet'; 'I can stand anything except a baby

[illegible] as a highly technical description of the structure of the internal ear, which precedes it. Yet it is sheer fantasy. The writer gives no hint of the symptoms of these functional disorders, but we can safely assume that they are the usual nervous troubles that show themselves in alterations of emotional adjustment. The train of reasoning involved first makes the metaphysical assumption that each mental process has its counterpart in a nerve process, an assumption that leads at once to the consideration of alternative theories like epi-phenomenalism, psycho-physical parallelism, automatism and the like. I admit that I feel the need of some such theory to satisfy the demands of my own intellectual curiosity, but I cannot bring it into relation with practical matters like the effect of noise. Still, the assumption having been made that since mental changes have occurred therefore nerve changes have occurred, the next step is to look round for a cause of this nerve change. Obviously, since noise is blamed for the trouble, this cause must be mechanical lesions from noises and vibrations. So there we are. But there has never been any evidence of these mechanical lesions, and the end of a train of reasoning that involves one of the greatest problems mankind has ever conceived—the relation of mind and brain—is presented to the reader as if it were a commonplace of observation.

When we speak in the usual loose fashion about the effect of this or that upon the central nervous system we are putting a part for the whole. If John Smith has home difficulties or business worries that are difficult to face he will react according to his temperamental make-up. He may pull himself together and deal with them to the best of his ability; he may run away; or he may worry so much that he cannot sleep, cannot pay attention to the affairs of everyday life, and comes to fear every knock at the door—in short, becomes what is called a nervous wreck. Whatever reaction he follows takes place and has its being through his central nervous system, but the first effect is upon John Smith's personality as a whole. If his emotional disturbance is great he may suffer from palpitations, loss of appetite, even from shakiness, that betrays his condition to his friends; these are direct manifestations of disturbance in the function of nerve and may reasonably be described as 'functional nervous disorders.' They depend, however, not on any mechanical effect upon his nerves from outside, but are results of the general emotional state of John Smith. In the same way noise may produce irritability, resentment or anger, and these emotions, in a person given to labile emotional disturbance, may favour the development of functional nervous disorders such as those described above. This, however, is a vitally different conception from that

to more or less obscure infection; others only regard such conditions as weakening the powers of resistance and allowing hitherto latent emotional difficulties to manifest themselves. It is certain that many infections produce no nervous symptoms, and that many highly nervous people are in the best of physical health, though with these it often happens that an illness—influenza, for example—precipitates a breakdown.

Overwork is a favourite scapegoat for nervous breakdowns, but the psychologically minded physician is rarely satisfied with it. The 'nervous exhaustion' ascribed to overwork has nothing in common with states of exhaustion that can be studied in the laboratory, and the diagnosis rests upon no observational basis. Records of polar exploration abound in examples of physical and mental stress from which the sufferers recovered after a short rest, but a spell of overwork in ordinary life is frequently accepted as sufficient cause for a state of exhaustion that lasts for months. In such a case there has generally been an unsuspected nervous condition which overwork has at the most, only exacerbated; often there are more serious current factors than the obvious one of overwork.

The reader is perhaps beginning to think that the subject is not so simple as it appeared. If so, all the better, for it will be seen later that apparently simple statements about noise and nervousness involve assumptions more metaphysical than practical; danger lies in their apparent simplicity.

Let us turn now to the ways in which noise harms, or is assumed to harm, those subjected to it.

Most definite is the injury caused to the auditory apparatus. This includes gross lesions, such as rupture of the drum; permanent damage to structure and function by continued excessive noise, as in boiler-makers' deafness; and auditory fatigue, a transient condition of deafness, often associated with noises in the head, following a single exposure to a continued loud noise. This group belongs to the province of the aurist and need not be considered now, especially as the ordinary noises of civil life that lead to so much complaint are not claimed to produce these effects.

Next comes injury said to be caused to the central nervous system. A specific statement concerning such injury is found in a brochure (No. 129) on *Noises* issued by the International Labour Office, Geneva, wherein we read on page 4 that 'Nervous affections . . . are due essentially to functional disorders of the central nervous system, caused by mechanical lesions from noises and vibrations.' This statement, appearing among a collection of unimpeachable scientific information based upon observation, would to the unsuspecting reader appear to belong to the same

[illegible] come irritability, restlessness, inability to give attention to the task in hand, and insomnia. On the bodily side appear symptoms that may be typically hysterical, though to the student of these disorders the relation sometimes assumed between hysteria and shamming becomes more and more distant. Emotional disturbance is an essential part of the disorder, and, since emotion profoundly affects bodily functions, we are not surprised to find irritable hearts, digestive or intestinal disturbance, and a general ill-being that distract attention from the essentially mental aspect of the case, together with a host of other disorders that may or may not, according to the predilections of the doctor, be ascribed to physical origins and even assumed to be the cause of the nervousness from which they arise

The importance attached to these bodily symptoms is often determined by our attitude towards the nervous subject, which so frequently involves a moral judgment To be nervous or neurotic is disgraceful ; to be physically ill, if not commendable, at least calls for sympathy, and the patient tends to conform to this judgment Hence many nervous subjects firmly believe that the physical symptoms cause the nervous ones and, following the same tendency, seek for external causes rather than acknowledge the inner and emotional source of their troubles This has an important bearing upon the prominence ascribed to noise in the causation of nervous symptoms

The foundation of these conditions is still a matter for argument, but orthodox medicine is slowly coming to accept the view that unconscious mental processes play the greatest part in their production ; the character traits that form their pattern are, in my belief, established in infancy, but any current stress that bears upon the weak spot can produce fresh symptoms or cause an exacerbation of those present ; then we may have a nervous breakdown, the difficulty in emotional adaptation becoming an impossibility

Yet that cannot be the whole of the story, for body and mind are inseparable, and modern views are tending to lessen the importance of the antithesis between them that has hitherto been unquestioningly accepted Those inborn qualities that we call temperament influence the emotional drive and may depend ultimately upon physical properties still unrecognised. The glands of inner secretion are undoubtedly related to these physical properties, but speculation in this direction has far outstripped knowledge, and, apart from a few primary diseases of these glands, we are still in doubt how far emotion affects the glands or how far the glands affect emotion. Bodily disease, too, obviously influences mental states, but here again opinions are divided ; though some doctors readily ascribe nervous disorders

prohibited, and after the war a parliamentary Commission reported that shell-shock was a mental state, making the inadequate recommendation that it should be guarded against by discipline and training. I say inadequate, because several observers have shown that a notable predisposition to nervous trouble had existed in the majority of cases.

By similar flights of fancy theories have been propounded about the action of the skull as a resonator. Sound vibrations have been described as affecting not only the auditory apparatus but nerve cells remote from it; these cells become disturbed in function so that nervous symptoms, such as pathological fears, come into being. The nature of such a hypothesis is likely to be overlooked when it is couched in anatomical language and presented to the public as a picture of what happens rather than as a speculation about what is only remotely possible.

The injuries to the nervous structure of the ear that have been described as following prolonged exposure to excessive loud noise belong to a totally different group of phenomena. They can be demonstrated under the microscope, the cells affected are known to be those concerned with the function of hearing, and the sequence of cause and effect is as easily understood as in any other human experience. But the nomenclature that we are now considering rests upon the assumption of a non-existent knowledge; to say that a man's nerves are shattered by some shock ought to be regarded as figurative, but there lurks behind the phrase the belief that something *has* happened to his nerves. Let it be understood that when we talk about 'nerves' or 'nervous' in this connexion we know nothing whatever about any changes in those coarse strands that carry nerve impulses to or from the brain, or in the cells of the brain itself. When we speak of noise producing nervous exhaustion or nervous breakdown or neurasthenia we are no longer dealing with the same order of things that we speak of when describing the harmful physical effect of noise upon the nerve cells of the auditory apparatus.

Yet in setting aside anatomical assumptions we do not deny the existence and importance of those states generally called nervous, which form a very real problem and demand for their understanding and relief more attention than is now given to them. They are infinite in variety, and can perhaps be described in a general way as difficulties in emotional adaptation to the demands of life. Morbid fears, worries and scruples, often recognised by the sufferers as unjustified by reality, take a great part in the symptoms. The fears may be specific, like the well-known claustrophobia, or may take the shape of causeless apprehension, the patient being forced to look around for something to which the emotion can be attached. With these symptoms, or arising

[illegible] between 'noise' and 'sound,' is largely a matter of personal taste, so further and more specific explanation of these and similar words is necessary.

Words of the group that includes *nervous* and *neurotic* carry the implication that something is wrong with those anatomical structures we call nerves 'Functional nervous disorder' is used more technically for the states indicated by these words, and paradoxically connotes that we know nothing about the condition of the nerves in the disorder concerned. That literary purist Dr Johnson wrote in 1763 of 'A tender, irritable and, as it is not very properly called, a nervous constitution'; but metaphysical developments that followed the advances in material science of the last century gave new life to this improper use. Scientific men like Huxley and Romanes postulated a relation between a mental process (psychosis) and a nerve process (neurosis), which was a necessary part of their philosophy. Physicians took over this legitimate assumption, and, when mental processes were known to be at fault, talked as if it were known (which it often is not) that nerve processes were at fault. So if a patient suffers from symptoms of a mental kind for which no 'organic' cause is discoverable—feels afraid of the dark, for example, or becomes terrified at the presence of a cat—his nerve cells are assumed to be at fault and he suffers from a neurosis or a functional nervous disorder The same reasoning should apply to all our emotions, ideas and actions a political belief, a faulty stance at golf, or a dislike for tomatoes must have its accompanying nerve-cell activity, about which we know as much as we do about the nerve-cell activity in these so-called nervous disorders, which are quite different from illnesses like locomotor ataxy or sleepy sickness, in which we know the nerves are diseased. The influence of the 'seventies is still with us, and there are medical men who can only conceive irrational fears and inhibitions and nervous symptoms generally in terms of hypothetical nerve changes, upon this conception are built up hypotheses of the action of noxious stimuli in producing changes in nerve tissues, these changes in turn showing themselves in the production of symptoms.

An example of such hypotheses was provided during the Great War by the condition called shell-shock The public still believe that the physical damage caused by a shell explosion was the origin of the symptoms, and during the early part of the war that assumption was made by medical men; theories were propounded of nerve centres being separated by the concussion, of the action of gases in the blood upon nerve cells, or of the existence of tiny hæmorrhages into the brain A correct view of the condition finally emerged, the use of the phrase shell-shock was

NOISE AND HEARING—STUDIED FROM THE PSYCHOLOGICAL ASPECT[1]

THE relation between nervousness and noise has been emphasised of late, dogmatic statements having been made that are not easy to prove or disprove. This difficulty is to some extent inherent to the subject, for both noise and nervousness are conceptions incapable of accurate definition. What distinguishes noise from mere sound? Definition has been attempted by taking into consideration the periodicity and intensity of sound; thus a broken series of loud crashes and bangs would be generally accepted as noise and capable of definition in physical terms. Indeed, there are noises that call forth instinctive fear reactions; some explosives used in trench warfare were called 'wind-up gadgets,' because through their noisy effect they were more terrifying than physically harmful, but no physical definition or appeal to instinctive reactions can explain why that which is music on one side of a dividing wall becomes a noise and a nuisance when it is heard on the other. Some sounds are so generally unpleasant that we can all agree in calling them noises, but in the recent newspaper discussion upon the nuisance of noise it was plain that many writers described as noise any sound that they personally disliked. When we discuss the relation of noise to nervousness we shall find that this dislike is the most important element. In this connexion, then, whether a sound is a noise depends upon the reaction of the hearer; some sounds are noises to everyone, others are noises to individuals.

To define nervousness is equally difficult, for here again personal judgment, even moral judgment, plays a great part, and there are subtle differences between being highly strung, sensitive, nervous, neurasthenic, neurotic or hysterical. I have known one member of my profession publicly stigmatise the 'neurotic' as a useless nuisance and within a few days have heard another claim that the 'highly strung' do the best work of the world. The difference between 'neurotic' and 'highly strung,' like the

[1] This is the third article published in the Review under the title 'Noise and Hearing.' The first appeared in February, and gave the point of view of a physicist; the second in March, that of an aurist.—EDITOR.

[illegible] poisoned, and our racial health imperilled by the growth of mental disease. There must be a fundamental warp in our standard of values if we cannot realise that these poor creatures are less than human, and that to connive at or even tolerate their existence and increase is to humiliate and endanger our race and civilisation.

ELDON MOORE.

impossible to say what effect sterilisation has had in reducing the proportion of the mentally diseased in the generation now growing up. But Dr. R. A. Fisher has calculated that here adequate measures to prevent reproduction would reduce the number of aments by one-third in the first generation. He assumed that all amentia is recessive, and that mating is completely random. In fact, a proportion of the cases being dominant, the rate of elimination would be faster; while random mating is, fortunately, the dangerous exception rather than the rule. In this particular at least, like strongly tends to mate with like. Indeed, the East End investigator referred to believes that a few thousand family stocks breeding in and through, but not very much with, the normal population are responsible for the whole national burden of disease, defect, and pauperism. If this is so, we could reasonably hope to halve the numbers of both defectives and carriers within one generation. Progress thereafter would probably be slower, unless scientific research develops, as there is every reason to hope that it will.

Legislation should ever be conservative, and compulsory sterilisation in England can wait. But at present even voluntary sterilisation is not permitted for eugenic reasons. This should be legalised, with a clause forbidding the marriage of the mentally diseased as long as they are capable of reproduction: at present there is nothing to prevent the worst defectives from demanding marriage. Perhaps, too, the discharge from institutions of the potentially fertile could be legally forbidden.

I cannot here discuss the sterilisation of deaf-mutes, the blind by inheritance, of those with strong tubercular tendencies, or of the various other sufferers from gross heritable physical defects—though this is a serious problem. With the mentally diseased they constitute at least 2 per cent. of the population—judging by the numbers of those dependent on the guardians 'for causes other than unemployment.' I hope the reader will realise that the sterilisation of the mentally diseased must be complementary and supplementary to segregation—(1) as an additional safeguard for the loosely confined; (2) as the *only* alternative to prevent the breeding of the less severe cases whom we cannot at present segregate, or to make room in institutions for severer cases; (3) as a kinder measure than segregating those with mates or relations who want them at home.

Unless some such measures are adopted, we must look forward to a constant increase in the now enormous cost, under the head of Poor Law, asylums, and the rest, of the mentally diseased. But money is only a convenient yardstick: that cost represents something bigger. Our national average is being lowered, our

meanwhile, half a loaf is better than no bread; sterilisation would prevent those now spreading venereal disease from producing children who are syphilitic as well as defectives or 'carriers.'

Sterilisation laws have been passed in the Canadian province of Alberta, in the canton Vaud of Switzerland, and (I believe) in Sweden and Czecho-Slovakia; but they are of too recent date to provide data. They have also been passed in twenty-three of the United States during the last twenty-one years. In some they have never been enforced, and in others they have been declared unconstitutional: hence the *canard* that sterilisation has there proved 'unworkable.' In the remainder just on 9000 sterilising operations have been performed for eugenic reasons, chiefly in California since the war. The series of Popenoe reports adequately cover the experience of this State, and I can here only very briefly summarise them.

The method has been to refuse to discharge from institutions any unsterilised lunatics and aments, and only then to let out on parole carefully selected cases. This has had the advantage of making room for other cases more in need of institutional care. Of those sterilised and paroled many are happily married. Two-thirds of the marriages have been successful, largely because sterilisation has prevented the families getting too large for small incomes. Sterilisation does not seem to have played an important part in the failures. No ill results have ever been recorded, and practically no friction or regrets. Only a small proportion of the women and none of the men paroled seem to have become promiscuous, while the operation has certainly favoured the stabilisation, through marriage, of many. An increasing number of parents are now sending their defective children to be sterilised, for fear of accidents, and returned to them.

While the insane were below the economic level of the State, the aments seem to have been drawn fairly evenly from all classes (this, I think, would not be so in our more racially sifted and stabilised country). The highly superior group which had produced most of the State's brightest and most intellectual children was scarcely represented at all among either aments or insane. This is worth quoting, owing to the belief that genius and talent are allied to mental disease. Practically every pedigree investigation I know runs directly contrary to this belief; and Popenoe directly states that the 'sterilisation of the insane as practised in California will prevent the birth of few, if any, superior children, while it will prevent the birth of many children who would certainly be inferior.' In sterilising an ament 'there is no danger of cutting short a strain of genius, nor even of talent.'

Since there is free migration in and out of California, it is

of the organs are left untouched by the operation, which only requires a local anaesthetic and takes about five minutes. The patient walks out. Sterilising a woman at present involves a general anaesthetic and an abdominal incision, and is therefore, in a sense, a serious operation. Otherwise it is similar, for the two channels which convey the ova from ovaries to womb are just cut in the same way and replaced.* The patient takes about a week to recover, and though the operation has been done countless times in this country (owing to risk of further confinements), no ill results of any kind have ever occurred. Reports are precisely the same from California, where it has been done on thousands of women for eugenic reasons. The operation, indeed, is less risky than normal child birth, from which four in every 1000 mothers die annually. In neither man nor woman does sterilisation have any effect on body or brain, and it leaves sexual desire and enjoyment unimpaired. The only result is sterility.

No individual, therefore, who is likely to be a danger to himself or others (such as those at present in institutions) is a case for sterilisation, except as a supplement to some form of segregation or control. The cases which are eminently suited for sterilisation are (a) the periodically insane, who at present are able to reproduce their kind in between visits to the asylum; and (*b*) those 'high grade' aments who have homes or guardians and who are able in some measure to contribute to their own upkeep. The two classes together constitute the bulk of the mentally diseased, are at present under little, if any, control, and will be largely responsible for the next generation of their kind.

The Central Association for Mental Welfare is opposed to sterilisation, but chiefly, apparently, because it is feared lest it should lessen public interest in the welfare of defectives. This objection is scarcely worthy of reply, since racial considerations have hitherto had nothing to do with the care we give to these unfortunates. It is also said that the mere fact that the defectives were sterilised would increase their own sexual licence and make them still more the victims of the licentious, thus encouraging the spread of venereal disease. But it is well known to all who have studied the subject that fear of the consequences never acts as a check on immorality—among the lower human types, at least. One need not expect, therefore, that a lessening of that fear would encourage immorality. Sterilisation, it is true, would not materially lessen the risk of spreading venereal disease, as would segregation. But segregation, as I have said, is outside the realm of practical politics, and is not likely ever to be adequate.

* Simpler methods, not involving an abdominal incision, are now under investigation.

[illegible] persons—11·0 per 1000—scattering the seeds of mental disease, with an unascertained number of epileptics. Half are patent sufferers, while a large proportion of the other half are at best burdensome and undesirable citizens.

It is necessary in this article to neglect the 'carriers' and to consider only how to check and eliminate both by preventing the breeding of the definitely diseased. The segregation of all aments and lunatics who are not already confined could not possibly cost less than 1*l* per head per week (22*s*. is the lowest figure hitherto achieved), or between 16,000,000*l*. and 17,000,000*l*. a year, besides very high capital expenditure, which I cannot estimate, on building institutions. But while the sum makes one wince, if properly spent it would only mean the adjustment of an old burden, rather than the shouldering of a new. Since the present cost of the mentally diseased is now spread out over Poor Law, 'dole,' police, prison, health insurance, hospital, and other charges, it would be good business to spend the money lavishly on a policy which would eventually reduce the cost. But, speaking purely as a private citizen, I feel the country would not be justified in incurring the expense when sterilisation would achieve the same end as effectively and more cheaply. Moreover, can one imagine any Government at present facing the problem squarely and enforcing wholesale segregation at that cost?

But there are other objections to wholesale segregation, not the least being that it is almost impossible. Escape for long enough to beget or conceive a child is achieved so often by feeble-minded men and women living in institutions that those in charge of them realise that nothing short of prison conditions could prevent it. Large numbers of the higher grades would be happier and of some use to the community if living in their own homes, while for others the mild restraint of labour colonies is most suitable.

Quite recently I have seen the suggestion again seriously made that violent criminals and the sexually delinquent should be sterilised. These are the very cases for whom sterilisation is no remedy; and the suggestion can only be made by those who confound sterilisation with castration. The two are quite different. Castration involves the complete removal of the sex organs, testes or ovaries, and results in lack of ability and desire to perform the sexual act. Since the hormonic secretions of the sex organs have a marked effect on both body and brain, castration also results in the mental and bodily changes we see in a fatted bullock. The sterilisation of a man is not nearly so drastic, for it consists simply in cutting a tiny piece out of the channels which convey the spermatozoa from testes to penis. The rest

sion, in sound families. It is like the one piece of tainted meat in a butcher's shop; it contaminates the good meat without losing any of its own badness. The children of two defective parents are all defective.

It is a mistake, however, to use this precise Mendelian terminology without qualification. A 'recessive' character may in suitable circumstances become only partially recessive or even dominant to its opposite, or it may be recessive in some matings and dominant in others. In ordinary language, such an unfavourable circumstance as the asphyxia which often occurs at a first birth might turn one who was potentially only a 'carrier' into a definite ament, though it would have little effect on a normal child. Or the ament who would produce normal (though 'carrier') children by mating with thoroughly sound and healthy stock might have backward semi-defective children if his or her mate lacked mental and physical vigour, while the children might be genuine aments if the mate came of still feebler, yet not ament, family. That, at least, seems the reasonable interpretation of the facts I have examined, and it goes some way towards reconciling the now dying squabble between the modern science of Mendelian genetics and the old and vaguer school of pre-Mendelian biologists.

Though insanity, amentia and epilepsy are clinically very different, they appear from the cases quoted and from many similar studies to be strongly linked genetically, one member of a family being insane, another feeble-minded and so on. Moreover, this polymorphic defect appears only to be 'recessive' in the legal sense, since the 'carriers' are often so very far from normal—witness the chronic and occasional paupers mentioned above and the 'unemployables' who are so frequent in this type of pedigree. The reader will also notice the strong link between mental and physical defect, suggestive of a single cause. I was much struck by the rapid rise in the death rate of the mentally diseased in institutions when the fat ration was cut down during the war. Though they were still better cared for than normal folk, who were unaffected, even this slight hardship materially affected their powers of resistance to disease. Their susceptibility to and death rate from tuberculosis is always very much higher than normal, while the general morbidity rate is high and age of death early. The egg which produces bad brains is likely to produce a bad body.

If all these forms of defect were recessive to normal, it would be safe to assume that for every patent sufferer there would be two 'carriers.' But since some forms of defect are dominant, we shall be on the safe side in calculating that there are as many carriers as there are lunatics and aments. Hence we have to-day

environment, and have the added advantage of special care in schools and institutions. It is now almost true to say that every fall in the death rate entails a corresponding rise in the defective rate.

A small proportion of lunatics and aments are the victims of injurious circumstances, in particular of syphilis and asphyxia at birth—a fact which sometimes leads those without biological or pedigree experience to question the hereditary nature of mental disease. A short time ago the Surrey County Council investigated the parentage of aments under their care, and, discovering that 'only' about a quarter had ament parents, decided that inheritance was an unimportant factor. If a quarter of the normal population had similar parentage the number of aments in the older generation of to-day would run into several millions! But the real fault of this investigation lay in the failure to go far enough: brothers and sisters, aunts, uncles, and grandparents should also have been included if the inquiry was to have scientific value. Other inquiries which at first showed about the same proportion of aments, 25 per cent, with ament parents (which roughly accords with biological expectation) revealed, however, that over 80 per cent had blood relations who either also were aments or who had some other form of mental disease.

The first important point to realise is the vagueness of the phrase 'mental disease' and even of the more precise term 'mental defect.' There may be as many forms of mental as of physical defect, and each may be inherited in a different way. I have myself seen pedigrees palpably demonstrating three different modes of inheritance, 'criss-cross,' 'dominant,' and 'recessive.' These terms are taken from Mendelian genetics: the first indicates that the character in question is transmitted from father to daughter to grandson; the second that the character 'dominates' its opposite, so that the children of a normal × defective marriage are defective; the third that the character recedes before its opposite, so that the children of a normal × defective marriage are *normal*. The last is the most important of the three, since most defects and most forms of amentia are recessive to normal, and their hereditary nature is therefore apt to escape notice. The defective birth-factor, or 'gene,' is not lost when normal mates with ament, but only latent or semi-latent in each of the children, who are therefore likely to pass it on to *their* children. If two such apparently normal 'carriers' inter-marry, some at least of their children will be defective. If, as frequently happens, a 'carrier' marries someone genuinely normal, then the defective gene will be scattered about the normal population, only to re-emerge, as opportunity

from those going to the elementary schools in the same neighbourhood.[8] Since this group, therefore, has to contend with precisely the same difficulties as the defective group, it affords a fair comparison—in biological terminology, a 'random control.' Among the 'controls' mental disease is almost non-existent, physical disabilities are rare, and paupers (chiefly hospital cases) constitute about 1 per cent. of the total of individuals investigated. The proportion of diseased, defective, and paupers in the other group is between 30 and 50 per cent The 'controls' are probably representative of casual labourers throughout the country, and they, as I have said, are the most fertile normal class with an average size of family of just under four children There are between eight and nine children in the completed families of the defective group

This excessive fertility of defectives is sometimes resentfully regarded as a sort of wantonness on their part In fact, it is an essential and inherent part of their make-up Defectives of all types are common throughout the world of life, but only those whose fertility is sufficiently high to compensate for their high death rate have a chance of racial survival Human defectives can only exist in the same world with normal people as long as they have more children if fertility fell even to average, they would die out in a few generations It is also frequently assumed that they have unusual sexual vigour This is a mistake they are less vigorous sexually, as in other ways, than normal men and women, and their fertility is the result, not of a strong procreative instinct, but of a defective control over that and other instincts

It is now less difficult to see with some precision why the numbers and proportions of the mentally diseased have increased during the last twenty years For over half a century, and especially during the last two decades, the birth rate of the normal population has been falling steadily, while the defective has still been producing as many children as ever At the same time the death rate has been falling but in a patchy fashion It is true that more normal people than formerly are now living on to old age; but the chief change in the death rate has occurred in the early age-periods, so that far more infants and young children live to grow up These, who would not have survived without the improved living conditions are, of course, the more sickly and defective section of the population, and include a very high proportion of aments They and other defectives derive more benefit than do the normal population from the all-round better

[8] To see whether slum surroundings were at all responsible In fact, they are not and amentia is commoner in the country than in towns Probably this is the result of migration

The following is the least gloomy of six cases given in the [illegible] (1927) Report:

"Father 'in and out' of mental hospital (i.e., periodic insanity). Mother feeble-minded. One daughter, feeble-minded, with two illegitimate children—too young for the state of their minds to be known. Has been in institution for eight years. Another daughter, also feeble-minded and in institution for eight years—previously sent to industrial school for consorting with prostitutes. Third daughter an imbecile, recently admitted, at age of seventeen, to institution when found wandering round Army camps. Two sons are 'unemployable.'"

The records of the other five families given are somewhat worse. Altogether the twelve original parents have produced thirty-four children and (so far) three grandchildren. Practically all that are known are feeble-minded, the few remaining being not much better. During the same period the most fertile normal parents ('casual labourers') would have produced not quite twenty-four children.

While these are quoted in the Reports as typical instances, they are probably somewhat worse than usual; and, to give a fair idea of the position, I must turn to an investigation in which I have been much interested, and which is the only one of its kind. Eighteen years ago the relieving officer of a large East End parish was struck by the fact that many of the people he relieved were related to one another. So he started to trace the individual and family records of every person who applied for relief. His access to official records was of great assistance, and he was further fortunate in the comparatively stable nature of the population of the parish; there had been little migration, so that it was usually possible to go back three or four, and sometimes even six, generations. One family, which may fairly be quoted as representative, contained 336 individuals. Of these 161 have nothing against them, as far as can be traced. The remaining 175—well over half the total—are: ninety-eight occasional paupers (on and off out-relief), six chronic paupers (always in the workhouse or dependent on out-relief), fifteen reared in Poor Law schools, thirteen insane, nine blind, four insane and blind, six imbeciles, four tubercular, and sixteen born in the workhouse. Four brothers of another large family with almost as high a percentage of defects were (1) chargeable on the rates for eight years in all, (2) for twenty years, (3) for fifteen years, and (4) for nearly twenty-one years.

Since only lack of funds is checking the completion and publication of this investigation, I naturally do not wish to give more than a foretaste of it. But I should add that the investigator also traced the families of 100 children selected at random

stringent arguments put forward by the advocates of 'family endowment' is the real improvement in the care, feeding, and health of children during the war, as a consequence of the liberal 'separation allowances' made to the wives of men at the front. One of the main findings of the Colwyn Report, moreover, was the improvement in the wages and conditions of the working classes during and since the war. But perhaps the most conclusive test is that infantile and child death rates continued during and since the war that steady downward movement which commenced about 1860, and which has been most marked since 1900. Conditions cannot have deteriorated when fewer were dying.

The layman, therefore, might at first be puzzled to know why the mentally deranged have increased during a period not only of general improvement in social and living conditions, but also of better understanding and care of the mentally diseased. Those all round improvements in the environment, of course, are themselves responsible for the increase, for they have lowered the selective death rate, particularly among children, and so have enabled more of the mentally and physically defective to survive and breed. It is the only result to be expected from an era of social selection which runs contrary to, instead of developing, the methods and aims of natural selection.

A few concrete instances will illustrate the social and biological aspects of mental disease. I take my first instance from those quoted in the Report of the Board of Control for 1926.

Mr. and Mrs. A. were born before the passing of the Mental Deficiency Act, and are therefore not certified. But the relieving officer describes them as feeble minded and as 'filthy in person and home.' Her brother and nephew are in institutions.

The A.'s had twelve children, of whom only three can be traced.

(1) Mrs. X., married daughter, an ament with five children—one died at three weeks, one in Poor Law children's home, one ament, one in tuberculosis colony, and one disputed ament who has been placed on probation for theft. All four that lived attended special classes for backward children.

(2) Mrs. Y., another married daughter, also an ament with five children. No particulars of two (one too young). One at seventeen married an 'unsatisfactory' youth, another is at a special school for aments, and the last attends special classes. Four had to be adopted by the guardians.

(3) Mrs. Z., married daughter, 'not so obviously feeble-minded as her sisters,' had three illegitimate children before marriage by as many fathers.

The whole family has 'cost the rates some 6000*l.* already, and many of the descendants are alive and still dependent on the community.'

Board of Education; and their Report, which I believe will shortly be published, should yield a fairly accurate estimate of the total number of aments in England and Wales. Meanwhile, certain unofficial investigations are of value. The highest number which the authorities have hitherto admitted to be possible is 190,000. But those very cautious and reliable investigators Professor A. M. Carr-Saunders and Mr D. Caradog Jones estimate the number as between 300,000 and 350,000, while some have put it as high as 380,000. The calculations are based on the number of mentally defective children in the schools, and are therefore open to two possible errors. Firstly, the death rate among the defective, mentally as well as physically, is high, and there are therefore fewer aments at the later than at the earlier periods of life. Secondly, there are some children whose inability to profit by book-learning classes them as aments, yet who are sufficiently adaptable in other ways just to escape certification when they grow up and take their places in the bread-winning world. Carr-Saunders and Caradog Jones make allowance for these factors in their estimates, but it is an allowance which is bound to be largely guess-work.

While I have not seen the forthcoming Report, I have little doubt that it will give the total number of aments *circa* January 1926 as not less than 250,000—possibly over 300,000—and that the figure will represent not merely improved ascertainment, but a genuine increase in the number of mindless folk in our midst. On the basis of the lower figure it is an increase of 81 per cent. in twenty years, while the normal population has only increased by not quite 14 per cent.—from 34,340,000 in 1906 to 39,067,000 in 1926. The insane and aments together must number not less than 384,000—9·8 per 1000, or nearly one person in every 100. I cannot even make a guess as to the number of epileptics and 'neuropathics' who should be added to this total in order to arrive at a final figure including all forms of mental disease.

Whatever effect the war—and it is too slight to merit consideration—may have had in increasing insanity, it does not even enter into the problem of amentia, which, as we have seen, is due to a failure to build up a complete brain. It is defined, legally as well as practically and biologically, as existing from birth or from an early age. It is sometimes thought, it is true, that the air raids and the food shortage may have combined to arrest the development of war children. But air raids practically only affected London, and certainly had very little effect on the few children who did experience them. The food shortage was more apparent than real; and most of the nation's mothers received, many for the first time in their lives, allowances which were more than adequate for themselves and their families. One of the

being unable to manage themselves or their own affairs with ordinary prudence, or of competing on equal terms with their fellows. They usually lack control of their desires and emotions. All three grades, which shade into one another, are incurable. In effect, too, the insane are beyond real cure.

The Royal Commission, which was first set up in 1904, reported, after a reliably thorough inquiry, that on January 1, 1906, there were approximately 140,000 aments in England and Wales. But included in that figure were a number of otherwise mentally normal epileptics; and Dr. A. F. Tredgold estimated that aments alone numbered 138,520—4·03 per 1000 of the population, or one person in every 248. This figure can be taken as substantially accurate, and so can his estimate (based on the inquiries of the Commission) of the number of insane persons, 125,827—3·66 per 1000, or one in every 273. Thus at that date there were approximately 264,000 mentally diseased persons—7·69 per 1000, or one in 130. Since then our knowledge and control of the insane has continued to improve, and it seems probable that there are now not very many unknown to the Board of Control. It is convenient to take the twenty year period, and to give their present numbers as on January 1, 1926: 134,000, or 3·4 per 1000, or one in 291. This, however, is the minimum, only representing those insane at the time: the Board cannot take account of those who have previously been under their care and been discharged as 'cured,' even though most of them will almost inevitably return from time to time for care and treatment in asylums.

Aments were not legally defined until the Mental Deficiency Act of 1913, a good Act which was sadly hashed at the last moment, and which has never since been put into proper effect. In each successive Report the Board of Control emphasises the failure of local authorities to ascertain and certify the aments in their areas.[1] The number (per 1000) certified ranges from ·03 in Swansea to 4·66 in Rutland. The differences are purely due to the variations in the conscientiousness of the responsible local authorities. Consequently the total number known to the Board (January 1, 1928) is 61,522. How absurdly low this figure is may be judged from the fact that when I myself made a rough calculation from the proportion rejected for military service in 1918 I arrived at the very conservative estimate for England and Wales of 155,000—4·16 per 1000.

Fortunately the Board is fully alive to the problem, and has recently been engaged in an inter-departmental inquiry with the

[1] Local authorities are apt to reply, with some reason, that it is little use going to the trouble and expense of ascertaining and certifying aments as long as it is impossible to house, sterilise, or otherwise control them.

STERILISATION OF THE UNFIT

A LUNATIC has been rather aptly described as 'a house with the roof blown off,' while a mentally defective person is paralleled to a house which has never had a roof at all These are more than mere analogies, for they have a basis in physical fact When, after death, the skulls of insane persons have been opened and examined, it has usually been possible to trace signs of damage or degeneration in the cerebral cortex—that area of the brain which is so much more complex and developed in man than in other of the higher mammals, the extent of the damage roughly corresponding with the degree of mental derangement exhibited during life The same area in mentally defective persons does not show degeneration, but a lack of or faulty development—sometimes a whole layer of cells is missing, sometimes the connecting fibres are too few, or the cells themselves imperfectly developed Again, the degree of this physical defect roughly corresponds with the degree of mental defect exhibited by the individual during his or her lifetime While, therefore, the lunatic's brain, after being built up has broken down, that of the mental defective has never even attained to full development, as his actions show

These and other biological facts—especially our knowledge of the inheritance of mental disease—justify us in assuming that the mind of man is not a 'special creation,' but a development of his more obvious physical qualities, and that mental disease has a material basis like physical disease While there are other forms, which I need not here describe, of mental disease, by far the commonest are insanity and mental defect—the latter sometimes more precisely termed amentia. The sufferers from these two diseases, with, perhaps, the epileptic, are the 'unfit,' whose sterilisation has been suggested

A lunatic does not here need definition, but the nature and grades of amentia are not always understood An idiot cannot even feed himself, while an imbecile cannot avoid ordinary dangers. The highest grade, the feeble-minded, who are much the most numerous, may sometimes appear normal, if 'soft' or 'daft,' to the superficial observer But they are defined as

the difficult and inaccessible places which they choose for their eyries, are, one is glad to record, still fairly abundant in Britain. Far distant is the day, one may hope and prophesy, before these noble creatures shall have passed from the *avifauna* of our country.

H. A. BRYDEN.

While watching with my glasses diving birds in St. Aubin's Bay on December 9 I saw a peregrine falcon making short stoops at one of the smaller grebes, whenever it appeared on the surface, so forcing it to dive again instantly. The falcon struck with her feet, which I could see hanging as she approached the grebe. How long the hunt had lasted I do not know, but I watched it for seventeen minutes before the end came. The dives grew shorter and shorter, showing that the grebe was exhausted for want of air, and at last the falcon picked it up; apparently she struck it dead, as it did not flutter its wings. She carried it, flying heavily, about half a mile to an isolated rock, where she ate it. The meal lasted three quarters of an hour. A Great Northern Diver, which was fishing quite close to the grebe, was not molested by the falcon. This [added the writer] is the first time that I have seen peregrines take a bird off the sea; indeed, I was inclined to think that they were afraid to do so, as I have seen this falcon stoop at and miss wild duck, which promptly fell like stones into the sea, whereupon the falcon left them unmolested on the surface.

I have a good many times seen peregrines in pursuit of wild duck near lakes or rivers, and I have also noted that those duck which managed to evade the falcon's flight always found safety in the water, the peregrine never attempting to try for them once they had reached it.

What weight exactly a peregrine is capable of carrying I am uncertain. I have seen these birds, at different times, flying with a partridge, pigeon, jackdaw, and golden plover in their talons and making a fairly comfortable passage. A friend of mine, riding over Beachy Head, was one day passed by one of these falcons, carrying a gull. It came immediately over him; he shouted and waved his arm, and the falcon thereupon dropped the gull and went on. The gull was quite dead. I doubt if a peregrine could fly far with so heavy a bird as a mallard. Its tremendous attacking and killing powers enable it to overcome so weighty a prey as a shelduck or so tall and unwieldy a quarry as a heron; but, magnificent flier as it is, it could not, in the nature of things, travel far with such burdens, which it usually devours where they are brought down.

A German naturalist has stated that it is not unusual for a pair of peregrines to take up their abode for a whole winter in a town, where they make their vantage coigns on some high church steeple, their favourite prey consisting usually of pigeons. This habit has been familiar for centuries also in this country, and peregrines are often to be seen resting on the magnificent spire of Salisbury Cathedral, where I have had the opportunity of observing them. In winter, after hunting the country around for food, they usually came in about half an hour before dusk, the female being always careful to select her perching place before the tiercel took his station.

Peregrine falcons, thanks to their wild and wary nature and

Nature to equal it. Yet the peregrine, when sharp-set, especially when hunting to feed its young, does not disdain much humbler quarry and will strike even the homely starling. I was fishing on Loch Stenness, in the Orkneys, some years since, and my boatman, as a peregrine flew above us, told me how one of these falcons had, a few days before, been baffled by a small flock of these birds, upon which the peregrine had swiftly descended. There was an old white horse grazing on the side of the loch, and the starlings, keeping their heads, swerved and landed just under its belly. From this haven of safety they refused to budge, and the falcon flew away defeated

The late Mr Howard Saunders, in his famous *Manual of British Birds*, states truly that the peregrine will sometimes sweep rabbits off the side of a cliff It is not well known that peregrines will attack rabbits, but I can vouch for two instances where one of these falcons has successfully attacked this quarry on open ground In October 1917, while walking near Cow Gap, under Beachy Head, I heard some fierce screams and turning, saw a number of schoolboys watching a fierce contest between two peregrines fighting on the ground One of these birds had grabbed a rabbit on the side of the down, and the other was evidently trying to secure a share of the plunder While they thus fought, the falcon which had first seized the rabbit released its prey, and 'Mr. Bunny' at once scrambled off and got clean away The two peregrines then flew off beyond Beachy Head, one pursuing the other and apparently keeping up the quarrel Mr Cracknell, formerly the landlord of the Birling Gap Hotel, under Beachy Head, a keen bird watcher, well acquainted with the movements of these falcons, informed me that he had seen a peregrine strike a rabbit on the down side and that he had been able to drive off the falcon and secure the animal, which was too much injured to get away Passing the Birling Gap Hotel one day, I saw a young peregrine, which had been captured in a curious way and was temporarily confined in an empty parrot's cage of large size. Mr. Cracknell's son had retrieved this young falcon from the in-coming tide, where he found it struggling in the surf How the bird got there was uncertain It may possibly have made a stoop at some sea-bird and found itself unable to rise from the sea ; but in my judgment the falcon, which was quite a young one, had been trying an early flight and, miscalculating its powers, had fallen into the sea I was glad to hear that it was afterwards released. I do not think that peregrines are, as a rule, much addicted to taking birds off the surface of the sea It is for them a somewhat perilous operation. Yet that they do so occasionally is certain. In January 1926 Mr. G. F. B. de Gruchy, a Jersey correspondent of the *Field*, wrote as follows .

Bath, would be always ready to give useful information to anyone wishing to take up falconry seriously. Captain Blaine, in the same announcement in the *Field*, stated that the most reliable person for the supply of a limited number of falcons and hawks in England was Mr Richard Best, The Villa, Hawley House, Blackwater, Hants. Mr. Best was formerly Captain Blaine's falconer, and later served the Old Hawking Club in the same capacity Passage hawks in the autumn may be obtained from Karl Mollen, Valkenswaard, Eindhoven, North Brabant, Holland, providing that a sufficient number—say from eight to twelve—are booked in June and July Goshawks can also be procured from Germany, but must be ordered before the end of May, if eyesses (young birds) are wanted

Although a full-grown grouse is a pretty good handful, even for so strong and daring a raptorial as the peregrine, there can be no doubt that these falcons will on occasion, attack even so big and heavy a bird as a wild goose Two years ago ' I P ' described vividly in the *Field* such a chase A skein of geese were seen flying in Perthshire, near the Craig an Lochan, at a height of 1600 feet Presently

> a peregrine came out of the clouds and quickly overtook them By the time it had done so the hawk had lost height until it was on the same level as the geese The peregrine singled out one of the rear birds, and then a series of most interesting races started The peregrine soon turned the goose away from the rest which flew on quite unconcernedly and were soon lost in the clouds The pursuer now started to climb above the goose, and the latter flew its fastest and straightest honking loudly all the time until the falcon stooped, when the goose turned and the peregrine missed. The goose then zoomed up and for a short space rose faster than its pursuer This happened four or five times taking them twice up and down the Lochan until finally they came within a score of yards of the car, which the peregrine saw and wheeling away in fright gave up the attack.

As a matter of fact this splendid falcon knows no fear of any of the things that fly It has been recorded by Mr C H Donald, writing from India, that one of these birds attacked with great fury a Pallas's fishing eagle, flying across a river with something in its claws, and twice sent its feathers floating in all directions before the eagle managed to reach some trees on the other side

A heavy, full-grown wild duck is no mean conquest yet the peregrine thinks nothing of attacking and striking down these fine birds Twice in the Orkneys and in Sutherlandshire have I seen this feat accomplished, apparently with complete ease and the most wonderful grace The downward stoop of this falcon when well poised is lightning-like in its speed I know nothing in

The dove had, however, a narrow squeak for it and might well congratulate itself on its fortunate escape.

How seldom a really well-trained and brilliant peregrine will miss its quarry is well demonstrated by the feats of a wonderful falcon belonging a year or so before the war to my friend Captain Gilbert Blaine, M.C., who is one of the very last of the British falconers, and has long been known as an expert in this once famous but now almost forgotten pastime.

In 1912 and 1913 Captain Blaine took a grouse moor in Caithness-shire and flew his falcons there. In 1913, using peregrines, his bag for the season was 403 grouse, a wonderful record for modern or even ancient days. His most successful falcon, out of six or seven flown, was one from Lundy Island, a spot long famous for its magnificent breed of these raptorials. This bird killed forty-four grouse running in successive flights. It then scored a miss, but, going on, killed forty-six more of these strong game birds, with but a single further miss. Ninety grouse to one falcon is a great achievement, but to have accomplished this with but two flights missed is, indeed, a very wonderful feat. During his campaigns in Caithness-shire Captain Blaine used setters for the purpose of finding game and had his falcon 'waiting on' overhead. The grouse when located were flushed and the trained peregrine's attack then took place. This form of sport pursued in a wild and picturesque countryside is surely one of the most fascinating and delightful that could possibly be imagined. The pity of it is that in these days, few falconers have the time, patience, and opportunity to train their hawks or the wherewithal to rent a good grouse moor when the preliminary schooling has been accomplished. Grouse hawking is by no means easy work for the falcon or tiercel. This game bird has a strong, round, and very muscular body and great wing power, and is probably one of the most difficult quarries which even the peregrine, when hunting in the wild state, has to overcome.

Captain Blaine took over, some years before the war, the management of the Old Hawking Club, which formerly had its headquarters at Shrewton on Salisbury Plain. From there rook hawking on the Wiltshire downs yielded excellent sport, and each season the members of the club enjoyed many a good flight. Owing to the necessities of Army training, the creation of the various camps now existing, and the spread of barbed wire enclosures, the Old Hawking Club has, unhappily, for the present, ceased its operations. Whether in the future some other resort for falconry may be discovered and the pastime of the club revived is uncertain. But the omens are not too favourable. It was announced in the *Field* in June 1927 that in the meantime Captain Gilbert Blaine, whose address was 9, Lansdown Crescent,

[illegible] that even such fleet fliers as they are fall victims to the all-conquering and rapacious hawks.

The falcon, female of the peregrine, it may be noted, is even swifter in pursuit than her mate, the tiercel—this probably for the reason that she is of greater size

I have on various occasions seen peregrines strike down and secure pigeons along this stretch of cliffs One very interesting experience happened in January 1909, when Mr E C Arnold, now headmaster of Eastbourne College, and I had a walk with our guns down the Cuckmere River to its mouth, where Cuckmere Haven makes a gap in the tall cliffs at that point. Our only bag that morning was a black-throated diver, which my friend, a great collector, secured for the Eastbourne Museum, then lacking a specimen We sat down to eat our sandwiches on the beach, at the corner of the cliff Before long a pair of peregrines came sweeping over the cliff-top above us, at a marvellous pace, in pursuit of a domestic pigeon One of them struck the quarry in the air 50 yards above our heads and hurled the unfortunate bird to the shingle within 30 yards of our feet. Down came both falcons to the feast As they were in act of lighting Arnold made an instinctive move with his right arm for his gun, which lay just out of reach The keen-eyed peregrines instantly saw the movement and flew off They came round once to have a look at us, and, then concluding, I suppose, that our neighbourhood was unhealthy, sheered off and disappeared. I picked up the pigeon, which was of course, stone-dead, and in a few minutes, I suppose from its terrific impact with the shingle, quite stiff

Numerous, however, as are their captures of pigeons and doves along these cliffs, the peregrines do not always come out winners. One September day in this same year, 1909, I caught sight of a stock-dove hurrying home to the chalk cliffs for all it could bustle. It was espied by a female peregrine, which had a pair of young ones sitting on the cliffs, taking lessons in flights and captures. The falcon, for a wonder, saw her quarry just a trifle too late, and when she made her usual fatal stoop was not able to get sufficiently above the stock-dove She made her dive for the bird, but with a swift and sudden swerve the latter just evaded the falcon's stroke and made good its retreat into the cliffs at hand The two young peregrines, then about half grown, were thus witnesses of their mother's discomfiture, and one of them uttered shrill screams, as if reproaching her for having missed her quarry. It was a very curious and interesting spectacle which I and my companion would not have missed for a good deal As a rule the peregrine's stoop is fatal In this instance the falcon was manifestly unprepared and made her stroke from an insufficient height.

kingdom. In England the king's grand falconer was an official also of high rank and credit. I believe that the present Duke of St. Albans, a descendant of Charles II., still enjoys that hereditary title, though, in these days, without emolument.

In Britain, although of course peregrines are not now in much request for the purposes of falconry, their eggs are, unhappily, a great deal raided by many eager collectors These people, the majority of them men of considerable means, are unceasing in their pursuit of the eggs of rare birds, notwithstanding that these species are nominally protected by law Not content with a clutch or two of eggs of a rare bird, such as the peregrine, these greedy collectors will attain as many as from a dozen to twenty separate clutches, all showing differences of marking This unholy and shameful traffic is busily carried on and ought to be stopped The coastline of Sussex yields in the great chalk cliffs between Beachy Head and Seaford Head one of the most favoured nesting places of the peregrine falcon I lived for twenty years at Eastbourne, and was acquainted with the eyries of seven or eight pairs of peregrines in that locality In the year 1908 Mr J. Walpole Bond—a great authority on birds—informed me that he had located ten pairs of peregrines in the cliffs between Hastings and Rottingdean Notwithstanding that these eyries were nominally protected and that the neighbouring coastguards were on the look-out for robbers, these eyries were fairly often raided during the nesting season, some of them even twice during the period. The wealthy egg collector seems to have no sense of shame or honour and still—usually by deputy—continues his robberies of the eggs of these and other rare species during the nesting season

During my long residence in this part of Sussex I saw a good deal of these splendid falcons, in fact, whenever I walked along the beach or over the cliffs between Beachy Head and Seaford, until quite recently a very little frequented region, I seldom failed to see these birds pursuing their wonderful careers and displaying their grand powers of flight These great cliffs were for them a magnificent hunting-ground, and in few places could the flight and habits of peregrines be better observed. Food was plentiful Gulls and other sea birds, rooks, jackdaws, partridges, rabbits (on which peregrines occasionally feed), wild duck, redshanks, occasional kestrels and large numbers of domestic and carrier pigeons, as well as wood-pigeons, stock-doves and, in summer, turtle-doves, all offered excellent prey to the swift, long-winged falcons Carrier-pigeons, in particular, coming from across the Channel or along the coastline, were and still are killed in large numbers by the Sussex peregrines Their leg rings are not seldom to be found at the eyries or along the cliff tops, mute

lustrous eyes, the long wings, perfectly adapted for swift and sustained flight, and the splendid plumage, slate-grey on the upper parts. The under-parts vary from buff-grey to warm rufous, with a good deal of dark marking. The females are especially notable for the strong transverse markings of the breast. The head and cheeks are nearly black. The cere (round the eyes) and legs are bright yellow, and the formidable claws are enormously strong. Anyone who has had a trained falcon sitting on his fist, although guarded by a thick glove, cannot fail to have been impressed by the steel-like grip of this warlike bird.

Peregrines nest in a variety of places, and the falcons are fond of placing their eggs, usually from two to four in number, on ledges of tall cliffs, sometimes in old nests of crows, ravens, and even herons, in rocks and trees. In Lapland and Siberia the eggs have been found even on the bare ground. These falcons never build themselves a nest, but they are extraordinarily faithful to the same places, and will there deposit their eggs and bring up their young decade after decade, and even century after century. There is, or was, an eyrie in Connemara known as far back as 1684 to have been frequented by peregrines from time immemorial. The young are driven off by the old birds in August, and in the autumn are still captured in considerable numbers on the open heaths near Valkenswaard, in Holland, where they have been taken for centuries for hawking purposes. The demand for these 'red' or 'passage hawks' is, however, in the nature of things, much on the decline in recent years. In these days few sportsmen seem to find time for the long and difficult process of training these birds for falconry.

Few incidents in bird life are more wonderful than the remating of the peregrine after being deprived by death of its fellow. The hawk will disappear from its eyrie for a few days, possibly even for a week, but it will inevitably come back with a new-found mate, discovered undoubtedly, in many instances, hundreds of miles away.

Although in India and other parts of Asia hawking with falcons, and in Turkestan and Mongolia even with eagles, has been pursued from remote ages of the past, in Europe the pastime cannot apparently be traced further back than the middle of the fourth century. In the Middle Ages it reached probably its zenith, and kings, princes, and nobles treated the sport with immense honour. In France the king's *grand fauconnier* was an official of great eminence. His annual salary was 4000 florins; he was attended by fifty gentlemen and fifty assistant falconers, and he was allowed to keep 300 falcons. He licensed every vendor of hawks in France and received a tax upon every bird sold in that

THE PEREGRINE FALCON

This splendid raptorial, celebrated through ages as the favourite falcon of kings, princes and nobles, has an immensely wide range. It is found over the whole of Europe, a considerable part of Africa, North America, Asia, and has been reported even in Australia. In one form or another, allowing for sub-species, it is, in fact, a cosmopolitan bird, known all over the world.

Our true peregrine ranges from Scandinavia, Greenland, the island of Jan Mayen, and Novaya Zemlya to the Mediterranean, where it is found in winter. In the far north are to be found its near allies, the gyr-falcons, which include the Greenland, Iceland, and Norwegian falcons. These splendid birds, though more powerful, are lacking somewhat in the marvellous courage and fire of our British peregrines, and in our climate seem to lose something of their native vigour. It may be doubted whether even at their best they are the equals of the peregrine.

One of the finest descriptions of this glorious bird is to be found in Nicholas Cox's *The Gentleman's Recreation*, published in the reign of Charles II, wherein it is thus referred to:

> The element wherein the *Falconer* useth to trade is the air, and though he dealeth sometimes in the water, yet he prefers the air before it, that yielding him most Recreation; for it is unable to stop the high soaring of his Generous Falcon; in it she flies to such a height, that being lost to the sight of mortals, she seems to converse with Heaven alone; and, like Icarus, endangers her wings to be scorcht by the Sunbeams; and yet is fearless, cutting the fluid air with her nimble pinions, making her Highway over the steepest Mountains and deepest Rivers, and in her lofty career looks down with a seeming contempt on the greatest glories we most estimate; and yet such is her loyalty and obedience to her Master, that a word from his mouth shall make her stoop and condescend.

The female of the peregrine is known to experts as the falcon, the male being always called the tiercel. The falcon measures 18 inches and weighs as much as 2¾ lb., while the male, or tiercel, attains some 15 inches and barely attains 2 lb. in weight. Striking characteristics of this splendid falcon are the large, fierce, hazel-

And, finally, philosophy, unless guided by Divine revelation, is but a tentative searching for the light, which may or may not catch broken and far-off glimpses of the truth.

Admitting and emphasising this radical divergence of attitude, Dr. More yet holds, not only that apart from Christianity there is no hope for religion in the modern world, but also that in Christianity alone the Greek tradition, initiated by Socrates and Plato, found its proper fulfilment and consummation. He is convinced that the future of religion and civilisation alike depended on the victory of Athanasius in his conflict with the Arians over what Gibbon called 'the difference of a single diphthong'; and he supports his conviction, in his two last volumes, with learning, common sense, and the nervous eloquence of entire sincerity. On one point he is quite indisputably right The Western world may or may not return to the belief defined so uncompromisingly by the Council of Chalcedon in 451 A D It will infallibly grow tired of the humanitarian or Teutonic Christ, who was discovered, or invented, in the nineteenth century It may accept or reject Christianity, but at least it will mean by Christianity what Dr. More always means—'the developed faith of Clement and Athanasius, the Cappadocians and Chrysostom, rather than any conjectural interpretation of the Gospel narrative'

PHILIP S RICHARDS.

The great merit of Dr. More's Platonism, as compared with other modern interpretations, lies in this, that it views Plato's doctrine as an organic whole. In particular, it does not separate his philosophy from his religion, and accept the former while rejecting the latter as a concession to the vulgar yearning for a mythology, or as a symptom of senile decay. To take specific examples, it is the orthodox academic practice in England to regard the *Republic* as the true and only expression of Plato's mature thought, to treat the *Myths* and the *Timaeus* as mere imaginative *tours de force*, and to dismiss the *Laws* as little better than the maunderings of a second, though not unamiable, childhood Dr More enables us to regard them all alike as integral and, so to speak, concentric expressions of a single and homogeneous system of thought The core of absolute certitude is supplied by philosophy, that is, by the 'spiritual affirmation' and its development in the theory of Ideas Next, both in importance and in certitude (if certitude, in spite of Cardinal Newman, admits of degrees), lies the domain of theology, which might be described as the nexus of logical inferences, as to the nature of God, which may be drawn from the intuitions of philosophy. The truth of these inferences cannot be absolutely asserted, just because they are logical deductions in regard to a subject-matter which is strictly above reason and logic, but they attain the very highest degree of probability Lastly, on the periphery of truth, so to speak, is the vague and uncertain region of mythology, of which may be said, in language borrowed from Plato himself, that we shall do well to believe that this, or something like this, is true

It is important to understand the peculiar sense in which Dr More uses the word 'mythology,' since he applies it even to the Gospel history, which he accepts as substantially true He defines it as 'just that part of religion which is concerned with the intermingling of the Divine and human spheres of being,' and, consistently with this, he says that 'the peculiar strength of Christianity is that in the Incarnation it reduces mythology to the simplest possible terms' He would hardly quarrel with Shorthouse's definition of a Myth, in the introduction to *John Inglesant*, as 'eternal truth manifested in phenomena.'

It is at once apparent that the traditional Christian scheme is directly the reverse of the Platonic in the relative degrees of certitude which it assigns to the three elements of religion—philosophy, theology, and mythology. To the Christian it is the last named—the intermingling of Divine and human in the historic Incarnation—which supplies the core of indubitable truth. Theology is recognised as a more or less symbolic or 'economic' statement of truths beyond human comprehension.

theory quite ignores the *logical* function of the Ideas, as 'universals' which somehow get themselves embodied in 'particulars,' and so make predication possible. Let us grant, for the moment, that Dr. More has shown how Plato arrives at his Idea of Justice, as the unchanging reality lying behind our partial and erroneous conceptions of what is just. Still he has not begun to explain how Plato (or anyone else) arrives at the idea of 'whiteness' or 'cow.' Yet it is impossible to say, with truth, of two different and separate animals *that each is a cow*, unless both in some way partake of the *same* idea or nature. For how can two things be numerically different and yet the same? That is the 'problem of predication,' which the theory of Ideas was intended by Plato to solve. It must be confessed that Dr. More scarcely attempts to grapple with this difficulty. No doubt he regards it as belonging to the forbidden realm of metaphysics. At any rate, he contents himself with pointing out what is undeniably true, that the Ideas of Plato really fall into two distinct categories, the ethical and the rational (though Plato himself never draws this distinction, even when it would be most in point to do so), and that his chief concern is always to establish the transcendent reality of the former. If that is once granted, the reality of mere rational generalisations may be taken for granted too. At least Dr. More admits candidly that Plato believed in the pre-existent reality of both kinds of Ideas 'without attempting to explain the nature of their existence.'

If this discussion has seemed unduly technical, the excuse must be that anyone who comes forward as a Platonist must, first and foremost, substantiate his claim to be a faithful interpreter of the original documents, and this can only be done by more or less technical argument. There are altogether too many pseudo-Platonisms current in a world which accepts Wordsworth and Shelley for good Platonists on the ground of their common leaning to mystical Pantheism—a doctrine which Plato himself would certainly have rejected with contempt. But perhaps the chief interest of Dr. More's work lies, as we have hinted, in his powerful and original development of the thesis that the philosophy of Plato finds its fulfilment in the Athanasian doctrine of the Incarnation. And here one cannot do better than quote the conclusion at which he finally arrives: 'In the union of two natures, divine and human, in one person a complete philosophy will discern, enacted as it were in a cosmic drama, the last expression of the mystery the beginning of which lies in the dualism of mind and matter.' It would take too long to follow the path by which he reaches this conclusion through the maze of Hellenistic philosophies and Christian heresies, but its general direction should by now be clear.

second might excusably be taken for metaphysics of the type known as scholastic realism.

Any serious interpretation of Platonism stands or falls by its account of the Ideas. It is therefore essential to inquire how far Dr. More is able to rebut these charges. As to the second, little can be said except that Dr. More escapes falling into metaphysics only by confessing that the objective existence of the Ideas, in which he fervently believes, cannot be established by logical demonstration. To the first he might reply that such a criticism only offers a fresh example of the old confusion between origin and validity. To describe the Ideas as 'imaginative projections' is not to say that they possess only an imaginary reality. The imagination may be a necessary means to the apprehension or vitalising of truth. The charge would perhaps hold good if they were created by the imagination out of nothing, or the void. But, in fact, in projecting them it works 'upon material given to it by the immutable laws of morality,' and they can, and must, be verified in experience. The verification is supplied largely, by the unique feeling of happiness which comes to us when we contemplate the Ideas and live the moral life in accordance with them. 'That is the dialectical certainty—what we know by immediate and incontrovertible evidence.' In other words, the reality of the Ideas is assured by their derivation from the one absolutely real element in our experience, the exercise of the inner check, and by their affinity with that they are shown to be denizens of the infinite and eternal world beyond the flux.

At this point one is inevitably reminded of that supreme and central passage in the sixth book of the *Republic* where Plato tells us that the objects of knowledge, i.e. the Ideas, receive their being, all that they have of truth and reality, from the Good. It is difficult, certainly, to equate the Good, which represents Plato's philosophical conception of the Deity, with a bare power of inhibition like the inner check. Difficult, and yet perhaps not impossible, when we remember that 'the inner check' was, for some Eastern mystics, the nearest they could get to a name for God. Moreover, besides being the source of reality and truth, the efficient Cause of the universe, the Good is also declared, in the same passage, to be the final Cause of existence, the end for which all things strive, and in that character it is expressly distinguished from pleasure and knowledge. In this aspect it must surely be identified with happiness, and consequently, if we are prepared to accept Dr. More's definition of happiness, as given above, we must admit that he makes out a strong case for his account of the Ideas.

It need scarcely be said that many difficulties still remain to be met. Most obvious, perhaps, is the consideration that this

by a peculiar feeling of distress and misery, perfectly distinct from the unhappiness which is caused by discomfort or misfortune. A sense of our weakness and impotence enters largely into it, so that one can readily understand Goethe's dictum: 'I am only powerful when I am moral.' Possibly the nearest one can get to the heart of the business is to say that in living the moral life a man feels that he has the universe at his back. Another side of the same truth is revealed in the fact that with the highest kind of happiness is associated a feeling of tension, a certain austerity of emotion. It is, as Aristotle said, essentially an activity of the soul, not an indulgence of the senses, nor a relaxation of the nerves.

As the inner check is the only faculty of the soul which is lifted above the flux, so the happiness which accompanies its exercise is the only experience we have of a realm of harmony and peace and immutability—in other words, of real being as opposed to becoming. But again, since the inner check is purely negative in its functioning, all the terms in which we speak of this world of true being are found, on analysis, to be simple negations of the qualities which characterise the flux—discord, restlessness and change. The human mind, however, cannot be content with a merely negative account of that which alone gives a positive and absolute value to life; and it is here that, according to Dr. More, 'another faculty—the imagination—steps in to perform what was impossible to the reason.' Justice, which to the reason is only a negation of our positive impulses, is by the imagination 'projected outside of the soul, so as to become a positive entity with a life and habitation of its own.' Such is the genesis of the Idea of Justice; and, lest there should be any possibility of misconception, we are told that 'These imaginative projections of the facts of moral consciousness are the true Platonic Ideas.' Nevertheless, a little earlier in the same chapter we read: 'It ought to be clear also that he spoke of Ideas as of entities anterior to individual objects and having an existence outside of the generalising mind of man.' When Dr. More comes to expound the religion of Plato he goes a step further, and asserts with emphasis that the Ideas exist objectively outside the mind even of God. At least he repudiates, as fatal to sound philosophy or religion, the plausible theory, held by Philo and others, that they are simply the thoughts of God.

Not only do these two views seem at first sight to contradict each other, but they bear a disquieting resemblance to views which their author elsewhere condemns as heretical and mischievous. The first looks uncommonly like the Romantic 'parody of Platonism,' which encourages the imagination to embrace its own phantoms in order to escape from the miseries of reality. The

he is careful to emphasize, conveys no positive information—how can such a philosopher call himself a Platonist? How can he develop the splendid Platonic affirmations out of such a seemingly sterile negation? That, precisely, is what Dr More sets out to do

He takes as his starting-point a truth of moral psychology which has been undeservedly neglected by most moral philosophers except Plato, probably because it looks too much like a platitude—the truth, namely that virtue is not merely a means to happiness, but actually is happiness The more often and the more attentively one reads the *Republic* of Plato, the more one hesitates to define its central theme, but still it is fairly safe to say that one of its main objects is to prove on a large scale that the just man is necessarily happy and the unjust man unhappy, irrespective of any rewards or punishments whatsoever This can only mean that the practice of virtue is, *in itself*, a desirable kind of experience, or rather since happiness is the end of human action, the most desirable kind of all That is a hard saying, quite as hard as any in the Gospels, but Dr More is surely right in insisting that it is exactly what Plato meant to convey As to whether it is true or false every man must judge for himself, bearing in mind always that happiness, whatever else it may be, is certainly distinct from pleasure, or any possible sum of pleasures Dr. More asserts, without reservation, that 'happiness is the feeling that accompanies the governing of our impulses by the inner check' The point is worth dwelling on, for if Plato should happen to be right we should be well on the way towards settling some of the most perplexed problems in ethical theory

The suggestion then, is that happiness is a specific feeling accompanying the fulfilment of the moral law It is not a result following upon right conduct but is rather so to speak the inner side of right conduct itself its reflex in the sphere of emotion Its opposite is not pain, but remorse or repentance It may, therefore, be associated with some considerable degree of pain, as pleasure cannot be Now it is an indisputable fact that self-denial of a very stringent kind may be, and, when it is whole-hearted, usually is attended by happiness of a high order, amounting at times to ecstasy If anybody doubts this, let him read the passage in *The Mill On the Floss* where Maggie Tulliver discovers the 'Imitation of Christ,' or the 'Imitation' itself, or even 'the Everlasting Yea' in *Sartor Resartus* If he still doubts it, he had better put away for ever half the great literature of the world, including such poems as Julian Grenfell's *Into Battle*, for he will be blind and deaf to its deepest meaning On the lower level of everyday life it is surely a matter of all but universal experience that any serious failure to live up to one's ideal—even if that be the not very elevated ideal of 'playing the game'—is attended

The identification of virtue with knowledge was transformed almost beyond recognition by the new meaning that Plato gave to the word 'knowledge,' limiting it, as he did, to our apprehension of those same eternal and immutable Ideas.

The most original, and therefore perhaps the most disputable, element in Dr. More's Platonism is his handling of the second thesis, to which he has given the name of the 'spiritual affirmation.' It must be studied in connexion with his peculiar view of what he calls 'the inner check,' a view derived in the main from Indian philosophy. This inner check is the root-principle of both morality and religion; it is the only thing in us which is apart from, and above, the flux of impressions and emotions; it is decidedly *not reason*, for reason is itself an organ of the flux; lastly and emphatically it is purely negative. It would perhaps be fair to say that it gives us a positive assurance that there is a world of eternal reality above and beyond the ever-changing flow of appearances, but it gives no positive knowledge of what that world contains.

Among the Shelburne Essays is a study of Jonathan Edwards, the famous Calvinist theologian of New England; and Dr. More, like his compatriot, has evidently pondered long and deeply on the problem of free-will and determinism. Unlike Edwards, he believes in the freedom of man; but he considers that this freedom resides solely in the power we have of *not* acting, of suspending our choice until we have given ourselves time to discriminate and weigh the conflicting motives or impulses that present themselves. The will that is free is purely a will to refrain; and this is the inner check. Dr. More is able to draw an interesting parallel between this power of suspense and the 'divine sign' of Socrates, which, as readers of the *Apology* will remember, always manifested itself negatively as a warning against some particular course of action. One cannot help feeling that he pushes the parallel a little too far when he actually equates the two things (*Platonism*, p. 151); but it is at least highly suggestive.

At this point, however, a very serious difficulty arises. Platonism has always appeared, both to its friends and its enemies, as pre-eminently a philosophy of affirmation. It has been embraced or attacked because it claims to give a positive knowledge of spiritual realities, especially of the supreme values of beauty, truth and goodness; nor can it be questioned that this is its true character. Unless we can somehow rise above the world of time and sense to a knowledge of the eternal world of Ideas, Platonism is nonsense; and those who hold that such knowledge is impossible very properly reject Platonism. How, then, can a philosopher who teaches that our one contact with the eternal and divine is through a bare power of inhibition—which,

the Greek tradition, 'if religion is not to disappear, and leave our existence dismally impoverished.'

If philosophers, like other people, are to be known by their fruits, there must assuredly have been a strain of dualism in the mind of Socrates; for the schools that traced their descent from him always fell inevitably into opposing camps, Cynics and Cyrenaics, Stoics and Epicureans, Neoplatonists and Sceptics. The devotees of pleasure and of virtue, the worshippers of the One and the doubters of everything, alike claimed him as their spiritual ancestor; and each sect could produce evidence in support of its claim. The explanation offered by Dr. More is both simple and convincing. Socrates, by questioning his inmost experience in obedience to the Delphic oracle, had arrived at two seemingly contradictory theses: scepticism and a 'spiritual affirmation.' On the one hand, by his famous dialectic, he had shown that there is nothing stable or certain in any of our concepts, and that the wisest man is he who knows his own ignorance. On the other, he affirmed with unshaken confidence before his judges and in the chamber of execution that it is eternally well with the good man in life and in death; or, as he puts it in the *Gorgias* with a touch of innocent sophistry: 'He who is "doing well" must be blessed and happy, and the bad man who is doing ill must be miserable.' There was still a third Socratic thesis, the famous paradox which, identifying virtue with knowledge, declared that no one ever does wrong voluntarily. The knowledge in question is a knowledge of what actions will produce pleasure and pain. The man who possesses it cannot conceivably act against it and deliberately choose the more painful course of action. We are apt to minimise this utilitarian or hedonistic aspect of Socrates' teaching because Plato lays little stress upon it; but it undoubtedly formed an integral part of his doctrine.

Plato accepted these three theses from his master, and held firmly to *all* of them. Each of the other schools fastened on some one of the three exclusively and worked it out to the bitter end, achieving thereby a specious appearance of consistency, but falling in the long run into more fatal contradictions through attempting to ignore the initial contradiction which lies at the core of all human experience.

The Socratic scepticism was developed by Plato into the Dialectic, which reduced all knowledge of phenomena to the level of mere opinion, honeycombed with contradictions and never attaining to reality, but floating about in a world of 'becoming,' midway between being and not-being. The spiritual affirmation was, with Socrates, little more than a peculiarly impressive statement of the truism that virtue is its own reward. It became in Plato's hands a key that opened a door into the world of Ideas.

Jowett's bland optimism; but are we so far from Plato, with his eternal insistence on the antithesis between knowledge and opinion, being and becoming, Ideas and sensation? Dr. More insists again and again that the paradox is insoluble; and he condemns all metaphysical systems without exception, just because they seek in vain to get rid of one or other side of the contradiction, in a hopeless chase after the will-o'-the-wisp of ultimate unity. Indeed, he draws an absolute distinction between philosophy and metaphysics, using the latter term only in a derogatory sense and confining the former to 'theory as concerned with actual life and as resting on a definite experience of the soul.' Philosophy, in brief, is the fulfilment of the Delphic command, 'Know thyself.' Metaphysics is the bastard offspring of what Bacon called the *intellectus sibi permissus*, reason run amuck and setting up its own 'absolutes,' phantoms created in its own image, as objective realities.

It must be admitted that this position involves some startling consequences. It implies, for instance, that Plato himself was not a metaphysician, except, as it were, by accident and in his weaker moments. But the proposition that Plato's philosophy is essentially dualistic is undoubtedly the crowning difficulty, at least for those who learnt their Platonism at Oxford, or from writers of the school to which Green and Caird and Bosanquet belonged. Such interpreters are, it is true, obliged to acknowledge that neither Plato nor Aristotle succeeded wholly in overcoming the dualism of form and matter from which they started; and that neither, therefore, quite attained the goal of a pure idealism. But this failure is regarded by them as a fall from grace, something to be apologised for and, so far as possible, explained away; whereas to Dr. More it is the crucial proof of Plato's transcendent greatness that, however he was tempted at times to launch out into the vast inane of metaphysical monism, he always swung himself safely back on to the firm ground of philosophy. On this view 'the peculiar form of dualism developed by Plato from the teaching of his master Socrates' was the kernel of the Greek tradition, the *depositum fidei*, the orthodox faith, from which the philosophies of Epicurus, Zeno, Plotinus and the rest, were heretical aberrations. Each of these systems attempted in its own way to get over the dualism inherent in the nature of things by forcing our experience into the Procrustean bed of reason. Christianity, on the contrary, by boldly asserting the paradox of the union of two natures in the Person of Christ, remained true to the tradition. It was because Athanasius maintained this paradox with unfaltering constancy against the world that the world learned to say '*Vicisti Galilæe.*' It may well have to learn the same lesson over again, and from the same source,

extent, in ethics and politics. The direction of his spiritual pilgrimage may be determined from the fact that he started with an almost negative philosophy, tempered by a firm belief in the moral law and a reverence (which he has never quite shaken off) for the mystics and sages of India; while he has ended as a fervent advocate of the theology of the great Greek fathers. Socrates, Plato, and Athanasius are to him the three greatest names in the history of thought. It is not only piquant, but also comely and reviving, to know that such an intellectual journey has been taken by a compatriot and a contemporary of Sinclair Lewis and Theodore Dreiser, and by one, moreover, who made his name as a journalist. What is more to the point, in making that journey Dr. More has 'blazed a trail' which is well worth following by all who seek a way of escape from the chaos and sterility to which science and pseudo-science have brought so many who trusted blindly in their guidance.

It is one of the few remaining certainties, amounting almost to a Law of Thought, that anyone who goes about to establish 'the eternal verities of the spirit' on a philosophical basis will be brought back, first or last, to Plato. You may accept the great truths of religion and morality on faith, you may receive them from tradition, and verify them, to some extent, by personal experience, but once you start to reason them out you have entered on a path which will lead you either to the deserts of scepticism or to the groves of Academus. What makes the study of Dr. More's thought peculiarly interesting is that he turned to Plato with a preconception, or a first principle, which seems, at least to those nurtured in a different atmosphere, to be at first sight decidedly un-Platonic; and, further, that he finds in the Christian dogma of the Incarnation the only true and proper 'development' (to use Newman's language) of the original Platonic doctrine. It will be seen, therefore, that his interpretation of Platonism is likely to contain elements of novelty, if not of paradox; but the appearance of novelty, as he would urge, may be due only to his revival of an older and sounder tradition, and the paradox may, after all, be inherent in the subject.

Dr. More's first principle is Dualism. He believes that there is in man a fundamental cleavage, a contradiction that admits of no reconciliation. On the one hand there is the incessant flux of impressions and desires; on the other, what he calls 'the inner check,' which is essentially a power of inhibition or negation. This dualism meets us everywhere in many shapes—mind and matter, good and evil, spirit and flesh, the one and the many. It is 'the last irrational fact, the report behind which we cannot go . . . the reality which only stands out the more clearly the more it is questioned.' Certainly we are far enough here from

AN AMERICAN PLATONIST

THE most recent presentation of Platonism on a large scale that has reached the educated public in England, other than classical scholars, was that of Dr Jowett, as given in his translation and the introductions to the several Dialogues From one of the latter I have culled the following sentence. 'Good and evil are relative terms, and degrees of evil are merely the negative aspect of degrees of good' That is, in a nut-shell, the neo-Hegelian version of Plato, and it was, at any rate until lately, the authorised version in this country. Some would perhaps bring forward the name of Dr Inge as that of a later and more influential doctor of the Platonic school, and he has certainly written much about Plato, but he is confessedly more interested in the Neo-Platonists; and further, in so far as he is true to his master, Plotinus, he would indorse Jowett's view of the nature of evil Such a view is opposed to experience and common sense, as it is to traditional Christianity, but it might, for all that, be ultimately true, and it might also have been held by Plato To traverse both these last propositions, in the interests of a sound philosophy of Humanism, is one main object of a work on *The Greek Tradition* in five volumes[1] by Dr Paul Elmer More, of Princeton University

By way of introduction to English readers it may be as well to state that Dr More has been for nearly twenty-five years among the most prominent of American critics. He has been literary editor of the *Independent* and the *New York Evening Post*, and editor of the *Nation*. Besides the work under consideration he has produced no less than twelve volumes of critical essays, in the course of which he has advanced steadily to his present philosophical position, in an unremitting search for 'standards' founded on what he calls the eternal verities of the spirit. Of late years he has been associated with his friend Professor Babbitt, of Harvard, in a crusade on behalf of Humanism against the Naturalism which is dominant in art and literature and, to some

[1] (i.) *Platonism*. (ii.) *The Religion of Plato*. (iii.) *Hellenistic Philosophies*. (iv.) *The Christ of the New Testament* (v.) *Christ the Word*. Dr More's literary criticism is contained in eleven volumes of *Shelburne Essays*, and one of *New Shelburne Essays*.

left, the groups are being absorbed into industries elsewhere. To-day further extensive wheat-growing areas comprising millions of acres are being opened up for settlement. The mining outlook has greatly improved. Following on experiments carried out at Wiluna which disclosed a large body of payable ore, the Government is about to construct a railway from Meekatharra. It is estimated that the Wiluna field will add considerably to the State's gold production. There is a free university that lately was enriched by a private endowment from the estate of the first chancellor, the late Sir Winthrop Hackett, to the extent of over 600,000*l*.

This year the State of Western Australia is commemorating the modest beginnings of settlement in June 1829, and is rejoicing in its present prosperity and bright prospects. The population remains very sparse for the area. There is only one person for every two and a half square miles of territory, and Western Australia is capable of supporting, not one million of people only, but ten or twenty millions without overcrowding. Australia's vast unoccupied western territory is one of the last of the world's empty spaces that remain to be filled, a great reserve where the British race has ample scope to develop and expand.

JOHN W. KIRWAN

having as engineer-in-chief Mr. C. Y. O'Connor, who was responsible for the construction of a spacious harbour at Fremantle. The great need of the goldfields was fresh water. At a gathering at the mining centre of Kanowna the mayor, Mr. Nat Harper, suggested the pumping of water in pipes from the well-watered parts of the State to the goldfields Sir John Forrest, who was present, submitted the idea to Mr O'Connor, who, with his great vision, saw that it was practicable The construction of the wonderfully successful Coolgardie water scheme followed. It was capable of pumping 5,000,000 gallons a day over a distance of 330 miles in cast-iron pipes The population, which in 1890 was but 46,290, during the following twenty years advanced to 276,832 The colony that had been regarded for years as the Cinderella of the Australian group was through the agency of the gold mining industry raised from poverty, stagnation, and obscurity to prosperity, progress, and prominence

In 1901 Western Australia became a State of the newly established Commonwealth, but the main work of the development of the country's resources remained with the State Government After producing an annual output of gold that for some twenty years ranged from 3,000,000*l* a year to 7,000,000*l*, there came evidence that a serious decline in the production was probable. It is not that there is not an abundance of extensive deposits of fair average value, but, whilst the cost of production has increased enormously since the war, gold is the only commodity that has not increased in price – in fact, it has decreased, inasmuch as the value of an ounce of gold to-day buys less of the world's goods than ever before Various State Governments have striven strenuously to encourage agricultural development in order to make up for the decline in gold mining Mainly through the instrumentality of Sir James Mitchell, the eastern wheat belt was opened up The area under wheat in 1908 was only 279,000 acres, but it is estimated that this year it will be over 3,000,000 acres Fruit-growing is rapidly creating a large export trade Apples, oranges, grapes and other excellent fruit are produced in the greatest variety The forest wealth is considerable The annual production of sawn and hewn timber amounts to some millions sterling in value, and much is done in the way of reafforestation. Within the past few years the great value of such fodder plants as subterranean clover and lupin has come to be recognised, to the advantage of wool growers and butter producers The group settlements system established some years ago for the promotion of speedy settlement by co-operative effort of the rich forest lands has not proved as immediately successful as anticipated, but a fair percentage of the settlers are making good. Migrants who have

was described as a mountain of gold, and looked like one. The prospectors took about 12,000*l.* worth of ore from it, and then a sale was effected for 147,000*l.* In that case also it proved to be a mere surface show, and little or nothing remained for the new owners. On the other hand, the Great Boulder and adjoining mines when put on the market were generally regarded as wild cats. Supposedly good judges warned their friends against taking shares, but the group later developed into the world-famed Golden Mile, and yielded gold to the value of over 130,000,000*l.*, and is still not by any means exhausted of its wealth.

The gold discoveries brought to Western Australia a remarkably fine type of men. Not only did large numbers come from Eastern Australia, which just then was suffering from a depression, several banks having closed their doors, but also they brought enterprising and adventurous spirits from all parts of Australia. They were young men full of energy and enthusiasm, and many of them have since made their mark, some in Western Australia and others elsewhere throughout the world. Many of these men are prominent to-day as financiers and administrators, mining men and parliamentarians, scientists and captains of industry. Herbert Hoover, now President of the United States, spent three years as a mining engineer on the Western Australian goldfields. He is well remembered as brilliant and energetic, and no doubt during the very active life he led there he learned much that assisted him towards the success he subsequently achieved. He took a keen interest in the proceedings of the Coolgardie Chamber of Mines, and possibly that was the first public body in whose deliberations he participated. At the opposite end of the social scale the notorious murderer Deeming was an engineer on Fraser's mine, at Southern Cross, when the long arm of the law found him. He was arrested, brought to Melbourne, put on his trial, proved to have murdered several wives, found guilty, and in due course hanged. The goldfields community consisted indeed of a curious mixture of humanity, but speaking generally they were mostly of a high standard intellectually, morally and physically. They were law-abiding, and maintained order amongst themselves, and there was a singular freedom from scenes of disorder. The majority became permanent residents. They brought to the colony a valuable accession of new life and advanced ideas that helped to make it one of the most progressive and prosperous parts of Australia.

The population and the revenue advanced by leaps and bounds. Self-government had been granted in 1890, and the first Premier, Sir John (afterwards Lord) Forrest, pursued a progressive policy. Railways were extended throughout the whole of the eastern goldfields and the Murchison. The colony was fortunate in

[illegible], was interrupted. Not realising that the message was unfinished, he later hastily signed it without reading it, and handed it to the attendant to be despatched immediately. In due course the telegram reached Government House, and read 'I have the honour to report to your Excellency that this morning a boy picked up a stone to throw at a bird, R—— R——, Resident Magistrate.' That was all this cryptic message contained. The puzzled Governor promptly replied 'And what happened to the bird ?'

The Yilgarn and Pilbarra goldfields were proclaimed in 1888 and the Murchison goldfields a couple of years later It was not until the discovery of the Coolgardie goldfields in 1892 and the subsequent opening up of the richness of the surrounding districts that the attention of the mining and speculative public of the world was focussed on the development of Western Australia's auriferous wealth Bayley and Ford, two prospectors who had Southern Cross as their base, were probably the first to discover alluvial gold at Fly Flat, Coolgardie, but there is good reason to believe that the reef that became known as Bayley's Reward was actually discovered by three young men named Talbot, Fosser, and Baker. These three had been working on a mine at Southern Cross, when a strike occurred and they became unemployed. Inexperienced though they were in prospecting, they decided to follow the tracks of Bayley and Ford, and so reached Fly Flat. Accidentally they discovered a rich reef outcropping and broke from it quantities of ore showing heavy gold The story goes that the pegs of a prospecting area in the vicinity were shifted to include the reef on the plea that they were working on other men's ground, and they were forced to surrender it The production of a revolver helped to emphasise the demand

A period followed in Western Australia's career that is crowded with romance and sensations The auriferous areas were foodless. The only fresh-water supplies obtainable were in rockholes, few and far between and containing but limited quantities. The lure of gold caused men to venture far and wide into the trackless wilderness, sometimes with disastrous results To-day stockmen and surveyors commonly come across white skeletons, all that remains of intrepid gold seekers who lost their way in the bush and perished of thirst

Rich finds were reported almost daily. Often they were not as rich as they appeared A valuable outcrop known as the Londonderry yielded in a few days some 5000 ozs of gold. It was sold for 180,000*l*. and a sixth interest and then floated into a company for 700,000*l*, but when the show was investigated it was found that the rich ore was all on the surface and what remained was practically worthless. Another mine, the Wealth of Nations,

Australia that long before the discovery of gold was officially reported it was found by a convict, one of a gang, when engaged in opening up country considerably east of Northam. The discovery was treated lightly, and in fact concealed by the authorities. One of the reasons given for the concealment was the fear that if alluvial gold was found in great quantities the convicts would become excited, and there was not a sufficient force to control them, especially as even the men guarding them would be affected by the gold fever and go off to the diggings. Chaos might then ensue. Residents of high repute confidently testify to the accuracy of the story. The gold discoveries of Ballarat and Bendigo, in Victoria, aroused public attention, and whilst hundreds of men from the west went to try their luck there, others in the colony began prospecting. In 1862 the Government engaged E. H. Hargraves, a mining man of high repute, to prospect for six months. At the end of that time he reported that gold in any quantity would never be found in Western Australia, a prediction that subsequently was found to be fallacious. He read a paper before the Royal Geological Society, London, and it was accepted by many geologists of experience that, despite an occasional 'colour' reported as having been found, the western third of the Australian continent was non-auriferous.

The first gold rush of consequence was to the Kimberley district in the north, a tropical locality that at a later date was the scene of Louis de Rougemont's supposed adventures. Gold was reported officially to have been found there. About 500 ounces had been discovered when a goldfield was proclaimed. Thousands of men flocked from all parts of Australia; a few of them were suitably equipped, but most of them were ill prepared for the work before them. The field failed to come up to expectations. Water had to be carted many miles, in the absence of proper sanitary precautions disease broke out amongst the miners, and eventually the work had to be abandoned. In all the district produced only about 70,000*l.* worth of gold. The rush had, however, the good effect of bringing from the eastern States experienced prospectors who continued the search for gold. They were ignorant of science and knew nothing of geologists' opinions, and even if they did would have treated them with contempt. Finds were made that created temporary excitement. In a north-west township a stone was picked up by a boy to throw at a bird. He noticed the stone was yellow, and it was found on investigation to be a nugget of gold. The local resident magistrate, in common with the rest of the people of the township, lost his head in the excitement. He rushed to the telegraph station, and when writing a telegram to the Governor, Sir Frederick

aboriginal, actually travelled overland along the coast to Adelaide. It was an amazing feat of courage and endurance. He deserved, perhaps, the freedom he sought because of what he had accomplished, but in Adelaide he was recognised and brought back to Western Australia by sea. He lived to become a well-to-do and highly respected business man of Perth, and died some years ago, having reached a considerable age. Indeed, many of the convicts who remained in Western Australia redeemed their past and by industry and enterprise acquired wealth and became useful citizens Numbers of the convicts were Irish political prisoners, idealists whom millions in Ireland and America spoke of as patriots Many of the men engaged in the Wexford Rebellion of 1798 and the later troubles of Robert Emmett's time were sent to New South Wales, whilst several of those concerned in the Young Ireland movement of 1848, including William Smith O'Brien and John Mitchell, were sent to Tasmania, but convicted Fenians of 1867 were transported to Western Australia. As John Mitchell and others escaped from Tasmania with the connivance of local residents and assisted by American sympathisers, equally successful escapes from Western Australia were organised a generation later The most sensational of the escapes of Fenian prisoners was effected through John Collins, who came to Perth and represented himself as an American tourist travelling for pleasure. He was received in a friendly way and became popular. In particular, he cultivated the acquaintance of convict officials and police authorities Collins was a prominent member of the Irish Republican Brotherhood, his real name being John R. Breslin, and at one time he was chief hospital warder in the Irish prison from which the Fenian leader, James Stephens, escaped. When Breslin was hobnobbing with Western Australian officials there was a reward offered from the British authorities for information leading to his arrest. An American vessel, the *Catalpa*, was employed to cruise off the coast, and a number of the Fenian prisoners succeeded in getting on board A steamer was armed and sent out by the Western Australian authorities to demand the return of the escaped men Captain Antony, of the *Catalpa*, ran up the American flag She was outside territorial waters. Nothing could be done, and the *Catalpa* sailed away One of the Fenians who escaped was John Boyle O'Reilly, who subsequently became well known as a writer in the United States. He was the author of a book entitled *Moondyne Joe*, the story of a convict in Western Australia who escaped into the interior, lived with the blacks, found gold and became wealthy. There was in it the prophetic suggestion of the great gold deposits which were subsequently discovered

There is a story current among old residents of Western

to the presumption of servants, who in a new country acted as though they felt that Jack was as good as his master. Complaints were also common of the drinking habits of the labouring class. Without labour development was practically at a standstill. Originally many settlers were influenced in going to Western Australia because it was distinctly stipulated that no convicts would be sent there. Two years after the arrival of the first settlers a few residents proposed the introduction of convicts, but the idea met with general opposition, and even excited indignation. A change in public opinion gradually came about as to the advisableness of making the colony a penal settlement.

Finally, in response to the request of the majority of the residents, Western Australia in 1849 was constituted a penal colony. During the previous twenty years progress had been slow, and the total European population had only advanced to about 5000. There were but 7240 acres under crop, of which about half was wheat, and the colony had 134,000 sheep, 12,000 cattle, 2635 horses, and 3120 pigs. In 1850 the first convicts arrived. In a despatch the Secretary of State declared the intention of the Home Government to send out free persons equal in number to the convicts. Accordingly, with each batch of convicts were sent a number of pensioners to act as a guard, and the pensioners brought with them their wives and families, thus making an acceptable addition to the little community of free people. The pensioners were given grants of land, and by other inducements large numbers of them were persuaded to become permanent residents. An immediate improvement in the colony's affairs resulted from the presence of convicts. It meant a considerable expenditure of public money, a vigorous public works policy, the construction of roads and bridges, the erection of Government buildings that were an ornament to the capital, an improved market for local produce, and better means of communication with England. There was also an increase in the number of free immigrants. In the eighteen years that the colony was used as a penal settlement the total number of malefactors sent there was 9731, all males. The idea of despatching female convicts was talked of, but not proceeded with. Dr Battye in his valuable history of Western Australia says that the passage of time has proved that whatever moral taint existed was merely evanescent in character. It cannot be questioned that, as he points out, crime, serious or otherwise, has never been an outstanding feature in Western Australia.

Speaking generally, the convicts were well behaved. Now and again there were attempts of individuals to escape, but rarely were they successful. One of the most remarkable was that of a prisoner who disappeared into the bush and, living the life of an

was followed and watched from a distance by the natives. It is a waterless country, and Eyre was seen by them in the early mornings going round with a sponge and collecting dew from the leaves of bushes or wherever else it rested. They were waiting for him to die of thirst. Unconscious of the vigilant eyes that were ever fixed on him from the vegetation of distant sandhills Eyre, with little food and little water, struggled on for days and days, covering hundreds of miles of the dreary coast country. When almost at the last extremity and he had abandoned hope, he awoke one morning and to his surprise and delight saw a whaler at anchor in one of the bays of the bight. Help was readily accorded to the explorer, and after he had rested and replenished his supplies he was able to complete what was the first, and also the most remarkable, of the overland journeys across the continent.

After the colony had been some six or seven years established a general spirit of despondency came over the settlers. They were not getting rich. In fact, in actual money they were much poorer than when they landed. There was no access to any outside market for what they produced, and a system of barter existed amongst them. The educational facilities for their children were very inadequate. The day-dreams of success that the settlers indulged in before they left England had not materialised. There was no prospect of their going back to visit relatives and display the reward of their enterprise and courage in having bravely faced life in a new land. Many had indeed returned, but they did so with a feeling that they had made a mistake and that the colony had failed badly. They had left for ever. Those who remained in Western Australia were mostly there because they had not the means to get away. Many were in a state of despair, and the community was drifting into the condition of 'the world forgetting, by the world forgot.' In 1836 Edward Gibbon Wakefield, before a committee of the House of Commons on waste lands, spoke of Western Australia as follows:

> That colony which was founded with a general hope in this country, amongst very intelligent persons of all descriptions, that it would be a most prosperous colony, has all but perished. It has not quite perished, but the population is a great deal less than the number of emigrants; it has been a diminishing population since its foundation. The greater part of the capital that was taken out (and that was very large) has disappeared altogether, and a great proportion of the labourers taken out (and they were a very considerable number) have emigrated a second time to Van Diemen's Land and New South Wales.[1]

Difficulty was experienced by the colonists in getting labour. Indentured labour brought from England did not prove satisfactory. Letters written by settlers contain frequent references

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whole party were quite friendly, when the elder of the boys suddenly and treacherously shot Yagan in the back, and was himself immediately killed by the other natives. There was but little more trouble with the aborigines, though a year or so later a military expedition had to be sent against one of the tribes What became known as 'The Battle of Pinjaira' ensued. Numbers of the blacks were killed, but the soldiers did not escape unscathed. The white casualties included the leader, Captain Ellis, who succumbed to his wounds As is commonly the case when dealing with savage races, the policy of leniency as first adopted was misinterpreted by the natives as due to fear, and so compelled the taking of stern measures After that, though individual settlers were occasionally murdered, the natives never became really troublesome

The earliest explorations of the settlers were of the sources of the Canning, Swan, and Helena Rivers that were found to rise in the Darling Range a short distance from the sea Later the Darling Range was crossed It was regarded as a wonderful achievement when in February 1831 Captain Bannister and party made their way overland from Perth to St George's Sound, despite many dangers and great difficulties Some years later valuable exploratory work was done by Captain (afterwards Sir) George Grey, who thus commenced his distinguished career as an Empire builder Whilst it is true that Western Australia is part of a continent yet until the completion of the trans-Australia railway in 1917 the community settled there were as completely isolated as if they lived on an island Many hundreds of miles of arid, uninhabited, and inhospitable country separated them from the people of Eastern Australia The first to travel by land between Eastern and Western Australia was E J Eyre, afterwards Governor of Jamaica Leaving Adelaide with an exploration expedition in 1841 with the intention of examining Lake Torrens, he was compelled to abandon his intention through shortage of water He sent back the majority of his party, and then started on the bold, indeed reckless, attempt of crossing the continent accompanied by only one white companion, Baxter, and three blacks They travelled along the coast When near a place now known as Eyre's Sandpatch, on the shores of the Great Australian Bight, two of the natives murdered Baxter and went away with most of the provisions The writer when in that locality many years ago was told by one of the oldest of the very few European residents that blacks who remembered the affair informed him that both the murderers when returning eastwards to their own country were themselves killed by tribes who had found them trespassing on their hunting grounds. All the movements of the surviving white man and his solitary black companion

[illegible]. For a time they were friendly and were rewarded with gifts of food and such delicacies as sugar, previously unknown to them. They soon degenerated into mere beggars, hung round settlements, abandoned hunting and fishing, and when kind-hearted settlers found that it was impossible to go on feeding them as it would be too great a tax on their slender resources, they became thieves. Food was stolen and stock killed. This led to bad feeling Outrages and murders of settlers by blacks led to reprisals and counter-reprisals A body of natives became bold enough in 1830 to attack Perth Sir James Stirling proposed bringing a number of Hottentots from South Africa to act as police to keep the natives in check, a proposal that was never given effect to The Australian aborigine is of a very low order of intelligence, but amongst the natives at that time was one of those rare exceptions, a leader or chief named Yagan He was young, of exceptionally fine physique, commanding presence, absolutely fearless, and possessed of influence amongst his fellows. He was known to have participated in several attacks on settlers. When he was captured in 1832 the Executive Council decided to imprison him on Carnac Island in charge of a well-known philanthropist whose mission was to endeavour to persuade him to help to bring about friendship between the two races Yagan was interested, listened attentively to all that was suggested, asked questions, engaged in friendly arguments, and after some time the good man reported that he felt he was creating a favourable impression Vigilance was relaxed. Yagan, with some other imprisoned natives, escaped in a boat to the mainland and joined his tribe in the wilds of the bush This achievement enhanced his reputation amongst his followers He became more troublesome and more daring than ever Finally, he and two other native leaders, Midgegooroo and Munday, were outlawed and a reward offered for them dead or alive Settlers continued to be murdered. Midgegooroo was captured and publicly shot in front of the Perth gaol Yagan, whom contemporary writers referred to as 'the Wallace of the Aborigines,' led a hunted existence, but acts of chivalry are recorded to his credit. He is said to have helped to save the burning home of a settler whilst there was a price on his head. A certain amount of sympathy was felt for him even amongst those who suffered from his depredations. Whilst outlawed he travelled with a bodyguard, and occasionally came into contact with Europeans.

George Fletcher Moore relates how he met him. They argued about the respective rights and the wrongs of the whites and the blacks, and Moore, who was a lawyer, admits that Yagan had the best of the argument. Finally, Yagan and some members of the tribe were in the company of two Europeans, boys. The

borne with cheerfulness and overcome with proper spirit. A beginning was made with cultivation. It was found that vegetables, corn, vines, and various fruit trees grew luxuriously. Cattle, pigs, and other stock flourished. True, trouble was occasioned through the stock wandering into inaccessible swamp country and becoming wild, a difficulty that continued until fences were erected. Gradually gardens were made, better homes erected, tracks were cut through the bush, and improved means of communication established by land and water between the members of the little community. A church was established, the Legislative Council and the Executive Council were instituted, and a form of government came into existence. In addition to the Perth and Fremantle communities, settlements were formed at Albany, Augusta, and Busselton on the coast. There were grave mistakes of administration from the outset. One was the granting of huge areas of land in accessible localities that either were not at all or only nominally utilised. This land was kept locked up by the holders in the hope of settlement increasing its value. New arrivals were thus compelled to go further back and work their land at a disadvantage.

Far distant as the settlers were from the great world, they endeavoured to keep up old customs and ceremonies. State and dignity were observed at meetings of the Legislative Council. One member, George Fletcher Moore, in his published diary describes how the members attended wearing either full naval and military uniform or the official dress of their respective offices. There was quite a display of swords, gold braid and lace. Even quarrels were settled by duelling, which had not then disappeared from the British Isles. Three years after the foundation of the colony rivalry in the literary staff of a local periodical culminated in a formal challenge. A duel with pistols followed between two of the contributors, a Scotch lawyer named Clark and a merchant named Johnstone. Johnstone was wounded and died within twelve hours. To-day in the library of Parliament House, Perth, there is a small four-page leaflet in manuscript closely and neatly written. It bears the heading '*Western Australian Chronicle and Perth Gazette*, 25 April, 1831.' The price is given at 3s. 6d. per number. It is a copy of the first newspaper issued, but the publication did not survive more than a few issues. It was a successor to this paper, the *Inquisitor*, that brought about the fatal duel, and the duel was evidently equally fatal to the *Inquisitor*, which soon after also came to a sudden end.

Few in number though the aborigines were—one estimate was that there were not more than 1000 within a radius of 100 miles from Perth—they came to be a source of annoyance and some

of the Colonial Chaplain, Rev. J. B. Wittenoom, and of the Government Botanist, James Drummond, and of many others of the early settlers, occupy positions of considerable consequence at the present time. Even in our democratic days the social status of descendants of early settlers has been well maintained. Captain Stirling, as Lieutenant-Governor of the proposed settlement, sailed from Plymouth on February 6, 1829, in the *Parmelia*, a vessel of 449 tons In addition to officials he had on board the first band of colonists with their families The *Parmelia's* passengers were carefully selected, and in addition to those mentioned included a storekeeper, three artificers, and two doctors (one of the doctors was accidentally drowned with his eldest daughter when the vessel called at Cape Town) H M S *Sulphur* was despatched with a detachment of the 63rd Regiment for the security and protection of the colonists The *Parmelia* arrived at her destination on June 1, and a week later the *Sulphur*, which was a slow sailer, put in an appearance

The new arrivals landed and occupied Garden Island It was not until some weeks later that they transferred to the mainland, and the foundations were formally laid of the towns of Fremantle, at the mouth of the Swan, and Perth, the proposed capital, on one of the picturesque lake-like expansions of the river. The two towns were some twelve miles apart. The *Parmelia* was followed by other vessels that landed groups of settlers and supplies Captain Stirling in a despatch reported that the total permanent residents of the colony at the end of 1829 was 850.

The settlers had a terrific struggle For many months practically all their subsistence came from overseas Fish and game were plentiful, but there was so much work to do they could afford but little time to indulge in the sport of getting either. In those days of sailing ships there were long and tiresome waits for the arrival of vessels with necessaries and with news from home Little was known of the land, the climate, the seasons, and the capabilities of the soil in the way of production Knowledge of the country had to be learned slowly, and often mistakes had been made that involved serious losses as well as bitter disappointments Seed that had been sown produced nothing The unexplored and unknown interior was associated with doubts and even vague fears It was a 'Swiss Family Robinson' existence. Life was not easy or happy. The only homes were rude shelters Many of the migrants came from county families. Their wives and children had been tenderly reared, and they themselves were ill fitted for the rough work of pioneers. It was the middle of the southern hemisphere winter when they arrived. Captain Stirling speaks of exposure to boisterous winds and rain, but adds that privations were

and the benefits of water carriage that the river conferred Flinders in 1814 had applied the name 'Australia' to the whol continent, and it was generally adopted. Little or no notic was taken of a proposal of Captain Stirling that Western Australi should be called 'Hesperia' as indicating a country lookin towards the setting sun. Perhaps, in relation to a new land, i was thought that the setting sun was less worthy of notice tha the rising sun, with its call to work.

General Darling pressed the Home Government to establish a settlement as soon as possible The Colonial Office referred th reports to the Admiralty, where the idea was coldly received The Secretary of the Admiralty expressed the opinion that eve if the western part of Australia should fall into the hands o France or America it would be a long series of years before the could give our other colonies much annoyance ' Soon after ther was a reconstruction of the British Cabinet which caused a chang in the Colonial Office, and also, happily, a change of policy Th new Under Secretary for the Colonies, Mr Horace Twiss, was personal friend of Captain Stirling, who in a letter to him describe Western Australia as the land out of all that I have seen i various quarters of the world that possesses the greatest natura attractions He urged settlement, as otherwise it would b taken by the French About this time proposals were made by British syndicate of which the prime mover was Mr Thoma Peel, a relative of Sir Robert Peel to send out and settle 10,00 British people in the neighbourhood of Swan River An area o 4,000,000 acres was asked for The Government thought th scheme too ambitious, and made proposals for its modification The syndicate would only be allowed 1,000,000 acres Conse quently the project was abandoned, as the members thought tha in these circumstances it could not be a success Mr Pee disagreed with his fellow members and continued negotiations o his own account Other similar proposals were advanced, bu were not favoured by the Government

A warship in charge of Captain Fremantle visited the Swa River under instructions, and on May 2, 1829, a party wa landed and formal possession taken of the west coast of Ne Holland The Government had also officially authorised Cap tain Stirling to proceed with a scheme of settlement This h did. He secured stores and all necessary supplies, also selecte civil officers to assist in the control of the colony The descen dants of many of those officials to-day constitute families o consequence. The grandson of Mr Peter Brown, who was chose in England to be the first Colonial Secretary, was a few years ag Colonial Secretary in the Government of Sir James Mitchell Descendants of the Surveyor-General, John Septimus Roe, als

[illegible] of Russia. That Australia possessed immense agricultural and mineral wealth was recognised. Explorers had returned from the interior with accounts of many hundreds of thousands of square miles of rich lands awaiting settlement; Captain McArthur had proved that the climate and natural grasses were well adapted for sheep and had taken the first consignment of wool to England; and large seams of excellent coal had been discovered at Newcastle. Various French expeditions to explore the Australian coasts, especially to the south and west, gave rise to suspicions. Napoleon had cast covetous eyes towards the new continent, and it was clear that French ambitions in that direction were not extinguished. During many subsequent years the eyes of French statesmen were kept fixed on Australia. Lord John Russell, who was Secretary of State for the Colonies from 1839 to 1841, records that during his term of office a gentleman attached to the French Government called upon him and asked what part of Australia was claimed by Great Britain. The firm reply was, 'The whole.'

Finally, the Secretary of State, Lord Bathurst, sent instructions to Sydney to the Governor, General Darling, which resulted in the occupation on Christmas Day, 1826, of King George's Sound (near Albany, at the extreme southern end of Western Australia) by a detachment of soldiers under Major Lockyer together with twenty-four convicts. It was evidently merely a military station; no attempt was made towards establishing a permanent settlement. For some reason never clearly explained, the troops and convicts after a brief term were withdrawn. Captain James Stirling, of H.M.S. *Success*, whilst at Sydney had sent a letter to General Darling dated December 14, 1826, suggesting the necessity of immediately seizing a possession on the western side of the continent near Swan River. He pressed the importance of doing so as 'we have one French vessel of war with objects not clearly understood and one American vessel of war also in the neighbourhood seeking a place for settlement.' General Darling, in a despatch to Lord Bathurst, reported that he had agreed to Captain Stirling's suggestion as it was important that 'so advantageous a position should not be taken advantage of by the French.'

Captain Stirling during March and April 1827 explored the south-west coast of Western Australia. He examined the Swan River, on which Perth, the beautifully situated capital, now stands. The French some twenty-six years previously had gone up the river and had reported on it favourably. Stirling also was agreeably impressed with the locality as most suitable for settlement because of the superiority of the soil, the comparatively open nature of the country, the presence of fresh-water springs,

and, arrayed in them, Cornelis and his chief accomplices strutted about and boasted of the wonderful deeds they were about to accomplish. Attempts to refloat the *Batavia* failed. Prior to the mutiny the survivors had spread over three islands. On one of these islands a soldier, Webbye Hays, organised resistance, and some survivors of the massacres on the other islands escaped to him. Hays entrenched his party, which numbered forty-five men, and successfully beat off various assaults of the mutineers. By a ruse he captured Cornelius In the meantime Pelsart achieved what seemed almost impossible After an amazing voyage he reached Java He had been absent three months, when he returned with a relief ship The vessel was sighted and boarded by Hays, who conveyed the surprising news to Pelsart that the would-be pirates were then on their way to seize the ship by stratagem Some of the mutineers were allowed to come on board and were seized Soon after the rest surrendered. Cornelius and others prominent amongst them had their hands chopped off and were then executed. Two of the conspirators met with possibly a worse fate though it was meant for clemency They were set on shore on the mainland, and so far as is known were the first white inhabitants of Western Australia Dutch vessels sent later to the locality were instructed to grant passages home to these two criminals but they were never heard of again They must have perished of thirst or have fallen victims to the savagery of the blacks

The first Briton to visit Western Australia was Dampier, a scion of a well-known Somerset family That fascinating adventurer, buccaneer, explorer, scientist and author twice visited the western shores of New Holland about the end of the seventeenth century He was the first to describe kangaroos, of which he quaintly tells us 'As to their legs, for these they have very short forelegs, but go jumping upon them' He paints anything but an attractive picture of the inhabitants, whom he considers 'the miserablest people in the world'--a summing-up that is not far wrong

It was the fear of annexation by the French of the western portion of the Australian continent that brought about the first settlement by the British of Western Australia A hundred years ago the population of all Australia was but 58,000 The first settlers in Eastern Australia had arrived at Botany Bay in 1788, and forty-one years later of the 58,000 persons then in Australia some 40,000 were grouped together in Sydney and its hinterland The remaining 18,000 were in Tasmania. A feeling of uneasiness existed amongst the authorities as to whether these two isolated communities constituted an effective occupation of a great island continent as large as all the countries of Europe

A HUNDRED years ago there was not a European in the vast territory comprised to-day in the State of Western Australia, an area extending over one-third of the Australian continent. The only inhabitants were a sprinkling of ill-fed, almost naked aboriginal nomads. In June next Western Australia, with a prosperous and progressive European population of over 400,000, more than 98 per cent. of whom are British, is commemorating the arrival from England of the first batch of settlers. To all interested in the migration of British people and the expansion and development of the Empire there is no more fascinating and encouraging story than the trials, disappointments and heroism of those early settlers who strove to make homes for themselves and their families in country they found a wilderness. Their ultimate success should be a stimulating example to present-day migrants.

From the beginning of the seventeenth century Portuguese and Dutch navigators sailed along the western shores of what, after Tasman's voyage in 1644, became known as New Holland. It was an unknown land, and to the men who sailed those uncharted seas looked sandy, barren and inhospitable. Probably the first Europeans to die in New Holland, or, as it is to-day, Western Australia, were two marooned sailors from the *Batavia*, a Dutch ship that in 1629 when voyaging to the Dutch East Indies struck a reef in a storm and was wrecked on the Abrolhos Islands, off the north-west coast. Between 200 and 300 survivors reached land. Food supplies and other necessaries were salvaged. The commander of the *Batavia*, François Pelsart, as a forlorn hope sailed for Java in an open boat to seek help. The refugees on the islands included sailors, soldiers and ordinary passengers, and in Pelsart's absence there occurred a series of sensationally dramatic events. The supercargo, Jerome Cornelius, organised a mutiny. He claimed that the *Batavia* could be refloated, and his idea was to start in her a career of piracy. A hundred and twenty of those who refused to participate in the mutiny were murdered. A republic was proclaimed. Gaudy clothes and brilliant uniforms were obtained from a chest of merchandise,

be 'expedited and extended.' One cannot believe that the very Church Assembly which voted for the new Prayer Book would 'consent' to disestablishment and disendowment.

The subject bristles with difficulties, and no one can be certain that he is viewing it rightly. One can only try to be dispassionate. Party divisions on such a matter must do more harm than good. All men of good-will, whether in the Church or not, can help to solve the problem by restraint and sympathy. There are very many who will think long and earnestly before they feel it right to break the historic link which binds Church and State together.

D. H. S. CRANAGE.

years by some bishops. By what right? Every bishop is said to have a *jus liturgicum* in his own diocese, but such *jus* is carefully circumscribed in the Prayer Book which all have promised to obey. In the section headed 'Concerning the Service of the Church' the power of interpreting the rubrics is given to the bishop, and, in case he is in doubt, to the archbishop, but he has no power whatever to override a rubric It has been claimed that reservation is lawful under the present Prayer Book It is difficult to see how this can be so when one reads the sixth rubric at the end of the Communion office, and the third rubric after the office for the Communion of the Sick, but if a bishop can honestly interpret the rubrics in this way, he is justified in sanctioning reservation, and presumably making rules with regard to it. Some, I could not say most, of those who practise reservation would be satisfied with permission to take the elements, consecrated the same day, to the sick who could not be present in the church Such a permission would probably be legalised without undue delay For the rest I have no immediate relief to suggest. One can only for the moment leave the matter *in statu quo* with all the difficulties which have been inherent in it for the past fifty years The fact of so leaving it surely does not prevent all action to make the large majority of the clergy law-abiding

I would emphasise the words 'for the moment' This grave question and others cannot be left indefinitely in doubt. I, therefore cordially welcome the suggestion of the bishops that a committee representing both bodies should be appointed at a convenient opportunity to re-examine the relations between Church and State Such a large number of the clergy, and the instructed laity, hold that the present arrangement is unsatisfactory, that it is important by careful discussion to see if any modification can be made The committee would find most helpful evidence in the recent history of the Church of Scotland. I am not, of course, assuming that the two cases are identical, but in both the ideal to be aimed at must be an unhampered Church in a friendly State.

The Bishop of Durham pleads for 'Disestablishment by Consent' Is it really likely that such consent will be given at the present time by members of the Church? I am sure that many thousands would oppose it with all their force The Bishop surely underrates the seriousness of disendowment when he says, 'The worst result that need be anticipated is that the process of combining contiguous parishes (which has been for some while proceeding on a large scale) would be expedited and extended.' The removal of men of culture and spirituality from the villages has already proved disastrous, necessary though it has been from the lack of men and money, and the process should certainly not

It would go far to do away with the reproach of lawlessness, lawlessness if you like on minor points; but who can treat law in watertight compartments? You begin by leaving out an exhortation. You go on to use unauthorised prayers, and then, as recently in a famous church, a hymn is substituted for the *Te Deum*, and the historic service of the Church of England begins to disappear. The new Prayer Book regulates all this kind of thing, and an affirmation of its agreed parts by Church and State would bring relief to many a conscience. But it is said that many an earnest priest would refuse to obey. Obey what? The changes would be permissive, not obligatory. He can, if he prefers, obey the voice of Church and State in 1662 rather than that of 1929. So far the bishops as a whole have refused to adopt this policy. It is difficult for them to go back now, but after their generous admission of partial blame for the crisis I do not despair of their making such a sacrifice. There would be no loss of principle if they believe that Parliament had the moral right, though not necessarily the wisdom, to say 'halt.' This right is acknowledged by some of the bishops, I hope an increasing number.

If, however, the course suggested is thought to be impossible, is there no other way of legalising the changes? A friend of mine has suggested that it may be possible to proceed by canon. The Convocations would apply to the King for a licence authorising them to publish a book with supplementary prayers and alternatives, making it clear that the changes would be those agreed upon in the Church Assembly and not objected to by Parliament. On the Prime Minister presumably would rest the grave responsibility of advising the Sovereign on this point. If he were satisfied that the changes were generally accepted, the argument that in agreeing he would be flouting Parliament would lose most of its effect. Parliament is surely not anxious to grieve the consciences of the clergy unnecessarily. There are large numbers who would gladly accept the decision of the Convocations. The laity, on the other hand, would feel that their representatives in the Church Assembly had agreed, and that Parliament had not objected. I cannot be sure that this solution would be the best, but I put it forward for consideration.

After such a Measure had been passed, the large majority of clergy of the Church of England would be law-abiding; but there would remain for many two vital questions, the alternative Communion office and reservation. I find it hard to believe that many priests would insist on using the former if the bishops discouraged it. The present office is Catholic, and has been used by all parties for centuries. Reservation is in a different category, and, by the admission of all, the real crux of the problem.

Reservation, in certain cases, has been sanctioned for many

Now we have been told again and again that the law was to be respected. Archbishop Davidson made it clear when the Enabling Act was passed in 1919 that the rights of Parliament would be retained. The same venerated prelate stated plainly in the House of Lords in December 1927 that their choice in the matter was free. The decision of Parliament, therefore, was to be respected, and yet the clergy and laity were to be asked, for example, if the new Communion office could be authorised in certain cases. I am not at the moment concerned with the voting at the synods and conferences; it was rather surprising in London and Liverpool, but speaking generally, it showed substantial support for the proposals. I am now concerned with the fact that some of the questions should be asked at all. In effect the bishops seem to say with one voice, 'Respect the decision rejecting the new Prayer Book,' and with another voice, 'Vote as to whether we may authorise part of the book.' Many people simply cannot reconcile the two voices. I yield to none in sympathy with the bishops in their difficult position and in condemning the vulgar abuse with which they have been assailed. I do not believe there was ever a period in the history of the Church of England when the bishops were more earnest and high-minded. I should be the last to question their honesty, but the apostle tells us to 'provide things honest in the sight of all men.' The bishops in this, as in so many other things, have the reputation of the Church in their hands. I am sure that many ordinary laymen are gravely disturbed by their action, and I appeal to them humbly yet earnestly to do something which will make it clear to clergy and laity alike that they are not speaking with two voices.

But, it will be said, is there any alternative policy? I know of none which really meets all the difficulties immediately. Even so there are some things which can be done at once. We have been told on high authority that most of the proposed changes are uncontroversial. Why should not they be passed first? I do not think there can be any real dispute that most of them do not depend on party, but are approved by a large majority of the Church Assembly and would be readily confirmed by Parliament.

I do not pretend that such action would solve the whole difficulty. It would not settle some of the gravest questions, and it was this consideration which influenced my own affirmative vote in the Ely Synod of 1927 and in the Church Assembly of 1928. Very many others were affected in the same way, and some would have voted 'aye,' though not liking the book, if they had thought that such action would bring peace to the Church. A partial solution, however, is surely better than none.

of the Constitution.' All Englishmen feel this, whatever their religious views may be, and there is surely a special obligation of obedience on those who profess and call themselves Christians. It was, of course, very largely to remedy this that the Prayer Book Measure was put forward. At last, the bishops thought, we shall have a pronouncement of the Church to which all will owe a conscientious obedience. It was this consideration mainly which caused many of us to support the Measure. The bishops were naturally expected to give advice, and they met in solemn conclave late in September 1928. They issued the following statement, which, as became known afterwards, was not unanimous:

> During the present emergency and until further order be taken the bishops, having in view the approval given by the Houses of Convocation and the Church Assembly to the proposals for deviation from and additions to the book of 1662 set forth in the book of 1928, cannot regard as inconsistent with loyalty to the principles of the Church of England the use of such additions or deviations as fall within the limits of these proposals. For the same reason they cannot regard as consistent with such loyalty the use of any other deviations from or additions to the book of 1662. Accordingly the bishops in the exercise of their legal or administrative discretion will be guided by the proposals approved in 1928 by the Houses of Convocation and by the Church Assembly and will endeavour to secure that practices which are consistent neither with the book of 1662 nor with the book of 1928 shall cease.
>
> Moreover the bishops regard it as a governing principle that no departure from the book of 1662 be permitted in the public services of the Church unless the people as represented in the parochial church council or, in the case of [illegible], the parties concerned, is in agreement with the [illegible].
>
> Finally in view of the whole situation the bishops, frankly recognising that they are not without their share of blame in the difficulties of former years, appeal to their fellow Churchmen for loyal cooperation in this fresh endeavour to restore peace to the Church, so that the whole body may give itself with more whole-hearted devotion to the tasks, both at home and abroad, to which in the providence of God we are called at the present time.

I am not the only one who read these words with profound disappointment and unhappiness—an unhappiness which was increased when questions to be put to diocesan gatherings were sent out. Here is a typical set of headings:

1. Bishop to be guided temporarily by the Book of 1928.
2. No Deviations from the Book of 1662 except with People's Consent.
3. Provisional and exceptional use of 'The consecration or canon' in the Alternative Order of Holy Communion, subject to Bishop's Conditions.
4. Bishop to regulate Reservation for the Sick in accordance with Rubrics in the Book of 1928.
5. Support of Bishop in stopping Practices consistent neither with the Book of 1662 nor with the 1928 Revision.

[illegible]

a new Assembly would do after the election of clergy in 1929 and of laity in 1930.

A leading Churchman, who was until lately Chairman of Quarter Sessions in his county, writes to me as follows:

> There was no enthusiasm among the bulk of the laity for the new Prayer Book, they only acquiesced in it on the authority of the bishops and Church Council, and there was very earnest and strong feeling on the part of the minority against it. It would be childish in those circumstances to quarrel with the State for refusing the alteration, and it would probably result in a schism in the Church.

Who has not dreamed of a reunited Church in England? A few years ago the dream was brighter than it is now, but we can surely say that, whatever the set-backs have been, the controversy between Church and Dissent is less bitter than it was fifty years ago. Is it unreasonable to think that, asperities softened, differences understood, fundamentals agreed to, we may see once more a Church of England to which the bulk of the population belong? If and when that happy time comes, what will our grandchildren think if we have parted hastily with our ancient heritage in the State? Think what has happened in Scotland. We are about to see quite three-quarters of its people reunited in the Established Church. I am well aware of the differences in the two countries. I believe that our problem is the more difficult, but I cannot but hope that faith and patience will solve it. If in the course of the next few years the Church becomes more united in demanding, and the State is resolute in refusing, a great change, then the disestablishment issue will be sharply raised, and I would not wish to shirk it; but I feel strongly that that time has not yet come.

But, even if I am right, it may well be asked, What is to be the next step? Can we go on in the present state of chaos when so many people flout all authority, and do what is right in their own eyes, and when to all appearance the solemn assent to the Book of Common Prayer made by every clergyman is so frequently disobeyed—'In public prayer and administration of the Sacraments I will use the form in the said book prescribed, and none other, except so far as shall be ordered by lawful authority'? Every thoughtful observer must lament the state of lawlessness in the Church. The bishops have generously admitted some share of the blame. Clergy and laity alike are by no means free from censure. The majesty of our law, its impartiality, its observance, have always been the proud boast of the Englishman. We express our contempt of others in this regard, for example in the lynching which has not yet died out in the United States of America, and in the open flouting of the Eighteenth Amendment

cost of seriously depleting the funds of hospitals, orphanages, and Home and Foreign Missions.

Now, all such disasters, spiritual and material, must be faced rather than that we should render to Cæsar the things which are God's. But has the crisis arisen? Even if we disagree with the House of Commons, are they not morally justified in calling 'Halt,' when neither they nor we can be certain that the large majority of Churchmen desire the change and when thousands of earnest men and women bitterly oppose it? Let me quote to you the words of the Bishop of London in *The London Diocesan Leaflet* for August 1928, as reported in *The Times* of July 24, 1928:

> Let no one have his holiday spoilt by the fact that the Prayer Book did not pass the House of Commons. It is just an annoying set-back—nothing more. Perhaps the Church was not really sufficiently united to have deserved or used a new Prayer Book. It was no doubt the division in the Church which caused the loss of the Prayer Book. If I had been a Labour member and had believed that 2000 Anglo-Catholics had said they would not obey its directions (which they never really said in so many words) and that 4000 Evangelicals said they would walk out of the Church if it ever became compulsory, I think I should probably have voted against it myself. What we have to do is to produce unity (not uniformity) among ourselves.

These are the words of a prominent and earnest supporter of the new book. In the face of them, can we say that the House of Commons were so wrong that we must oppose them at all costs? Take an analogy, imperfect like all analogies, but I think helpful. A few years ago the most active—let us say, if preferred, the most instructed—trade unionists captured the management of their lodges all over the country, dictated their policy, and required their members to subscribe to their political fund. General elections, however, showed clearly that thousands of such men did not agree with their leaders, and voted against their policy. Of course they ought to have made themselves felt in opposing the leaders, but they were silent, perhaps lethargic, and timid. But Parliament stepped in to protect them, and their action can be justified on the ground of fair play even by those who agree with the policy of their leaders. Parliament is bound to protect all classes of His Majesty's subjects. Are we sure that in the Church a large minority, or quite possibly a majority, need no such protection, even if many are silent and timid?

But I would appeal to those who are not convinced by this line of argument at any rate to be patient and to wait. The action of Parliament has changed the whole situation. We cannot predict with certainty what the Church Assembly would say if asked again to support the Measure. Still less can we state what

Uniformity Amendment Act of 1872 and the new lectionaries are almost negligible. The archbishops have solemnly assured us that no change of doctrine is intended, but a change of emphasis is generally admitted. If this view had been held by all, the Measure would have gone to Parliament with overwhelming force, but it is notorious that such a claim cannot be made. A very large number hold that there is a change in the direction of mediæval doctrine; and some, on the other hand, openly state (I know of at least one case) that if the Measure passes they will join the Church of Rome.

Parliament, therefore, was faced with a Measure most carefully prepared over a long period by the bishops and a body representing the clergy and the most instructed laymen. Large numbers of keen adherents, of course, earnestly hoped they would pass it. Many others who were in a state of acquiescence rather than active support hoped the same, some because they thought that the passing would be the lesser of two evils. There were, therefore, strong reasons for ratification, and I for one frankly regret that they did not prevail. The House of Lords thought they ought to, and one gladly recognises the self-effacement of the Roman Catholic members who refused to vote. Judging by the speeches, some members of the House of Commons regarded themselves as arbiters in purely spiritual things, an Erastian act which few Churchmen would be prepared to defend. But a large number, far more than enough to turn the balance, were influenced by two considerations: the weakness of the representative character of the Church Assembly and the passionate opposition of large numbers within the Assembly and without. The vital question is, Was the House of Commons morally justified in so acting? There is no doubt of their legal competence. The question is really the same as the one I started with: Must the conscientious Churchman demand disestablishment?

The full effects of disestablishment need not be described here, but I may mention some. The recognition of God in the nation and the Empire would be gravely imperilled. The Act of Settlement could hardly survive it, and the solemn Coronation Service might soon become a thing of the past. Worst of all would be the spiritual destitution of the country districts. The taking away of ancient endowments, which surely would accompany disestablishment, would be serious but not insurmountable in the towns. But the villages depend almost wholly on such endowments, and how are they to be replaced in a time of agricultural depression, when very few who live by the land have a spare shilling? Generous Churchmen, who are not dependent on the land, cannot be expected to supply the deficiency, except at the

the cost of direct election would be enormous, but a legal member of the Church Assembly takes a different view, and writes to me as follows:

> For all matters within their province the House of Laity could be made really democratically representative without much cost or trouble. Combine rural deaneries in groups geographically and give one member to each group. The vicars and rectors with the roll and a pencil could in four hours once in five years receive open votes, and send into the rural dean the results and the senior rural dean would count up his return. The analogy is the wardens' poll, which costs literally nothing.

The plan outlined may not be the best for the purpose but surely it must be admitted that indirect election does detract from representative character. The same legal friend writes to me:

> I have asked at every meeting of parochial electors or church councils at which I have been asked to speak if they had ever heard of the Church Assembly and if they could tell me who their representatives were, and they have never known.

Even, however, if election were direct, the roll of electors would be far from complete. Considering how new the machinery is, it is satisfactory that over three millions have been enrolled, but how many are still outside? Everyone knows the reason. Where the incumbent believes in the roll and takes real trouble to form it, a large proportion of those qualified will join. But there are very many cases where such belief and trouble do not exist, and where the roll is small and unrepresentative. Of course it ought not to be so. The lay Churchman ought to be earnest and to claim his privileges whatever his parson may be like; but the fact remains that in very many cases he does not take the trouble. He is not one of 'the most instructed laymen' but he is a layman all the same, and often one who loves his Church and should not be ignored. We cannot be certain what his opinions are on this proposal, but he is probably negative or neutral rather than positive. The elections of clergy to Convocation, and consequentially to the Church Assembly, are not free from wire-pulling and party spirit, but these evils seem to be inevitable in all forms of democratic election.

Let us assume, then, that the Church Assembly fairly represents the clergy and 'the most instructed laymen,' but not the 'laity as a whole.' Is not this sufficient? Certainly with regard to most of the questions the Assembly has to deal with—pensions, dilapidations, new dioceses, patronage, and so on. It would be impossible to wait for a sort of referendum before passing on such matters to Parliament. But the Prayer Book Measure is in a very different category. It foreshadows the first great formal change in our public worship since *1662*. Compared with it, the Act of

with a voice that is authoritative and unmistakable? It is difficult to see what more it could have done. What is the good of the responsible organisations—in the parish, the rural deanery, the diocese, the province, the nation—if they cannot express the mind of the Church on a grave question? This is a very natural line of argument, but is it wholly fair? The Church of England is a very old body; very many of its members are conservative and slow to adapt themselves to the machinery, much of it so recent, for giving expression to their wishes. Are we sure that a majority really desire the new Prayer Book to be authorised? 'General councils' themselves, we are told in Article XXI, 'may err, and sometimes have erred, even in things pertaining unto God.' Why? Because 'they be an assembly of men whereof all be not governed with the Spirit and Word of God.' The Vincentian formula would probably be indorsed by most Churchmen, *Quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus creditum est*. But to get the general consent, implied by *ab omnibus*, it has always been supposed that something more than formal councils is necessary. The rank and file must agree, and such agreement cannot be got quickly. Is, then, the Church Assembly so representative that it may fairly be said to give the voice of the Church without mistake? In *The Times* of January 8, 1929, Sir Lewis Dibdin makes the following statement: 'As one who has been throughout identified with the business of the Church Assembly, I think, and I hope I am justified in saying that we do represent the most instructed laymen of the Church of England; but that we represent that laity as a whole is simply not a fact.' Broadly speaking, this statement is very possibly correct, though I regard it as a grave drawback to the Assembly that the universities are not directly represented in it. There are obvious difficulties in the way of such representation, but I think they could be overcome. The Assembly would gain greatly in weight if suitable representation could be given to the divinity and history faculties, and indeed to the ordinary Church laymen holding responsible positions in a university.

How are the elections of laymen conducted? By laymen only, but indirectly. The representatives are chosen by the diocesan conferences, the members of which in turn are usually elected by the ruridecanal conferences. The members of these latter are elected at the parochial church meeting, at which it is often difficult to secure attendance. Those voting must be duly enrolled electors of the parish. We have, therefore, the grave drawback of very indirect election, with the loss of interest and of knowledge which such a system must inevitably cause to the individual member of a parochial electoral roll.

Is it possible to change the system? I have been told that

ters who went into the wilderness in 1843, rather than subscribe to what they believed to be a false principle, must always command our admiration whether we agree with them or not. And so now let us go into the wilderness gladly, and even cheerfully, if we are quite certain that Christian principle demands it.

What, then, should force us to such a stern course? Certainly the usurping by the State of a definitely spiritual function such as the admission to ministerial office of persons who have not been ordained or consecrated, such as a direction that some new doctrine should be incorporated into the Creed. These must be the concern of the Church just as the State must be allowed to make its own terms as to the holding of property and the registration of marriages. To which category does the Prayer Book Measure belong? The difficulty, of course, is that such matters have been for centuries the joint concern of Church and State, and that, on the whole, sharp conflicts between the two have been avoided. The preliminary steps were taken by both. The King issued Letters of Business to the Convocations authorising them to consider the matter, and the final answer is contained in the Prayer Book Measures. The Church can hardly be accused of hurry. The Letters of Business were issued in 1906, and more than twenty years elapsed before the answer was given. Even if we subtract five years on account of the war, we have quite fifteen years, not only for the debates and decisions in Convocation and the Church Assembly, but for general discussion in parochial church councils, ruridecanal and diocesan conferences, and informal gatherings. In fact, the consideration was so careful, and so fraught with prayer, that a prominent Church dignitary went so far as to claim infallibility, and to say that it *must* be the will of God that the Measure should pass. All this long thought and prayer did affect profoundly the mind of the Church, and many of those who voted for the Measure, whether in synod, conference, or the Church Assembly itself, did so mainly because the bishops invited them to do so, and because they felt that those who were responsible had devoted so much thought and prayer to the matter. In July 1927 the Assembly gave its approval by 517 votes to 133, and in April 1928 the revised Measure was carried by 396 to 153. Now, in analysing these figures, it must be clearly borne in mind that many voted 'aye' out of loyalty to the bishops, and from a feeling that by doing so a real chance of bringing peace to the Church would be secured. Many were by no means enamoured of some of the changes.

Whatever can be said to weaken the effect of the decision, there is no doubt that a considerable majority of the Assembly wished the Measure to pass, and regretted the action of the House of Commons in rejecting it twice. Has the Church, then, spoken

CHURCH AND STATE

DECEMBER 15, 1927, will always be regarded as a time of crisis in the relations of Church and State. I happened to be in a remote part of Cornwall and saw the news of the rejection of the new Prayer Book by the House of Commons on a flaring placard at the small seaside town of Mevagissey.

I shall never forget the shock of that placard, for I had thought that the Lords would accept the new book by a majority of three to one, and the Commons by three to two. The further rejection of last summer was, of course, not so unexpected, and it became evident that no such scheme as was put forward had a good chance of acceptance by the present Parliament.

It is obvious that such a decision was bound to strain the relations between Church and State, and many persons jumped to the conclusion that disestablishment was the only remedy. Further thought has modified this view in some cases, but in others has hardened the first impression.

On January 29, 1928, the Bishop of Durham preached a sermon before the University of Cambridge foreshadowing the possibility and indeed the desirability of breaking entirely the ancient link which binds Church and State together. He has since gone further, and, in the issue of this Review for January 1929, he expresses very definitely his conviction that disestablishment is the only remedy for the troubles of the Church consistent with its own self-respect. Any pronouncement of Dr. Hensley Henson must at once command the attention of Englishmen, who have long learnt to admire his ability and earnestness. He would be the first to admit that his proposals must be submitted to careful scrutiny.

Let us look a little more closely. What has the State done? Has it usurped the function of the Church? Has it given such a direction in spiritual things as would justify Churchmen in saying 'We ought to obey God rather than men'? If such a crisis has really arrived, I hope we shall all be willing to meet it in the spirit of St. Peter and the other apostles when brought before the Sanhedrin. I remember hearing a Free Church minister at Crieff speaking of 'the grand old flag of the secession.' The 451 minis-

is his object. The shopkeeper is charged under the Act for selling a print of a picture by Correggio.

For some reason this instance was too much for Lord Campbell, who attempted to make a second speech, and a long wrangle ensued in the House on a point of order, in the course of which Lord Campbell succeeded in saying that Lord Lyndhurst 'in his zeal for these filthy publications had gone entirely wrong on the Rules of the House.' There was, it seems, a certain amount of feeling about this remark, and later, on the third reading, Lord Campbell tendered an apology to Lord Lyndhurst, which was taken in a somewhat grudging spirit by that noble lord, who lectured Lord Campbell severely. Lord Campbell, however, as a last word, remarked that all he had said upon the previous occasion was to assure his noble and learned friend (Lord Lyndhurst) that, as he had talked so much of certain works of Correggio and of the prints from them, there was nothing in this Bill which would disturb his enjoyment of them.'

This breeze which disturbed the surface of the debate having subsided, and another noble lord having remarked that Lord Campbell's own book *The Lives of the Lord Chancellors*, which was notorious and scandalous at the time, would be the first book to be prosecuted under the Act, Lord Campbell was able to produce this damning piece of information:

> Since he last addressed them he had received information of a most appalling nature with regard to the sale of these publications; but many of the communications were such that for decency's sake he would not dwell upon them. But he held in his hand a volume which would give their lordships a notion of what was going forward. It was by Dumas the younger and was called *The Lady of the Camellias*.

La Dame aux Camélias was too much for the House and they passed the Bill!

Thus the Act came into being. Much was said in the debate which might be said to-day. It is as easy to laugh at the instances of indecency which were given then as it will be easy in the future to laugh at our present scruples or condemn our present licence. It is abundantly evident that there is no criterion of the present taste and still less any absolute criterion, which is true from one generation to another.

CARROL ROMER
(*Editor*)

ance he should attach to isolated passages, nor is it clear if he should give any heed to the intention of the author nor what weight should be attached to the form, manner, and price of the production.

It is true that the magistrate's decision is subject to an appeal to quarter sessions, and so, *seemingly*, the judgment of one mind is not final, for at quarter sessions there will be many magistrates. I say seemingly, because the verdict at quarter sessions will in the normal case be the opinion of the chairman; and indeed I have before me a copy of a letter, written in the case of a recent prosecution, which states that it would not be 'appropriate or practicable' to supply copies of the prosecuted book beforehand to the justices attending. If this be the procedure, the result is clearly that the justices surrounding the chairman are not in a position to render adequate assistance.

I will conclude this note with a short account of how the present Act came into being, for the debate in the House of Lords gives good illustrations of many points in this matter.

To begin with it is well to note the date of 1857. *Little Dorrit* was published in that year and the *Tale of Two Cities* in 1858. This was not an age in which outspokenness on delicate matters was either encouraged or allowed, though I do not know if the morals of the time were any better than they are now. In spite of the decent veil of hypocrisy which in those days covered the more difficult subjects, it appears that at that time, notably in Holywell Street in London, an immense traffic was done in filthy publications, and it was primarily for the suppression of this that Lord Campbell introduced the Bill, which is now an Act, into the House of Lords. When Lord Campbell told this to the House he touched less upon books than upon prints, etc., but he said that 'the measure was intended to apply exclusively to works written for the single purpose of corrupting the morals of youth and of a nature calculated to shock the feelings of decency in any well-regulated mind.'

Lord Lyndhurst opposed the measure, and he made many pungent criticisms; he objected mainly that the magistrate might take the wrong view of what was obscene. His speech is well summarised in the following incident which he gave to the House. He pictured the case of a policeman who goes into a shop and says to the shopkeeper, 'Let me look at that picture of Jupiter and Antiope.' 'Jupiter and what?' says the shopkeeper. 'Jupiter and Antiope,' repeats the man. 'Oh! Jupiter and Antiope you mean,' says the shopkeeper, and hands him down the print. He sees the picture of a woman stark-naked, lying down, and the satyr standing by her with an expression on his face which shows most distinctly what his feelings are and what

THE 'CENSORSHIP' OF BOOKS

VI

To the foregoing contributions I venture to add this *résumé* of the law as it stands and of the manner in which it came about.

Before 1857 indictment was the remedy against the publication of obscene literature (an obscene libel, as it was called), and it was not until Lord Campbell's Act of that year that the more expeditious manner of proceeding against the publications which is now in force came into being.

The defects of the old method of indictment were stated to be that the prosecution of one who had sold an obscene book did not necessarily prevent other sales of the book, and also that the legal proceedings advertised the book. Consequently in 1857 Lord Campbell's Act was passed, and it is under this Act that prosecutions are now usually conducted in these cases. Under this Act the first step is a complaint made before a magistrate that an obscene book is being sold. The magistrate, if he is of opinion that the book is obscene and is being sold and that the 'publication of the book is a misdemeanour and proper to be prosecuted as such'—this dark saying roughly means that the proceedings are not vexatious, as for example the republication of a classic—makes an order for the seizure of the book. The magistrate then issues a summons to the vendors or publishers to appear and show cause why the articles seized should not be destroyed. After hearing the parties the magistrate makes his order, which is subject to appeal to quarter sessions. The magistrate's difficulty is of course that he has no criterion by which to measure the word 'obscene.' From the nature of the inquiry he can have no useful evidence before him, and in the end he must come back to his own personal reaction to the book in his endeavour to answer the question, Is it likely to corrupt?

There is no precedent which can help him, for public taste is ever changing—the Victorians were unwilling to disclose an ankle, the Georgians do not hesitate to expose a knee. It is not plain how far he should consider the book as a whole and what import-

Even more serious is the effect upon the writer. The police magistrate's opinion is so incalculable—he lets pass so much that seems noxious and pounces upon so much that seems innocent—that even the writer whose record is hitherto unblemished is uncertain what may or may not be judged obscene, and hesitates in fear and suspicion. What he is about to write may seem to him perfectly innocent—it may be essential to his book; yet, he has to ask himself, what will the police magistrate say? And not only what will the police magistrate say, but what will the printer say and what will the publisher say? For both printer and publisher will be trying, uneasily and anxiously, to anticipate the verdict of the police magistrate and will naturally bring pressure to bear upon the writer to put them beyond the reach of the law. He will be asked to weaken, to soften, to omit. Such hesitation and suspense are fatal to freedom of mind, and freedom of mind is essential to good literature. Moreover, if modern books become so insipid, so blameless, so full of blank spaces and evasions that we cannot read them, we shall be driven to read the classics, where obscenity abounds.

For these reasons I think it desirable that the law should distinguish clearly between books that are written or sold for pornographic purposes and books whose obscenity is an incidental part of them—between Aristotle's works as they are sold in the rubber goods shops, that is to say, and Aristotle's works as they are sold in the shops of Messrs. Hatchard and Bumpus.

VIRGINIA WOOLF.

THE 'CENSORSHIP' OF BOOKS

V

As the law stands at present, a police magistrate has the right to destroy as obscene any book which he thinks likely to corrupt the mind of any reader who is liable to be corrupted. If it is advisable to entrust anyone with such power (of which I am doubtful), obviously the time has come when the nature of what is corrupting and thus destroyable must be more clearly defined. Nor is it difficult to suggest what lines that definition should follow. There can be no doubt that books fall, in respect of indecency, into two classes. There are books written, published and sold with the object of causing pleasure or corruption by means of their indecency. There is no difficulty in finding where they are to be bought, nor in buying them when found. There are others whose indecency is not the object of the book, but incidental to some other purpose—scientific, social, æsthetic—on the writer's part. The police magistrate's power should be definitely limited to the suppression of books which are sold as pornography to people who seek out and enjoy pornography. The others should be left alone. Any man or woman of average intelligence and culture knows the difference between the two kinds of book and has no difficulty in distinguishing one from the other.

Nor can any reasonable person doubt, after watching the law as it stands at work, that it causes more harm than it prevents. The average citizen is nowadays certainly a reader and quite frequently a writer. In both these capacities he is injured, annoyed, and possibly corrupted by the censorship as exercised at present. Nothing can be more insulting to his intelligence and exciting to his curiosity than to be told that there is a book that he must not read because in the opinion of somebody else it would corrupt him to do so. As was amply proved last autumn, prohibition often serves only to stimulate the appetite. Discussion is roused where there would have been indifference; knowledge is sought where there would have been ignorance. The vice in question becomes a topic of conversation, and young people are made to think it attractive because it is fashionable and forbidden.

happened to be shocked by the words 'For Christ's sake give us a drink,' but instead of turning his mind elsewhere he revelled in his shock, denounced the words as immoral, and felt he was purifying society. They are, of course, exactly as immoral as the words 'Buck up, Trinity,' 'Go it, Corpus,' etc., when addressed to a college boat. If one expletive is illegal so is the other, and half the bishops in England have been guilty of blasphemy and brawling. The only possible rule here is the rule of tolerance. If a man is shocked by a particular advertisement or phrase, he should think of something else or should reason with the perpetrator; he should not call in the law to avenge his private opinions.

(3) Finally I must touch, though very reluctantly, on the subject of homosexuality. Part (though not all) of the present controversy turns upon it, and your readers will therefore understand that a brief reference is necessary. The subject has been recognised by science and is recognisable in history. It exists as a fact among the many other facts of life. It forms, of course, an extremely small fraction of the sum-total of human emotions, it enters personally into very few lives, and is uninteresting or repellent to the majority; nevertheless it exists, and this being the case, I do not see why writers who desire to treat it should be debarred from doing so—always providing that there is nothing pornographic in their treatment. Non-pornographic books on this subject, like *The Well of Loneliness*, ought not to be suppressed, and this not merely for the convenience of the authors concerned, but from the point of view of the public, which has a right to information even if the information when received should prove uninteresting.

The above three problems must engage the attention of all who wish to alter or who are responsible for administering our laws. With regard to administration, the wording of the Campbell Act is notoriously vague, and both Shakespeare and the Bible are liable to suppression under it. Consequently everything depends on the magistrates' interpretation, and they have made two bad mistakes in the last few months. Whether the law could be altered with advantage, whether a censorship (such as now applies to plays) could or should be extended to books, I am not prepared to say, but I here come back to my main point: whatever reforms be attempted, no test other than the pornographic ought to be applied. If, in the supposed interests of morality and education, more elaborate restrictions are devised, we shall only be left in a worse condition than we are in at present: we shall have been rendered less, not more, spiritual.

E. M. FORSTER.

THE 'CENSORSHIP' OF BOOKS

IV

I KNOW nothing of the law, and should only waste your readers' time if I attempted to amend the Campbell Act, or to substitute for Cockburn's ruling some ruling of my own. I consider that the Act, as at present interpreted, is both unfair to writers and against the public interest, but all I can do is to indicate three problems which seem to me important.

(1) Pornography. It was, I believe, to deal with pornographic books that the Campbell Act was passed. Such books ought to be suppressed, and they are easily detected and classified, for the reason that their aim is not literature, but physical provocativeness. When, however, attempts are made to apply the Act to cases it was never intended to meet, and to condemn books that are not pornographic at all, I find myself in complete opposition. To say of a book, as our Puritan reformers do, that it is 'spiritually corrupting,' that it is 'subtly insidious,' that it 'has undesirable tendencies,' that it is 'a borderline case,' may sound very high-minded and helpful, but it opens the door to evils far more serious than any it might keep out, to official meddlesomeness over the whole of literature, to the paralysing of authors, who can never be sure what they may or may not say, and to the exclusion of the public from its legitimate rights to æsthetic enjoyment and to information. No doubt it would be well if we could define 'spiritual corruption' and could legislate against it accordingly. But we cannot, for the reason that spiritual things are things of the spirit. The only safe test in law is the pornographic, and it is the only point on which the police should prosecute and the courts decide.

(2) Blasphemy. It is desirable that people should not be corrupted, but there is no reason why they should not be shocked. I am often shocked myself (for example by certain smug and loathsome advertisements of beer that defile our streets), but I bear up; everything in civilisation cannot suit everybody, and as soon as possible I turn my mind and eyes elsewhere. I consider that other people, magistrates included, ought to do the same. The magistrate who tried *The Sleeveless Errand* case

may easily prove fatal to the atmosphere of public schools. If the tone of a school is good, the researches of one or two boys among muck-heaps will be greeted, if not with disgust, at any rate with no more than cynical amusement; if the tone of a school is bad, they will be welcomed with greedy avidity. So much for results; what of the remedy? So far as the schoolboy is concerned it is the parent to whom we must turn for help. No Government control of literature will provide so good a solution as the control of the parent, who should regard the books which his boy reads as of at least equal importance as the companions with whom he associates. The safest course is to confine a boy's reading to the works of certain publishers. When I was at Cambridge the Christian Social Union issued a 'white list' of tailors who did not employ sweated labour. A 'white list' of publishers is badly needed.

STEPHEN FOOT.

a large part of the book to a discussion of immorality at public schools, and throughout the whole of this he takes the line (*a*) that immorality is widespread in all public schools, (*b*) that this has always been the case, and (*c*) that this must always be the case owing to the conditions under which public school boys live.

In my experience the first of these statements is untrue, the second is untrue, and the third is untrue. Knowing, as I do, the harm that this book has caused, I find it difficult to write calmly about it, and feel that nothing short of a millstone can adequately meet the case. Nobody knows better than I do that immorality does occur sometimes at all public schools. I fully appreciate the difficulties in this stage of a boy's development and the necessity for special measures to help him to overcome them, though there is no space to write of these here. But a calm assumption that this is the usual, ordinary, inevitable result of public school life is in my view not only untrue, but an evil suggestion, which is most harmful for a schoolboy. There is no more insidious form of temptation for inexperience than the suggestion that 'everybody does it,' and it is regrettable that an author should write in this way.

The ordinary type of prurient novel which describes obscenities, or creates unpleasant situations, is generally excused nowadays on the ground that it is a work of art, though I strongly suspect that the only muse which the author considers is a golden calf. Even if it is a work of art this does not mean that it will not do harm to a growing boy. Generally speaking, the effect of such a book on an adolescent mind is either disgust or stimulation, and both of these are bad. The former is apt to produce complexes and suppressions, while the latter is like drug-taking, in that it produces a desire for more. The indecencies in some of these books are bad enough, but to a growing boy the effect of *searching* for them may be even worse. Not only are these books positively harmful, but if a boy starts reading this type of literature it will not be long before he will be unwilling to read anything else.

The period of growth between the ages of fourteen and nineteen is one of tremendous physiological changes, and for this reason artificial stimulus of the senses at this time is definitely more harmful than at any other period of life. People fail to realise, or have forgotten, that the basic theory of public school development is the avoidance of these artificial stimuli during adolescence. Interest in games and healthy pursuits is deliberately fostered, in order to divert a boy's mind during these years from harmful topics, and it is precisely this that distinguishes the English public school system from the Continental.

To expose boys to the unhealthy suggestions which so many modern novels contain is to undermine the whole structure, and it

the third is the anxiety (prevalent among most boys) to be up to date. The ostrich-like policy of concealment was responsible in the past for furtive searchings in dictionaries, in the Bible and in the plays of Shakespeare, in order to satisfy a perfectly natural and legitimate curiosity about matters of sex. Nowadays, most parents have much more sensible ideas about how to bring up the young, and the result is that the majority of boys have a saner and healthier outlook when they have to face the problems of their own development. If a boy's natural curiosity is fully and sensibly satisfied by proper instruction, he will at any rate avoid one of the impulses which lead him into unsavoury investigations.

While the first of our three reasons has diminished in importance during the last few years, it is quite the contrary with the second. There is nothing more noticeable in the present age than the feverish state in which many people live, in a rush for excitement and stimulants, from the latest dance to the latest cocktail. In this matter the purveyor of prurient literature is in exactly the same position as the proprietor of a night club or a manufacturer of intoxicating liquor. They are all pandering to a weakness of human nature, artificially developed perhaps as a result of the war, and they are reaping a golden harvest. With the effect on the young mind of such stimulants we shall deal presently; it is sufficient here to record that of the three reasons put forward this is by far the most powerful, and also the most difficult to provide against.

A boy's keenness to be up to date is undoubtedly a factor which must be taken into account in analysing his motives in getting hold of prurient books. Newspaper reviewers write about a book, 'a bold treatment of a difficult subject,' or 'modern and outspoken even according to present-day standards.' A certain type of boy knows what is meant, and makes a note that he will get hold of the book in the holidays, so that he will be able to speak of it next term to his friends as the latest shocker—'pretty hot stuff.' So much for the analysis of the motives which urge boys in this direction; now for the type of books which are harmful and the reasons why they are specially harmful to boys.

I select a typical example of a book which can do, and has done, an immense amount of harm to boys at public schools. I would go so far as to say that the book I have in mind has been more responsible than any other single factor for the lowering of moral tone at certain public schools. I do not mention the name of the book as I do not wish to advertise it. The book itself is not evil or obscene, but I believe its influence to be positively poisonous. The reason is simple; the author devotes

THE 'CENSORSHIP' OF BOOKS

III

My subject is the effect on a boy's mind of indecent books. My credentials are that I am a schoolmaster, though that is the reason why many readers will consider me totally unfitted to write on the subject. Therefore I will add that I lived for some years in Singapore and in South America, so that my life has not been quite the same cloistered existence that schoolmasters are supposed to lead.

With this introduction I will plunge boldly into the subject and say at once that in my opinion there are many books published every year which are capable of doing an immense amount of harm to all boys between the ages of fourteen and nineteen. I believe, moreover, that the special reasons why such books will be harmful to boys are only imperfectly realised by parents (or even by schoolmasters), and consequently insufficient precautions are taken to prevent such books coming into the hands of boys. There are many homes where a boy is allowed to take out books from a circulating library, practically without supervision, and the results are frequently disastrous. I suggest that the reaction from the Puritan suppression of the Victorian age has gone too far, and the modern attitude of non-interference is likely to have thoroughly unsatisfactory results. The effect of such reading is worse than people think, because there are many books which may be regarded as comparatively harmless for the adult, but which are thoroughly poisonous to the adolescent mind. What, then, are the types of books which are likely to be harmful to boys; what are the forces which impel a boy to read them, what are the reasons why such reading is likely to have a bad effect? The answers to the first and third of these questions will overlap, and I will try, therefore, first of all to deal with the second.

The workings of a boy's mind are not easy to analyse; but in this matter I feel on safe ground in saying that there are three main reasons which urge a boy to turn to prurient literature. The first is curiosity, the second is to search for stimulation, and

Milton's magnificent *Areopagitica* was not directed, as to-day it might be, against that form of censorship. The Puritans had no horror of plain speech or even of plain action (one recalls the naked seventeenth-century Quaker who used to preach repentance in Westminster Hall), and the Bible, the great book of Puritanism, is a model of the right use of 'obscenity,' for in the Bible all the naked sexual and scatological facts are dealt with in the plain way that our officials call 'obscene,' and yet they are always in due place and due proportion. It is among those who inherit the spirit of Puritanism that the abhorrence of censorship is to-day most fervently alive.

(5) The Bible by no means stands alone. All great literature contains the element we absurdly call 'obscene.' That is as true for English as for all other literature, from Chaucer to Mr. D. H. Lawrence or Mr. Joyce or Mr. T. F. Powys, or whomever you prefer to regard as the representative of English genius in literature to-day. And it should give cause for thought that it is precisely the greatest works of literary genius, from the *Canterbury Tales* on, which are the most 'obscene.' Literature reflects life, and since the so-called 'obscene' is an essential part of normal and wholesome life, that art is defective which is inadequately 'obscene.'

(6) We are thus led to what must be the pivot on which the whole question of obscenity and the censorship ultimately turns. For wholesomely born and bred persons obscenity is no problem. Legislation is uncalled for when mischievous taboos are abolished. With children reasonably brought up—for which we need, first of all, the right parents—and progressively familiar from childhood with the central facts of life the perverse zeal of our Home Secretaries and Public Prosecutors will no longer create a market for pornography.

This will not happen to-day. The censors for a while will stay with us. I rejoice in the knowledge that the younger generation, of both sexes, is saner, and will not stand this nonsense. The Home Secretary of the future is still a boy. Some of us may think we know him. Meanwhile we endure our foolish officials, seeking, so far as may be, to restrain their most mischievous activities. However humiliating for men of true English breed, we must remain for the present, so far as this matter is concerned, the laughing stock of Europe.

HAVELOCK ELLIS.

vast public to read a book because he condemns it. He and his subordinates are responsible, not merely for the advertisement of what may properly be termed 'filthy' by conferring on it the charm of the forbidden, but, by creating the demand, they are directly responsible for the creation of the 'filth' which supplies the demand. That, we must always remember, is the central fact of the situation so far as the crudest and most offensive productions are concerned. It also extends its influence even to the sphere of genuine literature where Home Secretaries are impotent to create. Not long ago a book on an unconventional theme, but recognised by competent critics to be of literary distinction, was published in a small edition at a high price. The Home Secretary condemned it as 'obscene' and took steps which led to its supposed 'suppression.' To-day, a few weeks later, there are 60,000 copies of that book in circulation in English (the number of readers is enormously greater, and I hear of one man who made 20*l.* by letting his copy out to readers at half a crown each), while it is in course of translation into all the chief languages of Europe. You would think that the Minister who thus betrayed the cause he held sacred, and, as he believed, 'corrupted' so vast an army of human souls, would swiftly have followed the admirable example of Judas. But oh no! He complacently continues on his way, and you are tempted to think that he is just playing his part to the gallery in a wretched farce, perhaps secretly subsidised by the publishers of supposedly 'improper' books.

(3) You would be mistaken. The cause probably lies deeper, and a psycho-analyst might possibly help to reveal it. Dr. G. V. Hamilton, who is not a psycho-analyst, has lately presented in his *Research in Marriage* the most searching and elaborate document we yet possess concerning the intimate thoughts, feelings, and actions of typical and presumably normal members (100 men and 100 women) of what we should here call the upper middle class in New York, some of them persons of distinction. He finds that *not* 5 *per cent.* of these people have escaped damage in their sexual life or attitude from some unfavourable and preventable influence in early life. I am able to say that much the same is true of the conditions among the same class in England. But it is the class from which our Home Secretaries and Public Prosecutors are chosen, excellent people, no doubt, in many respects, but not always quite sane—too entangled in their own taboos—where sex is concerned.

(4) It is a mistake to identify the censors with Puritanism. It would be more correct to say that Puritanism has been in perpetual rebellion against censorship. In the great days of Puritanism the question of obscenity was not to the fore, and

THE CENSORSHIP OF BOOKS

II

THE question of the censorship of literature—and, in the wide sense, of art and the cinema—with special relation to what is vaguely called 'obscenity,' has lately come violently to the front. It is said, indeed, that we have no censorship. If that is so, we have what is worse: if not the Censorship, call it, if you like, the Inquisition. Under whatever name, the actions committed by a few persons in brief authority to-day are marked by a degree of ignorance and mental confusion—not to assign worse motives—scarcely to be found in any other field. The following six points, if we wish to clarify the situation, should be kept in mind.

(1) What is 'obscenity'? Nobody knows, though so many have undertaken to suppress it. The definition varies from day to day and from court to court. The absurdities and inconsistencies that have thus been laid down by magistrates and judges are competently and temperately set forth by Morris Ernst and William Seagle, a lawyer collaborating with a man of letters, in a book entitled *To the Pure . . . A Study of Obscenity and the Censor*, lately published in New York and shortly to be published in London. It is a book that would be mightily amusing if the issue were not still so serious.

(2) However defined, we know that 'obscenity' is the antiquated legal term to indicate *some* sort of reference to a sphere of natural human activity which is essential and even central, and which it is therefore entirely legitimate to refer to, for even Christian Fathers held that 'we should not be ashamed to name what God has not been ashamed to create.' There are indeed ways of such reference which may be regarded as offensive, though there is no agreement as to what the ways are which may be so regarded. None of them, however, would be likely to appeal to normally healthy minds if they were not surrounded by secrecy and prohibition. *The market in obscenity is artificially created.* That is the central fact of the situation. No one would read a book because the Home Secretary commends it; there is a

words, *Maxima debetur puero reverentia*, were written. And, truly, we must, in common justice, now add *et puellis*.

Let us, I would say, give no countenance to those who, while consenting to suppress the grosser kind of vicious publications, would silently allow the production of literary poisons more delicately flavoured. We can, I believe, still administer our existing laws for the punishment of wickedness and vice in such manner as to prevent the spread of depravity by means of writing, be it never so grammatical, graceful, or inspired.

DARLING.

neither long established nor tolerated. He could not possibly wield the muck-rake alone; and he would certainly be provided with a devoted band of assessors and advisers, adjutants and controllers, variously selected. Nor can I doubt that amongst them would presently be found 'the perfect woman, nobly planned, to warn, to counsel, and command,' with whom we have lately become in public life so familiar. Seeing the subjects to be dealt with, it is natural that the '*Fays-ce-que vouldras*' Circle should insist on providing for this. Such a censor, so surrounded, could not, I believe, effect anything useful, and the present control by the established courts of law would be at once superseded and destroyed.

That control of theirs rests upon the common law of England, which declares that obscene publications are *contra bonos mores*, that they constitute a misdemeanour, and that all guilty of such an offence are punishable on indictment. Moreover, there are certain already salutary statutes, which we have lately seen in action, for the punishment and destruction of this criminal commerce.

The opinions and rulings of an official censor, such as some now propose, would, I think, be constantly challenged—since *quot homines tot sententiae*—and most unedifying discussions would fill the daily pages of certain journals, not long since enriched by reports (now forbidden) of evidence heard in the Divorce Court. On the other hand, the authority of the King's Bench, and subordinate tribunals already firmly established, is, in my view, sufficient. The test for what is illegal is well understood, and is not difficult of application by judges, by juries, and by magistrates, whilst any author anxious to know the rule may read it in these plain words of Lord Chief Justice Cockburn, spoken in 1868, and acted on ever since:

> It is not to be said, because there are in many standard and established works objectionable passages, that therefore the law is not that obscene works are the subject-matter of indictment. I think that the test of obscenity is this, whether the tendency of the matter charged as obscenity is to deprave and corrupt those whose minds are open to such immoral influences, and into whose hands a publication of this sort may fall.

No one need trouble greatly to prevent ostriches from swallowing hobnails or halfpence, since these things do them no harm. But, nevertheless, the serving of such delicacies to the public in our restaurants should be succeeded—for the restaurateur—by appropriate penalties. Long before the Education Acts were passed, when to learn to read was not obligatory on the young, and multiplicity of printing presses was not yet, these necessary

there is no doubt, for the police proceedings are proof sufficient. But is a censorship of the kind suggested the only, or the proper, remedy? For my part I cannot so conclude.

It were useless to deny—since there is such long experience to the contrary—that many people find a gratification of some morbid instinct, often poetically refined and perversely fastidious, in the production, or assimilation, of obscene matter, either written or pictorial. Those familiar with the tastes and conduct of the degenerate and insane are well aware of their predilection for the filthy and the bestial. General culture is notoriously no cure for this failing, and often merely adds some specious attraction to what without it were repellent alone.

The evil consequence of the cultivation of those elegant exotics *les fleurs du mal*, and their presentation as bouquets to the inquisitive, though as yet incorrupt, have been long and widely recognised, and various remedies have been essayed.

> Vice is a monster of so frightful mien,
> As to be hated needs but to be seen;
> Yet seen too oft, familiar with her face,
> We first endure, then pity, then embrace.

Now, here we find the justification, the necessity indeed, for the intervention of the State in the interest of public morality. Such interference may be to prohibit the taking of the first step, or to punish that once taken, and to prevent a second. Obviously the more arbitrary method has much to recommend it; and the Vatican and other controllers of conduct have seen reason to prefer it. The *Index Librorum Prohibitorum* has included in its censorship many works of scientific distinction, together with multitudes of evil example and tendency. The law of England is by no means indifferent to the pestilence in question; yet, having in ages gone used such means as still commend themselves to the Vatican, we have since adopted different means, and, as I think, a less dangerous remedy—remembering always that, though it be necessary to root up the tares, good husbandry should stop short of destroying the corn also.

To me it appears that those who would again adapt the machinery of an official censorship to the printing presses of England have too little regard to the lapse of time. It is a daily boast among us—although perhaps it should be rather a subject for national humiliation—that we are now governed on those 'democratic principles' which some other nations have, after trial, seen good to abandon. Hardly an hour goes by but in Parliament and the Press alike we are treated to denunciations of the permanent official and *le droit administratif* by which he works. I feel sure that one single almighty censor would be

THE
NINETEENTH CENTURY
AND AFTER

No. DCXXVI—April 1929

THE 'CENSORSHIP' OF BOOKS

I

Licentious writing must, indeed, have gone far when we hear, as now we do, suggestions rising to something like a demand that novels should, as a preliminary to publication, solicit and receive the permission of a censor. It were hardly too much to say that the hallowed expressions 'Liberty of the Press' 'Magna Carta,' and 'Trial by jury' are, in England, commonly regarded as amongst the bare necessaries of life, whilst a 'free breakfast-table' and a high and early pension constitute the popular ideal of the future. And yet we find that, in place of the present allowance of freedom of expression, there is recommended such 'liberty of wise restraint' as might be looked for from the Holy Office itself. How sad is it to be obliged to admit that this retrograde revolution synchronises too precisely with the obtaining by women of what they hail as the establishment of their equality with men. Whose level has altered? We may wonder.

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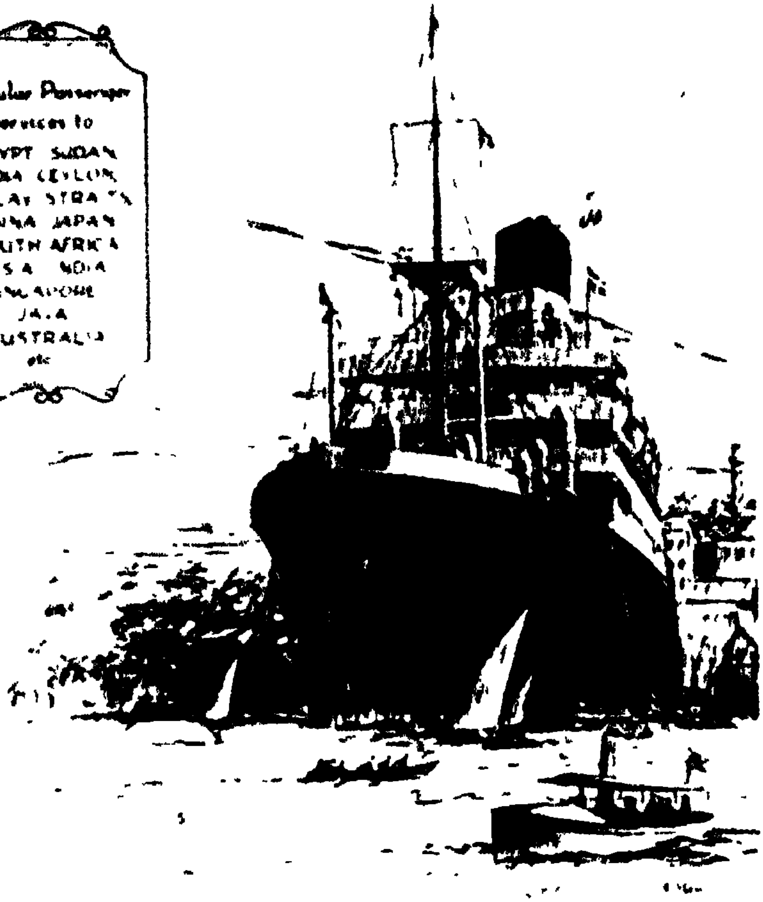
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Yours, etc.,

I G Stone

THE CHANNEL TUNNEL

To the Editor of the Nineteenth Century and After

Sir - I have read with much interest your admirable article ' A Channel Tunnel ' Nearly all the daily papers are now actively supporting the scheme and although I have written to several of these papers, it appears that they are determined to discourage all except those who advocate a tunnel and I feel convinced that the general public believe that there is no real case against the scheme I therefore venture to enlarge upon and bring forward a few more points

(1) *Passenger Traffic* The chairman of the Channel Tunnel Company is recently reported as having said that he is convinced that the increase in passenger traffic would not be in hundreds of thousands, but in millions I agree with him, for the Continent does offer us very real attractions with a better climate cheaper and better hotels gambling tables, and less trammelled restrictions, but I would add that the proportion of passengers travelling to these shores except our own people returning would be very small (perhaps 1 in 10) The net result would be that millions upon millions of new money would annually go to our near Continental neighbours This of course would hit our holiday resorts very hard and would swell the ranks of our unemployed

(2) *Trade* - I fail to see that a tunnel would materially help our trade Our export trade to the near Continent is not large I, however do consider that there would be an increase in our imports, which is not so desirable Undoubtedly a blow would be struck at our seaborne carrying trade, which is very vital to us One advocate of a tunnel says that not more than 1 per cent of our exports and imports *could* travel by a tunnel, and he infers that 1 per cent is a mere bagatelle. (I might here add that if once the principle of a Channel Tunnel is allowed there would be nothing against several tunnels being constructed to take any amount of traffic) The figure 1 per cent always looks small but when he admits it represents 7,000 000 tons of goods it makes one pause of this 7 000 000 tons we now probably carry the greater part in British ships but one must not imagine that it is simply a question of losing the carrying trade between the ports of, say Calais and Dover, but, what would be a much more serious loss, between, say, Mediterranean ports and England With a tunnel much of such goods would go across the Continent by rail, our share in the freightage

himself offered a prize of about 200*l.* for an anæsthetic that could be used in connexion with Jewish slaughter. To quote his own words: 'We would be only too delighted if we could find something of the kind.'

Why did the president also speak of putting down indiarubber pavements (1803–1807 and 1868–1871) on which to 'cast' the cattle unless the casting of cattle without such pavements be a barbarous and preventable cruelty? And can Mr Emanuel tell us of a single slaughter-house where such pavements are even now in general use? Or is the Admiralty Report of 1904 by no means the only thing which is 'hopelessly out of date'?

Mr Emanuel says that nobody has answered the 'challenge' of Professor L. Hill and Mr Openshaw. Does he not know the valuable reply by Professor R. G. Linton of the Royal Dick Veterinary College, Edinburgh?

In conclusion I should say we are all (Jew and Gentile) equally culpable with regard to the shocking places running with blood into which live animals are frequently dragged for slaughter, and that the traditional Gentile method of killing sheep and pigs leaves much to be desired on the score of humanity.

I much regret a slip in my article regarding the two models of slaughter-houses designed by Stephen Ayling, Esq., F.R.I.B.A. It was the one made for the Model Abattoir Society that was shown at Wembley, not that belonging to the Animal Defence Society.

Yours etc.,
LETTICE MACNAGHTEN.

THE CHANNEL TUNNEL

To the Editor of the NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER

SIR,—Your editorial article on 'A Channel Tunnel' in the January number of this Review offers a salutary check to the flood of irresponsible clamour in favour of a project which has been definitely turned down by successive Governments.

Your article recapitulates the military objections to the tunnel which have been raised on every occasion when the subject has been mooted, but there is one consideration which has not been touched upon, although it is equal in importance to that of military security. I refer to the consideration of our food supply and the manner in which it will be affected by the building of the tunnel. It will be affected vitally in two ways.

(1) The existence of the tunnel will be used as an argument for saving on our naval expenditure, with the result that when the tunnel is put out of action in war time (*a*) by ourselves as a military precaution, or (*b*) by an enemy as a war blockade measure, we should have wholly inadequate protection for our overseas (super-marine) communications with the Continent.

(2) The success of the submarine transport of goods and passengers would be the direct measure of the decay of our splendidly organised cross-Channel sea service, with its ample fleet and well equipped harbour services. When the tunnel service becomes well established and practically supersedes the boat service, we shall not be able 'by merely pressing a

had a difficult time, but all the terrible consequences of the stoppage would not have followed. The men's savings would not have been dissipated; our export trade would not have been presented to our competitors for seven months, our other industries would not have been hampered and set back by the high price of coal and the difficulty of obtaining it, with inevitable reactions on the coal trade itself, thus making a bad state of things far worse

Mrs Murray has drawn a terrible picture and has doubtless done so for a charitable purpose, but the picture so drawn cannot be accepted as a fair and true representation unless the causes contributory to the present position are fairly and truly stated

Yours faithfully,

PHILIP GEE

4, New Court, Lincoln's Inn, W.C. 2
January 12 1929

'SLAUGHTER-HOUSE REFORM'

To the Editor of the NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER

SIR, Permit me to reply briefly to Mr Emanuel's criticism of my remarks on the method of Jewish slaughter. He asserts that the Report of the Admiralty Committee (1904) is 'hopelessly out of date' If the method of Jewish slaughter has changed since that date will Mr Emanuel be good enough to say what these changes have been? If, on the contrary, the system has not changed then it is merely throwing dust in the eyes of your readers to insinuate that the Report is out of date

Mr Emanuel also says that 'Witnesses who desired to testify as to what they knew about it were stopped by him' (the chairman). I will take one example which makes this clear

'(986) CHAIRMAN (to Mr John Colam, a skilled witness with long experience) Have you anything further to say on the subject of slaughtering cattle?'

'Mr COLAM Do you mean the Jewish method?''

'(987) CHAIRMAN 'No we are not going into that really I think we are all agreed that it is a cruel method *I presume you are of that opinion?*"

'Mr COLAM *Yes, I am sorry to say I am, I should like to be of another opinion if I could because I do not want to have the appearance of being intolerant, but it really is so*"'

The words in italics were *not* given by Mr Emanuel, and the omission was both surprising and regrettable Your readers may now see what his (Mr Colam's) opinion was, and they will wonder how Mr Emanuel could possibly assert that the witness was 'stopped' by the chairman.

The Committee, far from trying to stifle discussion on this subject, asked the president of the Shechita Board no less than seventy-two questions in addition to the information they received from other witnesses, and certain of the Committee, together with the two eminent physiologists who gave expert advice, saw a number of beasts killed in the Jewish way.

The president of the Shechita Board presumably made out the best possible case for the Jewish method, nevertheless he said in answer to questions 1845–1847 and 1857–1859 (Minutes of Evidence) that he had

CORRESPONDENCE

THE MINER'S HOME

To the Editor of the NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER.

SIR,—The article by Mrs. D. L. Murray under the above title in your January issue will excite the sympathy of your readers and I doubt th[illegible] it was meant to do so at a time when national efforts are being made to secure the expression of that sympathy in a tangible form.

I should not therefore refer to the article were it not that certainly in its concluding passages [illegible] definitely [illegible] it appears to impute the blame for the present condition of the coalfields to those who are generally described as the coalowners. Mrs. Murray speaks of the 'dead expenses' of rents, royalties and directors' fees as if rents and directors' fees were unknown to any other industry. Directors' fees in the coal industry amount to a matter of [illegible] was shown to the Royal Commission to be less than one farthing per ton. And even the Labour Party does not propose to abolish royalties, but only to transfer the receipt of them from their present owners to the State.

Mrs. Murray's picture of the miner's home should not be taken as typical, although it may be typical of certain areas in certain coalfields in a period of unexampled difficulty and depression. But the most remarkable omission from her article is any reference to the main causes of that depression: the lack of demand in continental countries for British coal, the permanent increase in the numbers registered as mine workers owing to the retention of those men who came into the industry during and immediately after the war, and the stoppage of 1926.

It was the definite policy of the Miners' Federation to retain as miners those who came in during the war, although they increased by about 150,000 the number of men who produced the record output of 1913.

Further, during the stoppage of 1926 the men were advised, and as long as possible compelled, to resist 'a penny off the pay or a second on the day,' although the Royal Commission had warned the country that the wages of 1925 were uneconomic and unjustifiable, that 'a disaster was impending over the industry,' and that 'by a reduction in working costs through the revision of wages,' and in that way alone, could the disaster be averted. And we have it on the authority of the General Council of the Trade Union Congress that on the admission of the miners' leaders themselves 'the adoption of their slogan would have meant the immediate throwing out of work of some 300,000 mine-workers by the closing of uneconomic mines.'

Wages would certainly have been reduced under the owners' proposals made before the stoppage in 1926. The miners would undoubtedly have

minate, by his own hand, his love-tortured existence, he had to pass a humble tavern displaying this sign, hanging from a post :

THE BLACK HORSE

From the Black Horse of Longchamps to the Black Horse of Ixelles ! And how strangely it epitomised Boulanger's romantic odyssey. In France, even to-day, there are men and women of *the Boulangist period who still cherish in their hearts the souvenir* of the man who had, by his courage and energy, inspired despairing France with renewed faith in her destiny and, by his tragic constancy, conquered his place among the Great Lovers of History

ROLAND BELFORT

struggle for her lover had so exhausted her, body and soul, that she could no longer enjoy her 'triumph.' Boulanger, heart-broken, helpless, realised that he was about to lose her. Thus in July 1891 she died in his arms, sounding with her last breath the death-knell of her lover. For, always superstitious, she had already asserted that he was destined to die a violent death, a prediction too soon to be confirmed. On her gravestone Boulanger scratched these words:

A bientôt, Marguerite

At her funeral his friends found him a changed man, looking old, grey, spiritless, subject to nervous jerky movements and fits of depression. Those who had known him at the *apogee* of his career were affected unto tears. Could this dejected, hopeless figure be the superb, smiling General of the famous revue and the black charger?

What had Boulanger to live for? The Comte de Paris offered him a generous pension to enable him to maintain his dignified position in France or in Italy; Count Dillon implored him to accept a villa he had in Italy, undertaking to make every arrangement for his comfort in his grief. Boulanger could have earned an enormous sum by lecturing in America. But he saw, night or day, nothing but Marguerite's haunting face; brooding with a sort of pleasurable persistence he lived in spirit with his departed lover, until the strain was too great and he could no longer live without her. Paul Déroulède, a bosom friend, found among his papers this note: '*I die because I can no longer bear my grief, grief against which I have struggled, but in vain.*'

Then came the end. Over Marguerite's grave in the little cemetery of Ixelles, a suburb of Brussels, a sudden shot was heard—Boulanger had confirmed Marguerite's prediction of his violent death. The famous '*Je t'adore*' portrait, which she had sent him the day following their first romantic meeting, was found in his bosom stained with blood gushing from his heart.

The national renown of this gallant soldier and constant lover had been consecrated, if not actually established, on that historic Fourteenth of July when he caracoled at Longchamps, at the head of his army on a superb black charger, amid the delirious acclamations of the crowd and the joyous crash of *La Marseillaise*. The entire nation hailed that day the renaissance of France, initiated by one who then appeared as a Man of Destiny. This marked his first step on the road to power and fame. His black charger became for France a symbol of Hope and Coming Triumph.

As he was proceeding along his *via dolorosa*, resolved to ter-

into a violent rage, asserting that Meyer and his Royalist friends were conspiring to provoke his destruction. In frenzied accents he shouted: 'Nothing can change my decision. If the Almighty Himself descended on earth, He could not prevail upon me to return to Paris!' From that moment the leaders could nourish no further illusions. The die was cast—the movement was killed; the High Court had condemned Boulanger, Count Dillon, and Henri de Rochefort for treason in their absence.

First squalid, then tragic, was the sequel of this politico-passional romance, which had kept France, and even Europe, in a ferment for several years. The General, unable to maintain his luxurious existence in London with his own resources, retired to Jersey. Thus Marguerite had at last attained the summit of her ambition. For she had estranged the General from his friends, removed him from the Duchess d'Uzès, kept him away from his wife, and realised her darling dream of *enfin, seuls!* But the poor, suffering creature soon discovered that a brilliant lover living in luxury, with the prospect of becoming dictator of France, was quite a different personage from the soured, defeated politician with limited financial resources and outlawed by the High Court. Certainly they had secured their *solitude à deux*. But how could the luxury-loving General help forgetting the excitement and adulation of his former existence, the idolatry of the crowd, the incense of the Press, the deference of the *élite* of French society who had treated him as a coming monarch, the devoted loyalty of his friends, or reflecting that without Marguerite he might have returned to Paris with fair hopes of achieving the political success for which they had all worked so hard and made so many sacrifices? He spent his time dreaming, reading, writing, probably asking himself whether he had not sacrificed a brilliant destiny for the sake of an amorous adventure—with its sordid unsavoury accompaniments. For he had observed a startling change in Marguerite since the day she had fascinated him by her physical beauty, her rare accomplishments, and those haunting eyes gleaming with passion for him. She became more pallid than ever, haggard and angular, never ceased to cough night or day, had grown depressed, moody. Her successive sorrows had dulled those lustrous eyes, now darkened by ominous circles.

Their monotonous life engendered in both a cruel, brooding melancholy. Boulanger's spirits drooped below zero; Marguerite, conscious that all her dreams of happiness in a glorious future had been irrevocably shattered, lost her hold on life. Hoping to create a diversion, Boulanger proposed his third and final pilgrimage to Brussels. But Marguerite's malady was physico-mental—too serious for alleviation by any external surroundings. This fierce

altruistic; but it is human.' And she succeeded. Thus at a critical moment there was a midnight meeting at the Langham Hotel, at which the General, Count Dillon, the Duchess d'Uzès, and the principal Conservative leaders discussed the question with the General of his return to Paris just before the elections. All concerned pleaded with him that his defection must ruin the cause, tarnish his honour, nullify all their patriotic and, so far, successful efforts, leave France still in the hands of swindling politicians. The General, visibly affected, almost to tears, finally promised to return. His friends, jubilant, left the meeting certain that they had triumphed. Alas! At the very moment of taking this virile resolution the tortured lover suddenly realised that Marguerite was waiting in her brougham at the door of the hotel, sick unto death, coughing raucously, pending the result of this conference, fraught with such vital import for her as for the General. Yet *she felt that she would still have the last word.* What happened when the lovers reached home? I gathered from Marguerite that there was a tragic scene: alternately she wept, cajoled, prayed, and even threatened suicide. Knowing that this was her last battle for the retention of her lover—which meant for her own life—this amazing woman finally dominated the spirit of the distracted General. When she retired to her room exhausted, panting, coughing, she was able, after all, to comfort herself with the conviction that she had triumphed. A tragic victory!

The next morning Dillon was notified by Boulanger, in irrevocable terms, that he would not return to Paris, this despite the solemn promise made a few short hours before. I heard afterwards—but cannot guarantee the statement, for I was just then in Paris—that the Duchesse d'Uzès indignant hastened to the General to make still another effort to save his honour and the cause. She displayed all her eloquence, all her fervent patriotism to persuade him, said my informant, almost going down on her knees, to implore the General to keep his word and save his honour. Just as she was making her most impassioned appeal Marguerite, furious, dishevelled, rushed into the room and hissed 'Georges, pay no attention to that creature!' Interrupted by a frightful spasm of coughing the unhappy woman suddenly paused. Then, panting, pallid, with fury in her eyes, she gasped: 'They want you to be killed!' Then the eyes of the two women met—the mistress trembling with fury and blind jealousy. The Duchess terrified by such a tragic apparition, inspired by generous pity and sympathy for this dying woman, beat a hasty retreat.

That same day Arthur Meyer, editor of *Le Gaulois*—the confidential adviser of the Duchess d'Uzès, a man who had played a very prominent part in the Boulangist campaign from start to finish—made a personal appeal to the General. The latter flew

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de Bonnemain was seriously ill and had to be left in Brussels. She was subsequently escorted to London by one of the General's military friends and rejoined him. In London this unfortunate lady found herself more isolated than ever—in a strange land, knowing nothing of the language, having no friends and in an alarming state of health. Perhaps her most poignant sorrow was that her lover was free to go into society, being inundated with invitations, after Lord Randolph Churchill had invited General Boulanger and Count Dillon to dinner to meet the Prince of Wales. For obvious reasons she could not accompany the General into society, and thus remained—a prisoner, isolated, wretched. She knew that the General could meet the Duchess every time the latter came to London, and fretted because he was too busy to devote himself exclusively to his mistress as in the past. To me she often recounted her miseries: how she hated the climate, the curious English customs, and the crowds of strange people hovering around Boulanger. On the other hand, I gathered from the General's changed manner that he was depressed by this necessity to nurse a sick, neurotic woman, whose temper was exacerbated by a chronic, racking cough, while he was in the whirl of a political campaign upon which depended the future of France—and his own. I even heard that he had complained to Count Dillon of his house 'smelling like a hospital ward,' littered with bottles, bandages, and other medical adjuncts. This brilliant General, formerly all smiles and affability, became snappy, ill-tempered, prone to sudden fits of rage, followed by periods of depression. For the campaign was going badly—a pessimistic foreboding prevailed in the Boulangist ranks. Exile had done its dread work among the mercurial Frenchmen!

Meantime, nobody outside Boulanger's circle had cognisance of the terrific duel being fought in Portland Place over his return to Paris to face the elections. Marguerite, alone, was opposing Boulanger, Count Dillon, the Comte de Paris, the Bonapartists, the Royalist leaders in Paris, and the Republicans in both Paris and London. All these were eager for the return of the General, and were valiantly supported by the Duchess d'Uzès, conscious that such return was indispensable. Yet this frail, suffering, but strong-willed mistress of Boulanger was determined that her lover should not return to France, despite the fact that she, personally, was dying to return home. Thus the daily scenes that marked this struggle were painful to witness, for they connoted all the elements of a tragic *dénouement* for a campaign that had started so brilliantly.

'I prefer my happiness to his reputation,' said Marguerite. 'The Duchess got him back once, but she cannot do it again. I intend to keep him for myself alone. This is not heroic or

get a divorce—*she had already got hers*. But his wife resisted; the Pope had refused a dispensation; Marguerite's fondest dreams were shattered. Then followed another cruel blow. She was aware that her lover was brought into frequent contact with the Duchess d'Uzès for political purposes, but she without any grounds ascribed their friendship to some more intimate sentiment. Marguerite, jealous, tortured, was so soul-stricken that she even meditated flight and suicide. Finally she tempted the General to leave Paris for Brussels, and they travelled as Monsieur and Madame Bruno. Weakly, the General had yielded, regardless of his momentous political commitments. But the Duchess d'Uzès persuaded Count Dillon to go to Brussels and bring him back. Marguerite wept, pleaded and even threatened, but the Count sternly insisted that Boulanger should return to resume his leadership in France, and the General felt compelled to acquiesce. Not very long after that there were rumours of a threatened arrest and prosecution of Boulanger, Dillon, and Rochefort, the three prominent members of the party. I myself was warned of this by two highly placed Government functionaries and a naval officer with official relations who was an ardent Boulangist. Then Boulanger was warned by a secret agent, who, finding that he did not believe him, exhibited the next day a warrant for his arrest, ready for execution. Marguerite was delighted, and implored Boulanger to flee at once. But he insisted upon consulting Count Dillon, and the latter arranged that the General, Rochefort, and himself should retire to Brussels to await events.

The next evening the General and Marguerite travelled to that city at one end of the evening mail, while Count and Countess Dillon and myself were at the other. The two parties did not meet at the Paris station. Should we all be arrested at the frontier? Arrived there, I got out, strolled about, on the alert for any surprise. However, nothing happened, and we arrived in Brussels to find that Rochefort and Marguerite de Vervoort *had already arrived in Brussels*, where Rochefort had often spent his time in exile. There was a legend current in Paris, where I arrived again within a few hours, that when Constans, the Minister of the Interior, was apprised by the prefect of police, who had 'shadowed' the entire party in the train, that Boulanger had crossed the frontier, he exclaimed: 'Excellent, Boulanger is dead!' Shrewd diagnosis.

But the French Government, vindictive, eager to embarrass Boulanger and his friends, persuaded the Belgian Government to 'invite the General to cross the Channel.' This mission was fulfilled with rare courtesy and consideration by the chief of police on behalf of the Government. The General and his friends decided upon an immediate departure for London, although Marguerite

barred, so great was the pressure of the throng. Outside there was a surging, shouting, singing crowd of 250,000, delirious with electoral fever. The commissaire de police was in that crowd in private clothes with a warrant to arrest Boulanger in his pocket in case of disorder. But could he have executed it? He knew his men were ardent Boulangists; that it would have been dangerous to mobilise them to arrest the General, for they might have refused. Had Boulanger issued from the restaurant supported by a few stalwart friends, it is probable that the police would have taken the head of a triumphal procession to the Elysée and that the crowd would have there maintained him against the strongest force

At that fateful hour Boulangism had reached its *apogée;* the moment for decisive, virile action had arrived. The future of France was trembling in the balance. At one minute past twelve Henri de Rochefort, the famous journalist and a strong supporter of Boulanger, took out his watch and said to us: 'Minuit cinq: depuis cinq minutes Boulanger a perdu la partie.' Whether the General heard this or not I cannot say But soon afterwards he decided to retire; a way was fought for by supporters through the delirious crowd; he stepped into his carriage and was driven off towards the Champs Elysées Within a few minutes he was discussing the events of the evening with Madame de Bonnemain, who had, as usual, remained in obscurity during this historic evening. They were not many yards from the Elysée Palace, where the President was anxiously awaiting events. Around Boulanger that evening were shrewd partisans who favoured a vigorous policy, while others advised 'Go slowly; triumph is certain.' This latter policy was secretly favoured by the General himself, who had always felt, and even expressed, an invincible horror of extra-legal action, obsessed by his long respect for rigid discipline—convinced that the citadel would fall without battering ram; that, in a word, the people themselves would elevate him to power by normal, constitutional means. Fatal error. But—at the back of Boulanger's mind were two considerations: (1) No surrender of power would be made by the reigning Ministers without a tremendous struggle, in which they would control all the principal forces; (2) suppose this struggle should result in civil war and that Germany determined to intervene in order to resume and complete the work of 1870? Grave considerations, destined to produce a powerful, deterrent effect on a man of Boulanger's temperament and training.

This period constituted really the turning point in the love affairs of Boulanger and Marguerite de Bonnemain. So long as she had been inspired by the prospect of marriage with Boulanger she remained patient, trustful, happy. For he had promised to

characteristic energy and ardour he entered upon a politica career, soon constituted a party, and achieved amazing successe both in Paris and in the provinces. Everywhere I saw him ac with remarkable vigour; he worked night and day, conductin his political, social, and other duties with military exactitud and a charming *bonhomie* which explained and developed hi popularity Genuine was his grief when he could not spare tim to indite his daily letter to Marguerite, but only a short telegram prepared by me with a few hints from him between two interviews These telegrams were sent to a trustworthy friend in Paris an secretly delivered to Marguerite, who addressed all hers to me Boulanger imagined that this system would baffle the Govern ment, but I said the Cabinet Noir was working night and day and the Ministers usually read all telegrams for or from him befor he or Marguerite could see them On one occasion the Govern ment published decoded copies of some of Boulanger's politica telegrams, one of which I had myself put into code

At certain intervals the lovers stole away together to Spain Morocco, Royat or other remote region, where they could live i quietude and solitude, far from the daily whirl in which th General usually lived—brief, ecstatic visions of happiness, fo politics soon claimed him all over the country According t *La Belle Meunière* of Royat, who was in their confidence, an published their conversations, Boulanger was so infatuated wit Marguerite that he told this woman 'I love her so much that i she asked me at this moment to put a revolver to my head an fire I would obey her—like a soldier.' When the General wa wounded in a duel and was being nursed by the Countess Dillon at her Neuilly residence Marguerite suddenly arrived in his room Quite bluntly the patient said to his devoted hostess: 'Go away I want to be alone with Marguerite' When travelling, th arrival of each letter from his mistress always put him into a fever and he postponed everything to read it in private.

The zenith of Boulanger's political career was attained or Sunday, January 27, 1889, when he was elected as deputy fo Paris by a splendid majority. The electoral meetings in every quarter of Paris were stormy in the extreme; each political hal became a field of battle, bludgeons and even revolvers being freely flourished. The war of posters was terrific: they were ordered by the hundred thousand on both sides; two armies of bill stickers fought with fury. It was really a fight between th General and the Government, the latter utilising every means o defeating this formidable foe. When election day arrived Boulanger and his friends met at the famous Restaurant Durand in the Madeleine quarter, to receive the results. Before eleven o'clock the iron doors of the restaurant had to be closed and

amorous emotion at this daring presentment of the woman who was so boldly casting at his feet her seductive beauty. Who can blame him if he forgot his puritanical, *bourgeoise* iceberg to worship this Peri of Paris, or failed to divine that this portrait was destined to be stained with his heart's blood, shed for the love of her?

Frequently they met, but mysteriously, for secrecy was as indispensable as it was delicious to these ardent lovers. Georges saw in Marguerite a beautiful sorceress, endowed with a morbid, fatal style of beauty which appealed to his yearning for romance after an arid period of military poverty and a loveless, dismal marriage. In his eyes she appeared as a woman apart—predestined, as he himself then appeared to be. Marguerite shared this conviction; for one day she said to me: 'Are we to-day playing another Nelson-Hamilton drama?' My reply was guarded: 'Assuredly, Madame. To-day you are writing a page of the History of France; Children of Destiny, your fame will endure as long as that of our two Constant Lovers.'

Dark, tall, and with a lovely skin and a finely developed figure, Marguerite had refined, aristocratic features and beautifully shaped hands, of which she was rather proud. And she had a charming manner; coquettish, she courted admiration and was not averse from a mild flirtation. Paul Deroulede, one of Boulanger's most influential supporters, president of the League of Patriots, some 400,000 strong, was among her most ardent admirers, and did not hesitate to reveal the fact to her. At her funeral his friends had great difficulty in preventing him throwing himself into her grave. Everybody that met her was struck by the haunting beauty of her eyes, the most expressive I ever saw in a woman. And I had seen Marguerite's eyes glowing with the flame of love and blazing with the fury of passion. She was clever, alert in mind, with all the elegant manners and style of a Paris society woman—shallow, perhaps, to a point, but intensely interesting and alluring. Where her position with Boulanger was concerned she was as firm as a rock, and strong in her determination to control and hold him unto death. With him she was usually submissive, loving, but to the acute observer she appeared still the master, whom her lover frequently consulted and to whom he could refuse nothing. For her he risked his command at Clermont Ferrand, for his 'absence without leave' resulted from his yearning to see her, knowing that she was ill in Paris.

From the moment the two lovers met, Boulanger neglected smart society, devoted his leisure exclusively to Marguerite, could not live without her, suffered tortures during her absence, braved any risk to spend an hour or two in her company. With

foreign beauties who pursued him as the reigning celebrity, really touched his heart—not even Mademoiselle Reichemberg, of the Comédie Française, although she called at the Ministry to ask for some favour for her son, then in the army. Certainly the worship of these brilliant society women flattered his vanity, but they did not make him 'lose the north,' as the boulevardiers say. He smiled, flirted, accepted the gifts the gods provided. But they all left his heart and soul intact. Now, history is there to prove that one woman frequently avenges women in general. When Marguerite de Bonnemain deliberately threw herself across his path Boulanger found in her not only an adorable mistress, but, *pari passu*, a tyrannical master, destined to dominate his entire life.

The expression 'deliberately' appears justified, for Marguerite, excited by sensational Press publicity in prose, poetry and picture, succumbed to the glamour of Boulanger's personality, so persistently idealised by brilliant journalists. In masterly fashion did she organise her campaign. She was divorced from her husband—'incompatibility of temperament.' Here was a romantic, neurotic creature, a consumptive, whose *vague à l'âme* kept her eternally on the rack—a prey to weird yearnings and impossible desires, some inspired by a morbid ambition. Already she was credited with several '*affaires*,' one with a handsome German princelet. Determined to know the idol of France, she implored a woman friend in Paris to arrange for her to meet him. A dinner was arranged; they met in luxurious surroundings. The star *couturier* of the Rue de la Paix created for her one of those 'stunning' gowns which threw into high relief all this beauty's charm of face and figure. Confident in her beauty, and in her sartorial perfection, Marguerite deployed all her forces of seduction, burning with a fierce determination to enthral this man of destiny. Complete was her success; the General succumbed to a veritable *coup de foudre*. In the army his wildest dreams of romance had not extended beyond a strapping *vivandière*, or *cabotine*, and this vision of exotic beauty arrayed in all the glories of Paris, manifestly enamoured of his person, was a new sensation—compelling, irresistible. They parted, Marguerite with the glint of love and conquest in her eyes, her idol fascinated by those haunting eyes which revealed the ardour of her passion and a glimpse of Paradise which he had never before seen. His fate was sealed, his happiness complete. The next day Marguerite got photographed in her magic gown, and sent the best proof to the General with this dedication:

Je t'adore.

MARGUERITE.

Such sublime audacity captivated the General, who gazed with

momentous results, for Boulanger, by legal constitutional action, brought France to the brink of a popular revolution. History must record that one woman furnished the financial basis of General Boulanger's political career; that another woman, his wife, destroyed his domestic happiness; while a third, his mistress, brought about his political collapse and even deliberately inspired him with 'the will to die.' Thus from the day that Boulanger started his campaign he was occupied by his complicated relations with three women—notably the Duchess, whose support was regarded as purely patriotic, impersonal, and absolutely disinterested. The French people appeared to accept her as a modern Joan of Arc, who, with her millions, aspired to do for France what the Inspired Maid had done for her by vision and faith.

Quite marvellous was the *maestria* with which Boulanger contrived to manœuvre in this triple campaign, bristling with difficulties, pitfalls, and personal struggles. The General had married in 1865, and before he was thirty, Mademoiselle Renouard, a superstrict, bilious *bourgeoise*, narrowminded, Calvinistic. She regarded with suspicion the most innocent social pleasures. As for sexual diversions—anathema! Her husband, gay, *bon garçon*, the soul of sociability, took no pleasure in her interminable religious dissertations, was bored to the bone by the dismal dissertations of her religious cronies. Madame Boulanger was always moaning about her fate—and his—in the next world; the General, young, ambitious, pleasure-loving, was eager for social and personal successes—anxious about his promotion and privileges here below His domestic existence was so much cramped, so saturated with a sour puritanism, that a separation appeared inevitable. The occasion arrived when he became Minister of War; he had to assume this brilliant position while conscious that his wife was temperamentally unfit to play the part of a great lady on official occasions. He lived in a whirl of functions, receptions, banquets, all necessitating the presence of a gracious, tactful hostess. But she absolutely failed to rise to the level of her position and opportunities, and finally drifted right away from him, taking with her Marcelle and Hélène, their two daughters.

Who could wonder that Boulanger should have lived the life of a semi-detached bachelor while Minister of War? For his wife refused to divorce him, for reasons which can be surmised, given his temperament and opportunities. Thus, after a strenuous, penurious army career he frankly revelled in the gaieties of *la vie Parisienne*, responding gallantly, if somewhat cynically, to the adulation and incense of smart society. But not one of the beautiful Parisiennes, actresses or singers, not one of those rich

that day forth his popularity aroused the resentment and finally the fury of the Government clique, smarting from the open contempt of the crowd, inspired by the sensational revelations of the Press. Cries of 'À bas les voleurs' became frequent in Paris at that time.

So much did the Ministers loathe and fear this popular favourite that they hoped for no peace or respite until the General had been crushed; they denounced him as a danger to the Republic, a subsidised tool of the Monarchists. Charles Floquet, the Premier, insulted him and provoked a duel, in which the General slipped and sustained a wound in the throat, from which he speedily recovered. By intrigues they drove him from office, banished him to the provinces as head of an army corps at Clermont Ferrand. When he left the Gare de Lyon to take up his command, 300,000 delirious Parisians swarmed around the station, blocked the line, and defied the repressive efforts of the police, many of the latter being secret Boulangists. Madly the crowd cheered, sang *C'est Boulanger qu'il nous faut*, and screamed 'À bas les voleurs' (the Ministers). Had Boulanger been a reckless gambler, he might that day have placed himself at the head of a revolutionary movement which would probably have precipitated civil war. But, prudently, he made no sign, and his train was slowly extricated from the station and started towards Clermont Ferrand amid strident cries of 'Il reviendra! Il reviendra!'

However, the Ministers continued their persecution. He had not been long at Clermont Ferrand before they contrived to deprive him of his command, and even removed his name from the Army List, the pretext being 'Absence from his post without Ministerial sanction'—a monstrous punishment for such a trivial offence. But it served. Unfortunately for the Ministers, such furious persecution consolidated the popularity of their victim throughout the country, and even abroad.

Some time before leaving the army Boulanger had achieved such wide popularity that patriotic admirers in eleven departments had given him their votes at elections, as a protest against this Ministerial persecution. Soon after he left the War Office he was elected for a famous northern constituency, and made a triumphant entry into the Chamber of Deputies, acclaimed by a mighty crowd of admirers, singing *En revenant de la Revue* and *La Marseillaise*. France had definitely adopted him as a patriotic, successful general and coming statesman.

At this stage of Boulanger's career romance began to play a prominent part, for a millionairess, the Duchess d'Uzès, furnished the funds for his elections, the first amount being exactly 1000*l*. Never did such a modest contribution ultimately generate equally

high hopes of a glorious future. 'Incidents' with Germany were not rare; Boulanger had to deal with one, and greatly impressed the country by the firm, dignified attitude he assumed towards the Germans—triumphant and even truculent.

Who can wonder that the French people should have acquired the conviction that this brilliant general and statesman would prove the Man of Destiny, a precious national asset? Press and public credited him with the ability and energy to restore order internally and even to reconquer for France her lost provinces. They adopted the slogan: 'C'est Boulanger qu'il nous faut.' During our electoral tournaments throughout France I noted that his popularity was amazing; poets sang his praises, musicians composed hymns in his honour, the Press devoted to him and his campaigns daily attention, the cables of the world vibrated with interminable despatches recording his exploits and his triumphs. Wherever he went the people applauded him with frenzied enthusiasm: daily I saw men weep with joy at shaking him by the hand; women stormed his guard and kissed him with patriotic fervour; his portrait was found in the cottages of the poor as in the mansions of the rich. At some Paris houses he was entertained as a monarch; when he dined with the Duchesse d'Uzès she received him with royal ceremony, instead of announcing 'Madame La Duchesse est servie,' the formula used was 'Monsieur le Général Boulanger est servi.' At the most aristocratic houses in Paris the ladies were presented to the General, and curtseyed as to an emperor or prince of the blood. In London too, he treated on equal terms with the Comte de Paris, in an interview arranged by the Duchesse d'Uzès at the Hyde Park Hotel, where she was staying. One of the first invitations to dinner received by Boulanger when he arrived in London as an exile was from Lord Randolph Churchill—'to meet the Prince of Wales.' Before that Boulanger had spent a joyous evening with the Prince at the famous Chat Noir, where Rodolphe de Salis, *le gentilhomme cabaratier*, had insisted upon treating the General *en empereur*, never addressing him without the prefix of 'Sire,' much to the amusement of the Prince of Wales, who roared at some of the quips of de Salis. So did Lord Randolph Churchill. That was the most brilliant entertainment I ever had the privilege of witnessing in Paris.

Altogether General Boulanger so much absorbed the attention of the country that he quite eclipsed not only the Ministers, but the President of the Republic himself. His popularity was strikingly demonstrated by the acclamations of Paris at the Fourteenth of July Review at Longchamps, a national function at which the General appeared at the head of a brilliant *état-major*, mounted on a superb black charger which excited general admiration. From

cash basis, of decorations, appointments, subsidies, ministerial signatures and other State privileges. Ministers were corrupt, discredited in the eyes of the people. The latter, humiliated, exasperated, were yearning for the advent of some strong man capable of rescuing their country from the chaotic state into which it had been allowed to drift. Boulanger arrived at the psychological moment; the entire country welcomed him as the coming man. He arrived in the capital with brilliant credentials, made powerful friends, rose easily to the level of what appeared to be his high destinies.

Georges Ernest Jean Marie Boulanger was born at Rennes on April 29, 1837, his father being French and his mother Welsh. He spent a certain period of his boyhood in a school at Brighton, from there he was peremptorily removed for having mobilised a few comrades to throw several of his tormentors into a pond because they had called him a 'French frog.' His father then placed him in a school at Nantes, where he continued his studies with such success that a brilliant future was predicted for him. Quite early in life he had notified his intention of becoming a Marshal of France with the highest decorations, starting with the Cross of the Legion of Honour When seventeen he entered the Military School of St Cyr, where he strove to realise his ambition to become a great soldier He passed out with a brilliant record in the annual movement, which was called 'The Promotion du Crimée' Count Dillon entered and left the school at the same time as his comrade

During his military career Boulanger served with distinction in the Far East, and enjoyed the privilege of being the youngest Knight of the Legion of Honour. Later he established a brilliant record in Africa, where he was nicknamed by his soldiers '*le petit français*.' Throughout the 'terrible year' he fought continuously, and was severely wounded at an engagement near Paris. When the war ended he was regarded as one of the most brilliant surviving officers, for everywhere he had given proofs of courage, judgment, and an ardent patriotism. His dream was that France should be restored to her ancient proud position by regaining Alsace-Lorraine, thus revealing his strong sympathy with the secret aspirations of the entire nation at that time. Boulanger continued to attract special attention at the War Office; when a military mission was decided upon to represent France in America the General was selected, and achieved such success that further promotion became almost a certainty. Finally he was appointed Minister of War, the people regarding his advent with special favour. While he did not remain long at that Ministry, he introduced many reforms for the soldiers' benefit, doubled his popularity, inspired both people and army with fresh courage and

GENERAL BOULANGER'S LOVE TRAGEDY:

A PAGE OF FRENCH HISTORY

NEVER since Napoleon Bonaparte dominated Europe had France been so stirred to her depths by violent political strife as she was by General Boulanger towards the end of the nineteenth century. Nor can the present generation realise the immense sensation created by the exploits of this politico-military genius and popular idol, who, within three short years, captured the hearts of the French of every class, overshadowing and almost terrifying all his political adversaries—and even some friends. Paris and the provinces alike hailed him as a modern Napoleon, the Coming Saviour of France from her swindling, incapable politicians, and from the hated Teuton A common aspiration and a spirit of patriotic enthusiasm generated a hero worship which consolidated all parties—except the Ministerial clique.

Several accounts of Boulanger's career have been published in England, but they were obviously written by amateurs who had no knowledge of Boulanger or of the inside working of his campaign. Now, the vicissitudes of a roving career threw me into intimate relations with the principal personages of this drama of politics and passion—General Boulanger; Marguerite de Bonnemain, Count Arthur Dillon, the General's *alter ego*, a former comrade of St Cyr, the French Sandhurst, and of the army, who became his political adviser and financial director. With Count Dillon I had been associated as private secretary, sharing his family life and travels, and he occasionally 'lent' me to General Boulanger to act for him in a similar capacity. Thus I was a daily witness of this evolution of a popular idol, from the time he entered politics until he shot himself on the grave of his adored mistress

What was then the position? France was still humiliated and restricted by her memories of the ignominious defeat of 1870; her internal affairs were in a deplorable state; her prestige abroad was thereby tarnished; the world was amazed by the spectacle of the Elysée Palace being transformed by Daniel Wilson, son-in-law of the President, Jules Grévy, into a bureau for the sale, on a

V

At a certain point in the writing of his *Golden Bowl*—the book of his which satisfied him most—Henry James wrote to tell his literary agent that he was within 15,000 words of the end.

> But I can work only in my own way . . . I have really done it fast for what it is, and for the way I do it—the way I seem condemned to, which is to *overtreat* my subject by developments and amplifications that have, in large part, eventually to be greatly compressed, but to the prior operation of which the thing afterwards owes what is most durable in its quality. I have written . 200,000 words of 'G B' . . and you can imagine how much of that, which has taken time, has had to come out It is not, assuredly, an economical way of work in the short run, but it is, for me, in the long . and at any rate one can proceed but in one's own manner.

No, the laying down of quarries is not a thing that can be done in a hurry, by man or Nature. But if it be the only way to get some kinds of good statues, what would you ?

So to one man the art of imaginative writing figures itself as something akin to Nature's way of creating an animal—the fertilising of some tiny nucleus or cell of matter or invention, and then the perfecting of this embryo by a process of accretion To another the art appears as something more nearly correspondent to Nature's way of creating a mountain peak—first the heaving up of some blunt monstrous bulk of rumpled rock and then the carving of a fair spire or pinnacle out of this mass by plying patiently the chisel and mallet of frost and the sun To the one brooding mind the essential part of its task is an effort of amplification. To the other, all is denudation And what comes of the one may be just as good as what comes of the other

C E. MONTAGUE.

all is in the drunken ecstasy, and the grapes begin to stammer.' So, from the stammering lips of his *dossier*, M. Sardou would take down a first draft of the first act of a play. The draft was pretty rough. We are to understand that the stammer was no small impediment—that the lips were, in the richer sense of the phrase, distinctly not touched. What Sardou thus obtained was—if you will give plenary absolution for all this jumbling of metaphors—a lump of marble, clumsily hewn—formless and lustreless stuff, like the world at 2 a.m on the first day of creation, or like the old grammarian's book in Browning,

> tremendous,
> Monstr' inform' ingens, horrendous.

It contained, without grace or finality, not only all that might in the end be found to be to the purpose, but everything else that could even come within hail of it It was almost as if Shakespeare had first written something like Holinshed's *Chronicles* for himself by way of making a start on his own *King Henry V*. All the raw material had now been acquired. The mining or quarrying labour was over, only the diamond-cutting had to be done, the dropping of spare bulk, the tactful omissions, the gainful and creative destruction

One must be careful not to overrate the ease of these fruitful operations Just to make the general idea clear we have to put things in a form artificially simple So it may read as if one who wished to begin, say, a pastoral drama had but to confine together in one pigeon-hole some notes of the normal prices of sheep at the period chosen, the figures of annual rainfall in any particular Forest of Arden selected, a few 'vital statistics' of the shepherd's trade, with anything casually obtainable about the state of education among local shepherdesses, their previous family history, if known, and average age when married, and any relevant odds and ends that might turn up in the daily papers. The prospect of any payable fermentation would be so slight that practical wisdom would write it off as desperate. A character in one of Gilbert's operas gives a philosophic analysis of the ingredients of such measure of perfection as is attained by the average British officer of dragoons. But when he says of these elements

> Boil them together and take off the scum,
> And a heavy dragoon is the residuum,

the precept can hardly be taken so strictly 'to the foot of the letter' as the similar recipes of the admirable Mrs. Beeton. So is it, too, with Sardou's complacent cookery-book. Its value is only illustrational But if used with the caution due to a naked light carried in places full of delicate fabrics, it does help you a little to see what is meant by the sculpturesque way of writing.

eventually to use; then, observing what goes down well with the house and what fails, they cut away the least successful third part, and there they are. Shakespeare may well have done much the same after first nights or at rehearsals. We cannot fancy him vowing he never, never would let some darling child of his invention be cut, like the fond mother in the law-suit heard by Solomon.

IV

Perhaps the best illustrations of this practice are some modern instances, because so many modern writers speak much, and some few speak so well, about themselves and their methods The late M Sardou was a sovereign prince of ' best sellers ' among the dramatists of his time That, in the fuller sense of the words, he was far from a great dramatist is the faith that fire will not burn out of me Still, I should be almost as ready to perish, at least in some figurative sense, at the stake for the belief that he was a very clever one and a veritable master of the grammar of play-making No dramatist can have added more cubits than he, simply by taking thought about these technical matters, to a somewhat low artistic stature He had brought himself to resemble a house swept and garnished up to the nines, all ready for the spirit of genius to enter in if ever it should care to Besides, he was the most fluent of those engaging workmen who will tell any passer-by the way they set about it.

' My instinct,' he said in one of these chats, ' is always to cut down ' But how was he first to procure that which should then be cut down ? He explained He began at the very beginning His plan was first to lay down the rude geological strata from which the vein of marble should come He kept a large set of letter-cases, or pigeon-holes, and whenever he had an idea for a play he would file it in one of these Then he would go on with life—the daily paper, the latest books, the common round , and whenever his eye or his ear lit on anything that seemed to have something to do with one of the filed and waiting ideas, this, too, would be filed in the pigeon-hole which the idea inhabited

Left thus to itself, it seems that this fundamental stuff of the drama would sometimes begin to ferment In this it did not strictly follow the accepted lines of geological procedure. But Nature, as well as mankind, may let herself use a mixed metaphor now and again. One may not readily connect full pigeon-holes and files of cuttings from the Press with the cup of a glorious drunkenness. But M. Sardou appears to have felt that of some letter-case, or of a corresponding receptacle in his mind, we might say now and then what Mr. Yeats has said of the starting-point of another kind of creation in art : ' All is in the wine-press,

fuss was made in his day if a new writer took from an old one whatever material he found congenial for his own operations. Greene, no doubt, spoke nastily about an upstart crow decked in other birds' feathers; nobody else seems to have minded, so long as the result was agreeable, any more than they reprobated the practice of an equally spirited acquisitiveness by British heroes in the Spanish main. But nowadays one cannot quite see Sir James Barrie meeting the public demand for another of his charming plays by taking down a dusty volume of W. G. Wills, or the author of *Caste*, and falling to work with a blue pencil. The ears of the critics would prick up at once; their neck hairs would bristle Like our young married couples after the war, the gifted literary cuckoo of to-day is oppressed by an intractable housing question; people who, with a little assistance, might build Vaticans find their genius cramped by notice-boards to the effect that anyone who carries off any more of the Coliseum will be prosecuted

Under this persecution, only one way is left to the modern writer who feels that the technique of the sculptor in marble is the technique for him He must make his own marble For each work that he meditates he must lay down first a sort of Carrara to quarry it out of, and then hack away so much of this prior work of his own hands as is not the latent figure, the immured Sleeping Beauty whom it is his business to disengage and to awaken Or you might put it another way, especially if your author be young His work, in the rough, is a kind of hulking 'prentice figure of himself; and then he divests this lumbering hobbledehoy of his graceless superfluities of verbiage, his trumpeting, booming, grimacing and facetiousness, he trains the creature down, he files and bevels it into concision, proportion, modulation and wit And so the whole of the latter half of the affair is a sustained attempt to leave things out.

Here, too, we have our instances and documents Shakespeare himself, who illustrates everything, seems to have had a habit of roughing out his plays pretty large, and then cutting them down for their presentation to the world How else account for the unabridged *Hamlet*, or for the rough-hewn mass of *Antony and Cleopatra?* About half of each of these works is as much as any modern manager can induce the public to relish; and, from all that we can gather of the theatrical habits of our forefathers in the spacious days, the only doubt is whether they would go even as near as this to sitting out *Hamlet* acted *verbatim*. Possibly the entire magnoperation was first tried upon the vile body of some audience assembled for the experiment, as the authors of modern Christmas pantomimes sometimes put in about 50 per cent. more of text on the first night than they propose

to do, or somehow he managed to summon them out of the vasty deep by conjuring or by hauling amain.

Think of *A Doll's House*, and count up the touches that you remember as giving the play its edge and harsh savour. There are the macaroon business, the facile fibbing by Nora, the Christmas tree, the glimpse of Helmer as æsthete, Rank's malady, Nora's thwarted appeal to him, Helmer's gust of vinous amorousness, the tarantella, the silk stockings, the repartee 'Millions of women have done so' Scarcely one of these things can be found, even in germ, in the first draft of the play. They were imposed on that early sketch The thing grew like a piece of encrusted architecture First came a bare frame, just a thing made to wear decorations, then the precious stones, the gold, and the mosaics were fastened upon it, as they were built on to the skeleton of St Mark's at Venice until by degrees the thickened walls glowed into full expressiveness 'And he's cleckit this great muckle bird out o' this wee egg'' said Saddletree admiringly to Dumbiedikes when the learned counsel for Effie Deans sat down at last With similar emotion we watch Ibsen expanding the first written germ of *A Doll's House* into the large and grim masterpiece that we know 'There's a chield' we feel 'can spin a muckle pirn out of a wee tait of tow!'

III

Of the opposite school the head man is Shakespeare Shakespeare seems to have shunned wherever he decently could—and sometimes where the strict ethics of letters might say that he decently couldn't—the pang of sitting down to a desk with nothing to hand except pen, ink, paper, and the uncertain gusts of the creative spirit If possible, he made the job an affair of revision or disengagement—the paring down and burnishing of some pre-existent work, or the extrication of a core of significance and beauty from the clumsy Colossus left in the stoneyard by some previous mason. One can imagine him feeling his art might be dulled or held down to the earth by the coolie work of making all his own raw material first Sooner than that he would take someone else's middling play or novel and lick it into fineness, or out of the rough rock of some old chronicler like Holinshed he would carve just what he wanted, seeming sometimes to value himself on doing not a bit more of this chiselling-out than he need, so close does his metrical dialogue come to the prose he found in those naif historians. Like the sagacious builders in Renaissance Rome, who quarried the stone for the Vatican out of the ruins of the Coliseum, he took every bit of ready-made stuff he could find.

Of course, he was more free to do this than anyone is now. No

painter's prefatory sketches for his monumental canvas of 'King Alfred in the Neatherd's Hut' are eagerly sought and justly cherished by the world. The hems and haws of his genius, as it clears its throat before the bell-like note comes forth, can be exhibited in Bond Street, with a proper charge at the door, and with critics pointing out that the half is often more than the whole. But when shall we see a public gallery hung with early drafts of *Babbitt*, or the first false starts and infant stammers of *When Winter Comes*, or the original sketch, the second version, the revised typescript and the corrected proofs of *Won by a Neck*, or all the abortive half-pages on which the Olympian leader-writer tunes his thunderous instrument before breaking into the effective peals that we know?

> Alas, what boots it with incessant care
> To ply the homely, slighted writer's trade?

But even to this cold rule of neglect there are bright exceptions. At times the waste-paper basket does give up its dead, and then a masterpiece known to the world may be seen struggling up into completion in one or other of the two ways here noted. In the many series of photographs of 'celebrities at every stage of their lives' in popular magazines you may see how some of the great and wise have put on flesh since childhood, whereas others who are but small herbs of grace are seen to have set out on their course as decidedly full-bodied seedlings. So is it with some great books or plays discovered in process of growth. Some of them you find to have swollen from the most thinly mewling and puking infancy to their magnificent adult girth and stature. Others have steadily diminished in bulk as their elements of force and fire and music have been gradually set free from hampering masses of dead verbiage which at first muffled their significance.

Of works of art which have swelled from the first, the major plays of Ibsen seem to be fortunate instances. Through infancy and youth to their coming of age the benign process may be conveniently viewed in the sympathetic book that William Archer filled with Ibsen's notes, scenarios, and early drafts. Ibsen's first beginnings may strike you as neither bulky nor good. Some basic idea or inchoate subject presented itself, and the work began coldly and scrappily. Without delight or animation the craftsman laboriously worked up a scraggy lay-figure out of the clay. And then, no doubt, the divine accident happened. The magical interaction of technical effort and imaginative insight commenced. From the moment when that genial miracle began to come off, in the bosom of Ibsen, the little original nucleus of the thing seems to have continuously waxed in stature as well as in grace; good things came into sight out of nowhere, as stars seem

PUTTING IN AND LEAVING OUT

I

THERE are two ways of making a statue, if you know how You may plump it out from within, or you may pare down to it from without You may take a lath and stick more and more clay or wax round about it, till you have thickened it into a bust Or you may take a block of rough stone and chip away at it till there is nothing left but a bust

One sculptor will feel his work going better when he is building out towards the shape that he wants to fashion, another when he is cutting in towards it The one would seem to be more happily stirred by a sense of making something out of nothing—relatively nothing, the other by a sense of releasing a pre-existent beauty from a kind of limbo The one feels as if he were assembling granules to make up a gem, the other as if he were disengaging a natural gem from its matrix—stripping it of a coarse sheath of waste stuff that clogs and hides it To the one the essential act of creation is a putting in, to the other it is a leaving out

Be warned—the distinction is not a profound one Still, it may be useful, if cautiously used It serves, at any rate, to illustrate a variation between the modes in which different writers address themselves to a new piece of work. Some, like Swinburne and Victor Hugo, you seem to see hunting about for any significant word they can add Others, such as Bacon and Tacitus, are as visibly searching for words to omit. 'A boss word! Let's work it in'—that is the manifest impulse of the inclusionist, as you may call him 'Now, can't I do without that word?' is the question that besets the exclusionist as he scans the too, too solid flesh of his draft manuscript, and thinks how to melt out of it just an ounce more of fat.

II

The study of this contrast in procedure might be easier if people cared as much about seeing the writer's art in the rough as they care when the art in question is painting. The happy

away at the base of Kilimanjaro. We had never ceased to wonder whether the dilapidated cairn we found that day was really B.P. 46 or only a direction pillar. Our last march was to settle the knotty point. Leaving camp early one morning, we sped down hill and arrived at the boundary. Moving along it in the direction of Sinya, we soon espied a huge pile of stones near the foot of a small hill. The ghost of B P 46 was laid at last. We took off our hats to the surveyors who built it

J. E. H. Lambert.

The wind coming straight off the glaciers forced us to pile on everything we could lay our hands on at night. We revelled in the keen mountain air. The absence of water outside compelled us to enter the forest belt, where two or three rivers still retained a little water in rock pools and springs. A glance at the map deludes one into the belief that a flowing river should be crossed every two or three miles. The river beds are there, it is true No doubt in the rains plenty of water rushes down them. But in February water is conspicuous by its absence, in spite of the fact that permanent streams might be expected all the year round from the melting snows Even the forest fails to conserve the water. It is obvious that most of it disappears underground and reappears at the base of the mountain in the swamps, where buffalo abound

Our next camp was not at all ideal No open glade with a spreading lawn in front of the tents, but a hasty clearing in the dense bush, where no fresh air could gain admittance

On the march some comic relief was provided by a giraffe, a solemn animal without a sense of humour It appears that if one of these animals crosses the path in front of a safari, bad luck is certain Knowing nothing of this, I was astonished to hear shouts behind me and to see the guide shoot like an arrow from the bow, and do a record sprint down the path, gesticulating wildly at a giraffe which was slowly cantering across our front The puny biped soon gave up the unequal contest, and we laughed to each other at these queer native beliefs But when we got to camp the cook appeared with the news that a rhino had charged the porters, who promptly threw away their loads Nobody was hurt, but the Scotsman's last remaining bottle of whisky was smashed We decided that the Masai had not exaggerated the harm a giraffe could do

Next day we camped at the ruined German farm at Ol Molog, the limit of the concession in the Moshi district On the way there we climbed to the top of Lekimashera Mountain, the home of the famous Masai chief Lenana and of his father Mbatian A broad, well-graded cattle track, now overgrown, winds half way round the mountain and then descends steeply into the crater. Below the belt of forest which encircles the upper rim is a stretch of excellent grazing surrounding a swamp at the bottom. Far down below we saw the cattle grazing and listened to the cries of the herdsman We could easily imagine the old chief sitting there with one eye on his herds in the crater and the other on the rolling plains below, watching the clouds of dust raised by distant cattle wending their way to the water-holes.

From our camp at Ol Molog we overlooked the wells at Sinya, where we had started our work together, 12 miles

English flowers. A furrow winds in and out of the nurseries, where seedlings, podocarpus and cedar are raised for the work of reafforesting the areas ravaged by grass fires. Hatless we wandered along the stream busily pursuing its course through the forest, and sat on the log dam at the top dangling our legs over the water, still icy cold, fresh from the melting snows. Natives can hardly be persuaded to penetrate the forest. They people it with spirits. But we could only revel in the friendly noise of the bubbling brook, so different from the sandy river-beds which we were accustomed to in the plains. There is something sinister about those broad, dry rivers of Africa. When they flow they do not meander like an English stream, but swirl along relentlessly as if bent on a mission of destruction.

Our host was in sole charge of the forests, which encircle Kilimanjaro like a waistband half-way up its northern slopes. He was the fine type of Scotsman one expects to meet in a place like this, and we were glad to have his company on our next safari. Before the war he managed a cork plantation in Algeria. Now he has a job more to his liking, which, though a lonely one, must be full of interest

The chief enemy of the forest is fire It was cruel to see the havoc caused by it in the past Deep wedges had been driven in. Blackened trunks lay everywhere among the standing trees. Outside there was plenty of evidence that the forest had once extended far beyond its present limits Fire assails it on both sides High up on the mountain the giant heath burns as fiercely as the grass on the lower slopes, and is far beyond control at present Along the lower edge a start has been made with a broad fire-break Castor-oil trees were planted, but they have proved a failure owing to the depredations of elephants and bush-buck Now it is proposed to try again with sisal. Even an elephant would surely hesitate before he tried conclusions with a belt of closely-planted sisal.

The forest officer welcomes the concession to the Masai of the grazing between the boundary and the forest It will reduce the danger of fire to a minimum Once again our work was simplified, this time by the fact that he had already made a traverse along the edge of the forest with posts, half a mile apart, numbered alphabetically and with the bearing to the next post carved on each.

The ox-carts were useless in this hilly, forest country, so headman Ngutete sent out for some donkeys to carry my loads. The Masai are a semi-nomadic people, and when they want to move their belongings they make use of the donkeys which are an essential adjunct to their herds. Our first camp was pitched in a clearing with Kibo towering over us above the tree-tops.

noses, the fat cattle which they had coveted from their childhood. This was carrying things a bit too far. The hue and cry was raised. The clan turned out to a man and scoured the country-side. The bold, bad men had nearly got clear of the district with their loot, but they caught them up and returned triumphant. One young gentleman was so badly knocked about that he was glad to find himself embraced by the arms of the law. The other three escaped, only to be arrested later when they returned to their homes. I listened with considerable relief to their chatter, and patted them on the back for the way they had assisted Government. But I could not resist a smile at the thought of what might have happened if the raiders had not been rival clansmen.

All this was very satisfactory We were now free to go ahead with the last, and to us the most interesting, of the four concessions.

One cannot fail to be gripped by the spell of the vast snow-clad mountain lying so close to the equator For the next fortnight we were to be on very close terms with our old friend Kilimanjaro Down below in the scorching plains one is either tantalised or irritated by the sight of the Kibo glaciers reposing so placidly among the banks of clouds But once beyond the lava rocks, which form a sort of magic circle round the lower slopes, you begin to feel more kindly disposed towards them Approaching the extinct volcano from the north one is glad to shake the dust of Amboseli from the long-suffering car and to enter forest glades with water hidden in their depths Game abounds Giraffe and zebra, impala and their friends the baboons, hartebeeste and wildebeeste, jackals, wart-hogs, long-tailed monkeys, and innumerable guinea-fowl and francolin. Then the road passes through the lava belt, and the driver has to pick his way carefully to avoid the jagged rocks. Then a long uphill climb over open grass country to the fringe of the forest which hides Laitokitok, once an administrative sub-station, but now abandoned.

Here it is good to be alive. To rise early and see the glaciers on Kibo kissed by the rising sun, to feast one's eyes on the short green grass, to listen to the guinea-fowl noisily quitting the trees, to breathe the fresh clean air—what more could one want ?

But there were further pleasures in store for us An hour's walk through open forest glades brought us to the boundary and the forest proper, through which the road from Moshi to the forest station at Engare Rongai finds its way. Here we slept two nights, and were regaled with luscious strawberries, new potatoes, green peas, and other homely luxuries. The house is built on the edge of the forest with an amazing view of the limitless plain below. The garden is a glorious profusion of

the concession so as to leave the rival clans each with ample water for their requirements. The basin was conceded to our people, the slopes of the hills become the neutral zone, and the southern side of the watershed is retained by the Tanganyika Masai.

We had now demarcated three out of the four concessions. Our next move was to retrace our steps past B P 46 and demarcate a big block of open country lying between the boundary and the edge of the forest belt on the northern slopes of Kilimanjaro

But before doing this an interlude was provided in the form of a cattle raid In the old days this was the favourite pastime of the Masai They had perfected an organisation which divided up the manhood of the tribe into age grades The warriors, or 'moran,' were armed with brightly painted buffalo shields and long stabbing 'white' spears They lived apart in 'manyattas' of their own with the unmarried girls. They were divided into 'sirits,' or companies, and were excused the ordinary duties of the clan in order to be ready for a raid or the repelling of a raid when need arose In times of peace their courage was maintained by thinning out the lions and leopards which preyed upon their fathers' herds A diet of meat, milk, and blood gave them the stamina required for long marches over the open plains. The warrior organisation has been to a great extent broken up of late; but the temptation to raid their neighbours' cattle cannot easily be eradicated, especially when the latter are agricultural people dwelling on the other side of the border.

In this affair four moran had blooded their sharp black spears in the body of an unfortunate Mchagga herdsman, and 117 head of cattle had been driven over the Tanganyika border into Kenya. At first sight it seemed a senseless thing to do, particularly as it appeared to implicate the very clan for whose benefit we were about to demarcate the next concession.

On receipt of the news I left Meto and, after marching the 25 miles to Manga, rushed to the scene of the raid in my gallant Henry Ford The chief, Seggi Ole Lenana, and a squad of police had already gone ahead, and I was looking forward to a difficult and possibly a ticklish job Instead of which I was met by a row of happy, smiling faces with 'We are the good boys, and don't you forget it' written all over them and the astounding news that one of the raiders had been caught and ninety head of cattle recovered. When it all came bubbling out it sounded like a chapter from one of Sir Walter Scott's novels. The headmen informed me that four moran from the other end of the reserve had done the deed. In other words, rival clansmen had had the audacity to enter their territory and lift, from under their very

down the mountain-side on his crutches, while I followed in fear and trembling lest he should fall and break his one remaining leg. But he laughingly assured me that he was much firmer on three pins than I was on two. The torches, held aloft and swung from side to side, gave a good light, and eventually we found ourselves in camp at 10.45 p.m., having covered 35 miles of mountainous country in the course of the day.

My companion on this safari was as good an example of a wounded hero as you could wish to meet. When war broke out he was in an Indian cavalry regiment and lost his leg in France After a spell as cantonment magistrate in India he made a living for a time as an artist, and was then an election agent. Finally he persuaded the doctors to pass him for the Colonial service There was nothing that he could not do, from playing a round of golf to climbing into a perilous crow's nest to sit up for lions over a kill at night At home an artificial leg and a walking-stick deceived most people into thinking he had sprained his ankle and was going a bit lame But out in the blue the wooden leg is discarded. He wears a pair of shorts, a safari shirt, and an eye-glass One bare leg ends in a brown spat and a brogue shoe. He hands the crutches to a porter and is up on 'Charlie,' the donkey, in no time His gun-bearer, 'Simba,' walks behind cracking the heaviest of jokes with all and sundry

Altogether we had a strenuous week at Meto Our only map was just a mass of contours with no reliable names on it Luckily we were not entirely at the mercy of the local guide, whose policy it was to show us what he meant us to see and nothing more We never went anywhere without two guides from each rival clan. It was amusing to hear how they turned the tables on each other. 'Is there any water lower down this stream?' 'Yes' from D——'s guides, 'No' from mine They might just as well have both remained silent, as we never made a note until we saw the water

Good native guides are rarities They have no idea of going by the shortest route from point to point. Their knowledge of the countryside is gained from herding cattle, and they have an annoying habit of switching continually from one track to another for no apparent reason Occasionally one finds the born guide who knows every inch of the country and can tell you the names of hills and streams and the number of marching hours. The natives themselves seem to realise this fact The local guide appears to have an almost professional status. His advice is sought when the Masai go in search of fresh fields and pastures new.

Here again at Meto our task was simplified by the lie of the land. We had little difficulty in demarcating the boundary of

down below it was a treat to move along the windswept ridge and feel the firm green mountain grass underfoot and to pass through patches of forest, where the moisture from the morning mist dripped off the mossy branches on to the ferns below. A wealth of wild flowers carpeted the ground and peeped out of the rocks, reminding me of the downs near Canterbury. All this half of the range took its name, Ol Chanyesha, from a sacred tree below which a large rain pool had formed. The Masai make small offerings to it and offer up their prayers for rain.

The next time we crossed the watershed was from the south and in very different circumstances Further east along the boundary in the direction of the soda lakes, Magadi and Natron, is an isolated well, which forms part of the concessions. Not wanting to move camp again, we determined to get there and back in a day, and at the same time make ourselves acquainted with the country and one at least of the rivers on the southern side of the watershed. We arrived at Kileo Well at noon and, after lunch, pushed on to a river, which had been pointed out to us from the top of Ol Chanyesha. The country had taken a change for the worse, and we were now going along an old cattle track in dense bush, which was very misleading as to direction. However, it took us to our river, the Lokirr Kirr, and we started to walk along the sandy bed, evidently a favourite place for elephants. We soon realised that we were a long way from camp, but were cheered by the thought that we were climbing steadily, and had only to top the ridge in front to find ourselves on familiar ground again On we toiled, and at dusk gained the summit on which a giraffe was standing sentinel, his long neck silhouetted against the sky Judge of our feelings when we found we were on a ridge parallel with the main divide, which towered above us on the other side of the valley As we approached a deserted kraal our guide pointed out a solitary elephant standing motionless under a tree, and there was just enough light to get a good view of his tusks before he moved away into the river-bed on our left. A few yards further on a rhino blundered into us and gave us a nasty fright, though he was probably as much alarmed as we were, judging from his snort of surprise and hasty retreat.

By now it was pitch dark with no prospect of a moon. We had to keep close to our half-naked guides for fear of missing the way. While we were climbing, the crest of the ridge showed up against the horizon, but when we reached the summit there was nothing left to help us. The narrow belt of open grass soon gave out, and when we got to the stony cattle tracks of the precipitous hillside a halt was called. The guides set to work and made torches out of dry stakes lashed together, treating the adventure as a huge joke. D—— dismounted from his donkey and hopped

before taking the plunge down the rocky gorge which scars the eastern face of the range. Precipitous cliffs give a forbidding aspect to the western side, and no permanent streams water the plains below. The consequence is that the herds which graze on that side are dependent on the Manga River for their water. To get to it they have to pass round the southern end of the range. But to do so they must perforce break the commandment which says 'Thou shalt not cross the boundary' There it goes, straight as a die, regardless of anything but the bearing on the map, as if the proverbial crow had been its foster-mother It climbs the rocks, where no herd could be driven, and disappears over a spur 700 feet above the plain.

Our next task then was to alter the boundary and demarcate the 'Manga Corridor'—an easy task, as it happened An obliging watercourse, the Maiterr, winds in a half-circle round the southern base of the mountain and forms a natural boundary well clear of the range No need now for the cattle to climb like goats whenever they want a drink

For 15 miles the other side of Orok there is no water The boundary pursues the even tenor of its way across the plain Then it enters a hornet's nest, the Meto Hills, and cuts across the two ends of a range shaped like a horseshoe, all of which lies inside Tanganyika territory In the centre is the basin into which the streams on the northern side of the watershed drain. Needless to say, they do not reach the boundary except in the rains. Consequently the Kenya Masai are deprived of water for their herds for the greater part of the year To be perfectly truthful, the situation was not so bad as it looked on paper, for the simple reason that the boundary was quietly ignored There was plenty of water for all in the hills The Kissongo and the Matapato Masai, living on either side of the boundary, had fixed up a working arrangement which satisfied everybody. Nevertheless it was not safe to leave it at that, and loud were the groans that fell upon the patient ears of the district officers whenever the subject of the boundary was discussed in *baraza*. On my last visit I was met by forty ancient men, who assured me they were the last remnants of a once-thriving community They took me to a dry river-bed, where I saw their sons baling water into troughs from wells dug 20 feet in the sand. But on my second visit the truth soon dawned on me. No wonder they ignored the boundary. Compared with their own barren pastures this was a paradise, a 'land flowing with milk and honey.'

The watershed is narrow, but maintains a height of nearly 8000 feet. We lost no time in exploring the summit, and were rewarded with a marvellous view of Natron, one of the soda lakes at the bottom of the great Rift Valley. After our dusty marches

heavy rifle handy in case you flush a lion or a leopard instead of a spurfowl.

One evening, not long ago, I was strolling along the bank of a river looking for a bird when I saw a rhino emerge from his afternoon nap under a bush a few yards in front of me. We both halted and looked at each other in surprise. Then he moved slowly away. Having made sure that there were plenty of good, stout trees handy to climb, I told the orderly to blow his whistle and the beaters to make a noise to induce him to get a move on. Pandemonium immediately broke out, and stones rained on his back as he trotted away. But a rhino is an inquisitive beast, and he objects to being hustled. He stopped, and he looked and he listened. Then he got our wind and advanced in a series of short, sharp rushes, with his head down, puffing like a grampus and looking very fierce. By this time we were safely perched aloft in two large trees. Our fat friend soon got tired of our ribald laughter and sulkily walked away into the reed bed, leaving us a clear road back to camp. All the same, nobody likes rhinos, and they are dangerous, useless beasts. As D——, who rather fancies himself as a lawyer, remarked to me one day, 'You can depend upon it, a rhino has *mens rea* every time, and the sooner you blot him the better.'

Having divided up the wells to everyone's satisfaction and built cairns all over the place, we returned to Manga, where there is a trading centre close to the border. I never go there without vivid memories of 1914. My tent faces the kopje on the other side of the river, which we entrenched so feverishly after the futile attack on Longido. Now the road, which was made to supply us with rations, is the thoroughfare between Kenya and Tanganyika. A brisk trade is done with Masai in cattle, goats, and hides. Masai ladies bargain with Somali and Indian traders for the rolls of wire, which they coil round their legs and arms and fashion into a sort of Elizabethan ruff round their necks. With the sun shining on them the effect is rather pleasing; but you realise what a barbarous fashion it is when they come to you for ointment to put on the horrid sores caused by the iron rubbing against their wrists and ankles. Yet, woe betide the mere man who ventures to criticise their foundry-made creations!

Ol Doinyo Orok, 'The Black Mountain,' is an impressive range covered with forest, the home of elephant and rhino. To climb the rugged spurs from the arid plains and pass from the region of thorn trees to the cool depths of the forest is like entering another world. Elephant paths, broad enough in places for a cart, wind along the forest ridges or lead to the hollow, where the Manga River rises and pauses for a while in a reed-fringed pool

but the neutral zone, patrolled by veterinary guards, was more than our friends had bargained for. The African is notorious for his ingratitude. Give your 'boy' a shirt, and he promptly asks for a pair of shorts. Raise your arm and point to a distant water-hole, and before you have told him he can have it the Masai raises his spear and points to another beyond it. It is like the old game of crossing hands on a table.

The first concession was at Sinya, at the foot of Mount Kilimanjaro. The country here is as flat as a pancake, the haunt of countless wildfowl in the rains But in January there is only the mirage to give an idea of what the map means by 'Lake' Amboseli The mirage extends for miles. Trees appear to grow out of the water Distances are so deceptive that you set off gaily in the cool of the morning on what looks like a two-hour march and stagger into camp at noon with a thirst that defies description When it rains the flats are a marsh As soon as it dries up the crumbling alkaline mud finds its way into the innermost recesses of your boots and blisters the soles of your feet The sun is pitiless, and there are few trees on the plain to relieve the monotony The best plan is to march at night This we did on our return journey, rising at 2 a m and doing the two days' march in one—27 miles in all Instead of the blazing sun and the maddening mirage a full moon shone overhead. When we halted and looked back the snows of Kilimanjaro gleamed out of the starlit heavens, and the most alarming thing we stumbled on was a sandgrouse, which flew away with a loud whirr into the night

The wells at Sinya are a pleasant oasis on the edge of these exasperating flats They are dug in pairs, 10 to 15 yards apart, with a mud trough connecting them The herdsman stands in the pool baling the precious water into the trough. The cattle line up and drink greedily Baling is hard work, and a large herd drinks a lot of water every day

Our camp was in the middle of a large clump of trees The short, stubbly grass in front reminded me of the sand dunes on the coast of France Far into the distance stretched the plain with the peaks of Meru, Longido, and Ol Doinyo Orok marking the limits of our view

The evenings are the best time on safari After a hard day's marching or a stuffy day in a tent poring over maps a 'sun-downer' is very welcome You sit and listen to lesser bustard, guinea-fowl, and partridges calling to each other before they go to roost. Game birds of every description are to be found here in their thousands, and there is never any difficulty in shooting a brace for the pot. You have to keep your eyes skinned, however, and be sure that the gun-bearer is sticking close to heel with a

B.P. 46

When D—— and I met near the wells at Sinya, our first move was to wander along the border and look for our starting point, B.P. 46.

This was our first experience of boundary work, and, to tell the truth, we were neither of us quite certain what to expect. For all we knew, surveyors were capable of building a miniature pyramid where it was likely to be seen and admired near a main road, but when they came to a place where stones were scarce and nobody was ever likely to worry his head about it, they might be excused for building a small cairn here and there. We soon found the boundary trench and a cairn, which we decided must be Boundary Pillar 46—though what a miserable effort! Still, everything looks dilapidated in the tropics when it has been neglected for a few years. It was probably once upon a time the pride of the Boundary Commission, and may have had a bottle of 'bubbly' broken over it in its young days. After all, our job was not to resurvey the boundary, but to alter it here and there with an eye to the ground rather than the map. Like so many African boundaries, it was just a straight line ruled across an atlas with no thought of the tribes who lived along it.

In a country where water is as scarce as it is plentiful in England, longing eyes will inevitably be cast on water-holes and wells, which always seem to fall just short of the invisible line. It is bad enough when forbidden fruit is growing on the other side of a high brick wall, but when people live in an open plain and keep their herds a few yards from a line of beacons it sometimes happens that the line is crossed The result depends on who lives on the other side If he is a forest officer, he will probably be glad to have the grass kept short up to the forest edge. But if the 'vets.' are on the warpath, then is the time to be careful.

It was decided to demarcate a neutral zone at the same time as the concessions in order to keep the Kenya herds from coming into contact with their neighbours across the boundary. One is apt to forget, when giving a lump of sugar with a dose of castor oil, that the patient has some excuse for an appearance of ingratitude. The concessions were all very fine, it is true;

be written as quickly as cursive with a definite gain in legibility; but what the world needs is a system of handwriting which can be written a great deal more quickly than cursive, and yet remain perfectly legible. It is possible that if print script were adopted, and nibs suitably adapted for its production were evolved (the fine-pointed hard steel nib is quite unsuitable), far higher speeds than we imagine might be reached; but this possibility is theoretical.

In an article in *The Times Educational Supplement* a correspondent makes the suggestion that abbreviations might be used by children in the later years of school life. As one who makes regular use of abbreviations, who has been forced to their use by the necessity of having to do a large amount of writing in limited periods of time, I welcome the suggestion. There are many endings in our language (-ing, -ion, -ent, for example) which invite abbreviation; there are many perpetually recurrent words the abbreviation of which saves an enormous amount of both time and energy, many vowels which can be omitted without loss of legibility. And as the writer concludes, 'Abbreviations have the sanction of antiquity, as well as of newspaper reporting practice.' They have many other sanctions as well; there is hardly a business or trade which has not its recognised abbreviations.

In the end we may all have to learn shorthand in order to cope with the increasing demand for speed in handwriting; or it may be that invention will ere long supply us all with mechanical transcribers to which we shall but have to whisper to find our spoken words transformed into print; in the meantime, we need desperately some method which will enable us to preserve a legible hand with, if possible, a quickening of speed. The acceptance of print script and the adoption of a universally recognised system of abbreviations would materially assist us to solve our problem.

H. C. DENT

were given practice in the use of them so that they could write them as quickly as the ordinary cursive writing.'

If so many people are prepared to advocate the training of children in the use of block capitals, why the opposition to print script? An undecorated print script can certainly be written more quickly than block capitals. One of the arguments most frequently advanced against its adoption is that it is slow. As the result of experiments I can testify that block capitals are slower. One has, in fact, only to analyse the number and the length of the strokes required to make the letters to discover this; to write a capital *B*, for example, one has to make a perpendicular stroke and two semicircular ones, to write the small letter *b* one makes first the same perpendicular stroke, but only one semicircular stroke is added I have, however, taken the trouble to time myself and other people over stretches of manuscript. Nor is the legibility of block capitals superior to that of print script. If you ask anyone, like myself, who was taught at school the nineteenth century cursive hand, and who has since learned to print both in print script and in block capitals, to produce three specimens of handwriting, one cursive, one print script, one block capitals, you will find that his cursive hand is the fastest, but definitely less legible than either of the others, and that his block capitals and print script are so equally legible that practically no comparison can be made, but that the gain in speed is on the side of the print script

Few people would advocate that children should be taught only block capitals at school, if, however, they are to be adopted, children would have to learn two handwritings, and, what is most important, would have constantly to practise at least one of them, whereas, as has been demonstrated, the secondary schools find it practically impossible to allow time for the practice necessary to preserve one style But in print script you have a style which is taught from the earliest years in many schools. Once it could be recognised and encouraged by the outside world as a desirable style of handwriting, a very great impetus would be given to its teaching, and in particular the question of speed could be gone into thoroughly At present, just at the age when speed ought to become a primary consideration, the schools have to turn instead to the efficiency lowering task of changing over from script to cursive. Even as the matter remains at the moment, it is practically established that script can be written as quickly as cursive writing; if research could be done on high-speed work, important results might accrue in a very short time.

While there is everything to be said for print script, however, it is exceedingly doubtful whether its universal adoption would entirely solve our problem. Its advocates are certain that it can

schools embark upon the thankless, wasteful and disheartening task of turning print script writers into cursive writers. It has been proved by experiment that this process results in definite loss of time and efficiency. That is the position in the elementary schools. But an increasing number of children who pass from school into positions where they have to make frequent use of handwriting, positions in which handwriting is the main essential, are now recruited from the secondary schools; and these latter are in the hopeless case of having a congested, overcrowded curriculum, and of having to pass every possible pupil through an external examination at the age of sixteen. Formal lessons in handwriting are out of the question under present conditions in the secondary schools; not more but fewer subjects is what is urgently demanded by these schools. The child whose penmanship has been carefully trained up to the age of eleven finds himself suddenly without guidance, save for sporadic attempts on the part of a harassed teacher to urge him to improve his writing. Moreover, not only do secondary schools find it impossible to include writing in the curriculum, but they find it imperative, in view of examination requirements, to demand a lot of written work done at high speed. The child has not been trained to speed; he has been trained to write, to master the elements of the technique of handwriting. What he needs now is constant practice in the art under learner's conditions, so that he may develop facility and rapidity; instead, these latter acquirements have to be assumed, and the inevitable result is that his handwriting swiftly deteriorates. By the age of sixteen it may not have been completely ruined; many children have sufficient self-respect to see that it is not; they resist the pressure imposed upon them to the extent of preserving some remnant of their former skill in handwriting, but many succumb, abandoning all attempt at a legible and pleasing hand.

After leaving school the young recruit to business or commerce, unless he happens to go into a bank, a solicitor's office, or some other place in which a high standard of handwriting is insisted upon, finds the pressure no less grievous. Orders have to be booked, goods invoiced, figures entered, at top speed. Always the essential is speed. The managing director of one of the big London stores is reported to have said that the problem was 'a choice between lowering the present standard of general efficiency of assistants by allowing them to take a longer time over every transaction, and of discovering a new form of handwriting which could be used at high speed without becoming illegible.' He is said to have suggested that in the opinion of many retail distributors 'the matter could be dealt with by insisting on the use of block capitals, provided children at school

in any branch of life can testify. Years and years—it may be generations—of intense and devoted labour must precede the glorious blossoming and fruition.

So it is not in the least surprising to read that 'The script writing which is taught to the youngest children in the London elementary schools has few supporters among business men.' It would be surprising if it had. Print script is the antithesis of nineteenth century cursive writing. Probably few, if any, of the business men who condemn it roundly have the slightest idea either of its ideals or of its technique The very fact that they refer to 'script writing' or 'this script' shows that they do not appreciate the position, for there is, not one print script, but dozens. Nor is print script taught only to the youngest children; it is taught, and has been for years, throughout school life in scores and hundreds of schools throughout the country. In 1920 I had in a class in a secondary school a boy of fourteen who wrote the most exquisite print script, a script far more legible, more distinctive and more easy to read than most printed books. He wrote it as fast as I could write a legible cursive hand. I learnt the art from him, and though from force of early training I still write in a cursive hand on ordinary occasions, I can print almost as quickly as, and certainly far more legibly than, I can write. Moreover, my cursive hand has been definitely modified by my learning script I use no loops, my capitals are all printed; and preliminary and ending flourishes have entirely disappeared from my writing

The school experiments have secured very fine if not altogether decisive results Up to the age of eleven or thereabouts, that is, up to the age of transfer to the secondary or senior school, children write excellently in all good elementary schools. Many of them write in one or the other variety of print script; many of them still are trained to write a much severer and more economical type of the old cursive writing It is not yet certain whether the new style of handwriting will be a radical departure from the old, that is, an unvarnished print script, or a modification of it. But the new style is coming, and the schools are evolving it

Two main factors (there are others) are most seriously hindering their work—the opposition to the new style and the pressure of external examinations upon secondary schools. Up to the age of eleven all is plain sailing, and all has gone reasonably well. The truth of this statement may be verified by an inspection of the handwriting, not of selected individuals, but of whole classes of children in any good elementary school But the outside world still rejects print script, with the result that, in order to meet its requirements, after the age of eleven the elementary

labour of pen and ink. The typewriter and the calculating machine have done a lot, but there still remains an incredible amount of handwriting to be done. Our problem is to supersede the old style of handwriting by a quicker, more economical one. At present we are blundering along with the old style, and as the necessity for speed hurries us along faster and faster, are growing more and more illegible in it The schools are tackling the real problem. They are tackling it in face of immense difficulties and much discouragement.

The period of deterioration and decay in our handwriting has coincided with a renaissance of educational ideals. During the last fifty years a national system of State education has been built up in this country, an ever-increasing number of children has poured into the schools, the school leaving age has risen steadily, and shows every sign of continuing to rise, facilities for secondary education have multiplied, the national concept of what constitutes a liberal education has rapidly deepened and widened; a host of new subjects has pressed its claim on the schools, and an octopus-like monster of external examinations has wound its tentacles round every department of school life, seeking life blood in an artificial standard which must be reached by all children by a certain age The literally immense pressure which has thus been exerted on the schools might well have driven all thoughts of handwriting--beyond teaching the bare elements of penmanship—out of the minds of those in charge Such, however, is far from being the case

If we turn for a moment to the history of literature, a subject upon which the generality of people is more widely informed than upon the history of handwriting, we cannot fail to remember that every revival of poetry—for example, every successful attempt to bring to birth a new style in place of an old one which has deteriorated and decayed--is preceded by a period of lively but restricted experiment, and that the experimenters are as a rule discouraged, discredited and ridiculed by the exponents of the old style, and by public opinion in general, which rarely or never takes the trouble to inform itself as to what the innovators are really doing, but which condemns them out of hand, simply because they are upsetting accepted theories Chatterton committed suicide at the age of seventeen, seeing nothing in front of him but starvation and neglect, Keats was advised none too kindly to go back to pill-making It is commonly said that a genius is never recognised until after his death. No new thing is ever good until, as it were by magic, its rightness seems suddenly to become universally apparent, when it is at once adopted on all sides, and the old thing is in a moment forgotten. There is no magic in the matter, as everyone who has done any pioneering

but—and this is the hopeful note, a note confirmed by the history not only of handwriting but of music, painting, poetry, sculpture, of every art—after decay there comes inevitably a revival, a supersession of the old style by a new. What we may term for ease of reference the nineteenth century style of cursive hand has deteriorated and is in a state of decay, but the new style is at hand, and its pioneers are the schools of to-day.

One factor above all others is hastening the decay of the old style, the immense speeding-up of modern life. The cursive hand which we were taught in the nineteenth century school is a leisurely hand We were taught to employ it in leisurely fashion; no one dreamed of suggesting that the acquirement of high speed was a necessary accomplishment It is a hand of elaborate and graceful curves, of letters the legible making of which demands time and considerable skill in freehand drawing. The loops in the small letters *l, b, g, h,* for example, are quite unnecessary, but they are graceful; they waste time, but they add to the distinction of the page. It is a hand entirely typical of the Victorian age; just as our grandparents filled their drawing-rooms with unnecessary ornaments, so they filled their writing with unnecessary loops and flourishes To do so, they fashioned an instrument for writing, admirable for their purpose, the hard fine-pointed steel pen nib, and slowed down their rate of writing still further, since in order to write with it pressure is required. As if to emphasise the essential leisureliness of the style, the nineteenth century writing master added to his loops and flourishes the 'up strokes thin and down strokes thick' theory, again increasing the beauty of the manuscript, but still further slowing down the speed

We have swept from our drawing-rooms the *bric-à-brac* of the Victorian age, we furnish our houses to-day in spare and severe fashion Our dress has become similarly simplified. The elaborate courtesies of social life in the nineteenth century are disappearing rapidly We may ascribe, if we like, these changes in fashion to a change in taste, but behind them all is the desire to economise time. The housewife of to-day has not the time to spend endless hours in dusting and polishing. A thousand and one new and fascinating ways of employing time have come into being, and we wish to enjoy them all So we replace our coal fires by gas and electric stoves, we crowd into motor omnibuses, taxis and trains, we cut short our courtesies and our hair, we scribble short and illegible notes where our grandparents wrote long and careful epistles A new outlook is demanding a new technique, a quicker technique.

We still have to write; no mechanical means has yet been devised to relieve the race entirely, or even largely, from the

millions of pounds through neglecting to scavenge such waste material as empty tins; it is certain that we lose to-day millions of pounds through bad handwriting. The loss in potential wealth is far greater than in real money.

It is easy to rush to superficial conclusions about the problem The most superficial conclusion of all, and the only one reached at present by many people, is that the nation's schools are altogether neglectful of handwriting. The 'main complaint' of business men, so we are told, 'is that handwriting of every sort is being neglected in schools' Nothing could be further from the truth, but the argument appears both plausible and logical It is the business of the schools to teach children how to write the handwriting of most people to-day is bad; therefore the schools have been neglectful of their duty The matter is by no means so simple as all that A correspondent to *The Times Educational Supplement*, to whom the question 'has always seemed . one of manners and morals,' 'would warn all whom it may concern that it is both useless and hypocritical to throw the principal blame for bad handwriting (as indeed for most evils) on the schools.' It is encouraging to find someone putting in a word in defence of the schools, but, though there is a vital connexion between good handwriting and good manners, even this suggestion does not reach the heart of the problem The writer goes on to argue that

> When bad handwriting—and by bad I mean writing that is for any reason difficult to read comes to be regarded as selfish and ill mannered and only excusable in the physically disabled there will be no more and no less difficulty in bringing up the young in the way they should go in this than in other branches of social ethics

Exactly; but handwriting is more than a matter of social ethics, it is an art. Every art is influenced by the standard of social ethics obtaining, but that influence is only one of many, and not the most important at that

Let us at this point return to the quotation at the head of this article. 'Handwriting, like every other art, has its different phases of growth, perfection and decay' It is at present in the third phase A century ago the period of growth of the modern cursive hand was at its height; no toil was too great to lavish upon the acquirement of a beautiful hand, no expense of time and energy excessive It became 'the hand of the period,' and a very lovely, very ornate, very ornamental hand it was. To turn over the pages of a writing or arithmetic exercise-book of a child of fifty years ago is to reveal a beauty of style that can never be recovered. It is useless to mourn its decease; handwriting, 'like every other art,' must deteriorate and decay;

THE SCHOOLS AND THE NATION'S HANDWRITING

> Handwriting, like every other art, has its different phases of growth, perfection and decay A particular form of handwriting is gradually developed, then takes a finished or calligraphic style and becomes the hand of its period, then deteriorates, breaks up and disappears, or only drags on an artificial existence, being meanwhile superseded by another style which, either developed from the older hand or introduced independently, runs the same course and in its turn is displaced by a younger rival —*Encyclopædia Britannica*, article on 'Palæography'

I WOULD commend the above quotation for serious consideration by every critic of handwriting to-day Admittedly, as a nation, we write badly ; in the great world of affairs as well as in private correspondence clear, legible and pleasing penmanship is rare, while hurried, ill-shaped, hardly legible scrawls are common. The matter is one of moment, as is evidenced by the reported statement of the general manager of Harrod's that 'thousands of pounds were lost each year by large stores solely on account of bad handwriting,' and even more forcefully in a leading article in *The Times*, in which it was declared that

> money is not the only measure nor are shops the only places of business to suffer from that evil (bad handwriting) There would be no difficulty (and newspaper offices would not be the least fruitful sources) in getting information to fill out to its true and gigantic size the tale of lost time and energy, of strained eyesight of fretted nerves and tempers, and of cooling cordiality between business and client It is all so much grit in the engine. It is harmful, it is wasteful, it is easily to be avoided. It seems too slight a matter to be worth bothering about , and like a neglected ailment, it is a continuous drain upon efficiency and strength

'It is all so much grit in the engine ' There is the whole position in a nutshell. We cannot afford grit in the engine. England needs now, and will need for many years, ball-bearing and well-oiled efficiency if we are to survive as a people in the front rank of the world's civilisation. As *The Times* suggests, handwriting may seem 'too slight a matter to be worth bothering about' ; so do many other matters, but their cumulative effect is incalculable. It is said that during the first two years or so of the war we lost

with keyboards and having the timbres of the flute, clarinet, cor anglais, oboe, and bassoon, which any pianist could easily play without tuition. They were quite portable, and the timbres differed in no respect from those of the corresponding orchestral instruments. It is rather more difficult to adapt the brass to the keyboard system, but it can be done, and I already have a positive attempt at a type of this kind. The organ 'timbre' gives us the extreme note of the 32-foot octave, and attains it with exceptional ease. On the other hand, the harp and the percussion instruments are very easily altered to the keyed system, and lose all their technical inconveniences and defects That this is the natural course of the evolution of the orchestral instrumentaria is proved by the fact that the instruments which have appeared in the orchestra in recent times are keyed—the piano, the celesta, the bells

This reform is also dictated by the requirements of a musical level of performance. I have already remarked that the orchestral player of secondary *rôles* is usually a musician of the second, third, etc, class The possessors of powerful, brilliant, and individual talents become singers, pianists, violinists, and only the feebler powers are left for the orchestra Standardisation of technique is the natural means of averting the tragic consequences of this inevitable artistic impoverishment of the orchestral personnel

LEONID SABANEEV

(*Translated by* S W PRING)

technique will be specially retained for them. In any case, the problem of preserving all the nuances and possibilities of the various 'bowings' when the strings are introduced into the family of keyboard instruments is serious.

On the whole this standardisation is inevitable; it can only be averted by the appearance on the scene of a still more rapid and more technically advanced process, by which the entire technique of musical performance will be mechanised: of this I have already written in the *Nineteenth Century and After.*[1] The advantages of such a state of affairs will be evident: the orchestra will be enriched by new timbres, since those at present existing in it by no means exhaust their possible varieties. A glance at the organ will suffice to show us the gaps in the wood-wind alone. Those now mighty, now mysterious, now terrifying timbres by which the organ subjugates the hearts of the listeners have no analogies in the orchestra. In the latter we find no representatives of the gamba family, no stopped flutes, no bourdons. A direct comparison of the colours of the organ and the wood-wind timbres is always enormously in favour of the organ. Its defect consists in the 'inexpressiveness,' the lifeless immobility of the tone, but this in particular disappears in the individualised instrument. Then the extension of the diapason of the existing timbres will provide us with new possibilities. The flutes supplied with low registers will enrich the orchestra with steady and reliable, and at the same time tender, basses. Like the fiddles, or the saxophone family, every instrument will have soprano, alto, tenor, and bass representatives, the timbre of each group being identical. The fundamental idea of the reform is to make all the notes of every timbre equally attainable and with equal ease, as is the case with the organ and the piano. The performer should still be able to impart light and shade to any note, but I am not at all sure that the naive 'antique' method of blowing directly into the wind instruments has any claim to preservation. Beyond question the pneumatic reservoir can replace the human lungs with their restricted power and limited supply of air, and make possible the appearance of performers on the 'contra-bass trombone'—it will be a question of musicality, and not of an athletic constitution. The conversion of the wood-wind instruments into small organs having a single register and endowed with the faculty of light and shade is an extremely simple and easy process. I know of such an experiment which was carried out at Moscow in 1893 by Professor Erarsky, of the Synodal School. He formed a children's orchestra, and, wishing to spare them the lung-strain involved in the playing of wind instruments, he invented small and expressive organs provided

[1] 'The Process of Mechanisation in the Musical Art,' July 1928.

deep bass tones whatever, and the existing basses (the contra-bassoon, the double-bass, and the tuba) are very coarse and loud and cannot be used in pianissimo passages. The upper notes, too, are wanting; they are represented only by the violin and the very shrill and strident piccolo. Again we turn for salvation to the organ, in which the scales of the timbres are complete to their natural limits, and we have the profoundest basses and the highest trebles and every dynamic shade in all the timbres. The organ must bestow a share of its riches, suitably transformed, on the orchestra.

The second half of the indispensable evolution of the orchestra consists, I think, in the standardisation of the instrumental technique The ideal would be a standardised method of playing the various types of instruments (string, wood-wind, and percussion), so that a performer, provided he is a musician, could handle any of them without a special technical training. The musical historian, familiar with the evolution of instruments, knows how, by means of primitive improvements and adaptations, they have acquired their resources and technique—essentially meagre even now, how the keys of the wood-wind have grown and multiplied; how the brass has been supplied with pistons, and the kettle-drums fitted with an appliance which makes their tuning easier All this mediæval 'carpentry' must be replaced by constructive methods commensurate with modern technical knowledge. The orchestra of the future will consist of a series of instruments identical in outward form and in the technique of sound-production, but differing in timbre. I am of course aware that musicians who cling to 'tradition' will disapprove—I can see their frowns already. Well, the diligence and the macadamised road had their defenders, who were up in arms against the railway and the motor car, but in the end they had to surrender. And so it will be here At the same time I admit that something will be lost, certain nuances will disappear, as they always do when improvements are introduced. The tempered scale was adopted at the expense of nuances of absolute purity of intonation, yet what would our music have been without that scale? Attainment is always accomplished at a price, and the only important thing is that the general result shall be positive. Anyhow, I think that in this case the losses will be inconsiderable.

I am convinced that these instruments will be keyed, and that the standardised technique will be that of the keyboard—at all events, for wood-wind and percussion. The stringed instruments have a special and very differentiated technique of their own and lend themselves with more difficulty to standardisation. As experience shows, to a certain extent they resist the process of 'extinction,' and it is therefore possible that the violin type of

an [illegible] individual artist. He dreams of a violinist's or a pianist's career, and only after the shattering of his life's plans does he turn to the orchestra, which is a collection of musical failures, and for that very reason contains an element of tragedy. But life nowadays is such that it is more profitable to sell herrings, or anything else, than to play artistically the part of second or third bassoon, even in a first-rate orchestra

It will become increasingly difficult to find living orchestral material for secondary *rôles* And we know that every instrument in the orchestra is a circumscribed musical world, and that the bassoonist cannot play two notes on the flute, nor can the first-class trumpeter manipulate the drumsticks. The splendour of the contemporary orchestra is already suspended over the abyss.

It seems to me that a logical and normal premeditated evolution in the orchestra is necessary and desirable. Nothing else can save it from social and artistic dissolution and prevent its becoming a band of exasperated failures. There still exists in the big orchestras of Europe an ancient artistic tradition, and a genuine artistic pathos in their performance, especially in the case of the older musicians. But the longer we go on the fewer we have of these 'last of the Mohicans,' and playing in an orchestra becomes more and more only an unpleasant 'daily toil.' In this lies the danger to art. If left to itself, as hitherto, the orchestral body must inevitably go into liquidation, following the laws of growth in accordance with which it has attained its present form. The time has arrived when the systematic construction of the orchestra can no longer be deferred, and it must follow the course adopted in the building of modern cities—there must be a preliminary plan, and the assistance of all the technical achievements of modern culture must be enlisted.

I imagine that the evolution will be on these lines. On the one hand the existing timbres will have to be extended in their scales, in order to make them complete. In the contemporary orchestra we find the contrary to be the case: not only is the timbre of a given type lacking in the number of notes at its disposal, but also the individual instrument does not even give us one timbre throughout—it is a system of timbres, since the so-called 'registers' of instruments are nothing but different timbres of the one instrument. Thus the first task is to complete the scale of the individual timbres marked out for existing instruments. The flute should be provided with bass notes—it has them in the organ—like other instruments. In general one could wish for an extension of the orchestral diapason; at present it is more restricted than the big keyboard instruments, and is wanting in notes at the ends of the scale. The orchestra has no

arranging the instruments so that the general effect shall be tolerable and shall neutralise these vexatious lacunae. On the organ every chord has a beautiful sound, thanks to the equality of the timbres, and to the fact that the scale of any one of them is complete. The art of scoring for the orchestra consists mainly of recipes for cooking up from these mixed ingredients of flutes, clarinets, horns, and violins something that shall sound approximately smooth and even. It is pre-eminently a struggle with the deficiencies of the orchestra, and not the cultivation of its merits.

We live in a technical age, an age of improvements and inventions. Through some miracle music stands aloof from them. Nothing has happened in the orchestra during a century of steam and electricity. Wagner's chromatic trumpets were devised before the era of railways, and have remained in the same position ever since The orchestra continues to be a casual assemblage of casual timbres, incomplete, and, from a technical point of view, most primitively equipped. I do not know how it is with others, but on me the technique of the production of sound in most of the orchestral instruments has a very depressing effect From a purely musical aspect the orchestra is a collection of defects of every kind impurity (organic and unavoidable) of intonation; numerous incidental and unnecessary sounds, defective notes in some part of an instrument's compass; bad resonances in all of them. Since the great Pan invented the flute there has been no improvement in it, and in general the modest artistic accessories have not been deemed worthy of the attention of man's inventive genius in this age of steam and electricity Technical progress—and that only in the most recent years—has been confined to the multiplication and the popularisation of music, but from the Crusades to the Locarno Treaty the technique of the instrumentaria has remained triumphantly unchanged.

I consider that the association of the musical instrumentaria with the technical progress of mankind would be an innovation of a very noble type and in keeping with the times. In saying this I have in mind its quality, and not its wide diffusion; I am less interested in the possibility of hearing a poor performance at a million points simultaneously than in the rescuing of the individual instruments, or, more correctly, timbres, from their technical poverty, illiteracy, and helplessness. It is no secret that the further we go the more difficult it becomes to form orchestras. We have an over-production of things and a gradual extinction of the 'unfit'—the wood-wind and percussion instruments. The number of musicians who are willing heroically to dedicate their lives to blowing notes on the oboe steadily decreases. A man who has a gift for music rarely sets out with the intention of spending his existence as an orchestral player—he wants to be

to look upon it as something that was to be, to consider that the form it happened to assume had to be reckoned with. The classical flutes, clarinets, oboes, bassoons, horns and trombones, percussion instruments, and strings—all these by no means exhaust the possible variety of timbres in the orchestra, nor are they brought together in accordance with a definite plan. Casualness prevails here, the feasibility of forming a combination of players of these particular instruments. But every orchestrator and composer knows very well that the orchestra—this grandiose palette of timbres and tone-colours, so far as the number of the performers is concerned—is a poor thing after all; a great deal is wanting in some of its sections, whilst others are filled to overflowing with reduplicated and 'tautological' timbres.

Hitherto the orchestra has been constructed on the principles which governed the building of the ancient cities—without a plan or a general perspective. Anything that happened to exist was invited to join it, and only the fittest survived. Sometimes these casual arrivals were successful; but, since it is impossible to talk of the 'intuition' of the artist in the matter of the composition of the orchestra, it is evident that this fortuitousness lacked that powerful corrective which is so helpful in analogous situations. Thus, by supplementing, experimenting, adapting one instrument to another, and slightly improving individual instruments, the modern orchestra—the pride of the musical culture of Europe—was built up Nevertheless, if we observe it attentively, we may be convinced that so far there is no occasion for boasting.

From a technical point of view, stagnation has always been one of the fundamental qualities of the musical world. Apart from the piano, with its ample and, to a certain degree, up-to-date mechanism, it must be a matter of surprise that there has been so little advance in the construction of our instruments since the heroic times of Homer, Pindar, and other personages of antiquity. Contemporary musicians exert themselves strenuously to make old-fashioned instruments perform the most indigestible and least agreeable music, but for some reason their modernism never takes the line of perfecting and modernising the instruments themselves. And meanwhile, however rich the orchestra of Richard Strauss or Stravinsky, however magnificent the sound of 'five trumpets' and 'eight horns,' we know quite well that in the most grandiose orchestra the timbre of the flute ends at the middle of the scale and has no bass notes; that the timbre scale of any type is broken and incomplete, and that only 5 per cent. of the orchestrator's art is devoted to the distribution of colour, the remaining 95 per cent. being absorbed by the tiresome and purely 'economic' task of filling these fatal gaps in the scales of the timbres. The orchestrator's 'mastery' usually amounts to

nor at the musical futurists' twenty-one parts for percussion instruments. Skryabin dreamt of resonances which would shatter the walls of the concert-rooms: he always felt that there was an insufficiency of power. The growth of the orchestral 'armaments' steadily increases, and is not prevented even by the economic causes which sway the contemporary world. And as yet there is no suggestion of 'disarmament'—no inclination to relieve the pressure on the ears of the listener.

Not everything in this growth is organic and normal. There can be no doubt that this panic arming of the orchestra is developed on unhealthy and quantitative lines, and on the other hand it is a primitive and 'home-made' business. Moreover, if with the eye of a musician we glance at the modern orchestral leviathan score of fifty staves—such as the score of *Elektra*—we shall be amazed at a certain casualness which appears to be the guiding principle in the development and extension of the orchestral organism.

Some day I may be able to return to the very interesting question of the 'origin of musical species,' by which I mean musical instruments. Darwin was certainly not a musician, and would have been much surprised to learn that his theory of the origin of species had a point of application to—music. But it is a fact: musical instruments, like zoological species, undergo modifications and mutations; they engage in a peculiar 'struggle for existence,' which ends in the survival of those types best fitted for life in music. The unwieldy ichthyosauri of the musical world die out, and the future belongs to the agile violins. The orchestra is visibly becoming a colossal and monumental tomb, a sarcophagus of instruments which have lost their capacity for individual work. These pariahs of the musical world, at one time equal participants in the 'feast of musical life'—all these flutes, harps, viols, cors anglais—gradually become orchestral instruments; buried amidst the huge personnel of the orchestra, these 'unfit' still contrive to exist. Attempts to restore an individual artistic existence to them lead to no good results, and are merely the whims and fancies of the æsthetic composer. All the wind instruments have ceased to live as soloists and have been cast into the Gehenna of the orchestra, and the violoncello and viola are moribund. Unless a sudden 'radio-catastrophe' in the form of some stupefying invention of a technical type turns our musical instrumentaria upside down, I foresee that in the near, the very near, future vocalists, pianists, and violinists will be the only solo performers—all the other instruments will be merely 'orchestral.'

Musicians have paid little attention to the casual nature of the composition of the orchestra. It was the accepted custom

THE EVOLUTION OF THE ORCHESTRA

We live in what may be justly called an orchestral era. The orchestra is the centre of musical life and happenings, and in these days it would hardly be possible to find composers who write solely for the chamber *ensemble* or for the piano, though they have not been rare in the past. We have gone through a period of the grandiose expansion of the orchestral resources and personnel, and, though we have not entirely emerged from it, we are entering to some extent upon its opposite—we are beginning to feel surfeited with this superabundance. The orchestra is shrinking before our eyes to the dimensions of the chamber combination, the cult of the grandiose is giving way to the cultivation of the affected and extravagant. All these are details; the main thing is that the collective performance, the performance by means of an immense volume of sound and a vast number of players, is decidedly predominant, and is supplanting the intimate, chamber, individual type which preceded it. The solo artist is no longer supreme in the musical world, and it is increasingly evident that the hegemony has been transferred to the conductor, in whom the leadership and command of the musical armies are personified

I will not go deeply into the causes of this phenomenon, nor into its connexion with the general 'collectivist' psychology of our imperialistic age. Undoubtedly there is a certain similarity between contemporary life—permeated with industrialism, with mass production and mass consumption—and our modern musical industry, the 'heavy industry' of music which is called 'orchestral culture.' At the moment, however, I am not interested in this, but in the problem of the development of the orchestral apparatus, which assumed such gigantic proportions during the nineteenth century. Could Mozart or Haydn have imagined the prodigious scores of Richard Strauss? The growth of the orchestral structures in the course of the past century has been proportional to the growth of the city buildings, and the scores of Stravinsky or Strauss are veritable musical 'sky-scrapers.' At one time Wagner frightened the world with thirty-stave scores, but now we are not alarmed at sixty staves,

of possible sufferers from occupational deafness, and we shall have omnibus-drivers, printers, road-breakers, and possibly even traffic policemen, as fairly common members of that band. Where the dividing line between the condition of harm and no harm lies we do not know; certainly it will vary with the individual and be predisposed to by other forms of strain and fatigue, as shown in extreme cases by the neurasthenic whose auditory fatigue comes on very quickly. At this point we commence to encroach upon the province of the psychologist, and must go no further.

What suggestions have we to offer for the prevention of these effects? Two ways in which this may be approached come to our minds: on the one hand, by making ourselves less susceptible to whatever noise comes our way; and on the other hand, by endeavouring to minimise the production of noise

Possibly a generation may arise in years to come in whom a natural resistance to protection against all these harmful sounds will have developed It will, I fear, take many, many years to produce such a resistance Those who work in particularly noisy places should in their own interests endeavour to protect their ears while subjected to the noise by wearing some type of ear cap. Such a protection, too, might not be amiss during our daily journeys to and from work by noisy omnibus or underground train.

The wearing of rubber soles would protect us against a certain amount of vibration transmitted from the ground, while the use of pneumatic tyres on public vehicles would reduce both vibration and noise

With regard to the production of noise, in addition to the above suggestion streets paved with cobbles might be abolished and some effort made to lessen the noise of tramcars.

Lastly, taking into consideration our natural protection against noises of low frequency, a law providing for the use of motor hooters emitting sounds only below a certain pitch might, while adding to our restrictions, also be the means of saving us from greater discomfort

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stapedius is tightly contracted the internal ear is saved at the lesser expense of rupture of the drumhead. As we mentioned previously, however, the action of the muscles is so little understood that we can do no more than theorise.

One single loud explosion close to the ear is more likely to cause rupture of the membrane than many lesser explosions. Lesser explosions continually repeated, however, are more likely to lead, as in the case of boiler-makers, to a generalised auditory degeneration.

Violence of a severity sufficient to cause rupture of the drumhead is not met with as a rule in civil life, and we need do no more than refer to the mechanism of it, rupture of the drumhead being practically the only type of middle ear deafness that we know due to excessive sound stimulation

The next point we must discuss is the difference in mechanism of hearing between notes of fairly high pitch and notes of fairly low pitch. It is a well-known clinical observation, which has been confirmed times without number, that people with disease of the middle ear lose the power of hearing low notes to a much greater extent than they do high notes, conversely, people with various types of internal ear deafness suffer more with high-note than low-note loss The explanation given is that high notes are heard by skull resonance more than low notes, which are hardly appreciated except *via* the middle ear. If this be the case, the protection against noise possessed by the middle ear which has been mentioned previously will be effective only for noises of low frequency, while for noises of high frequency the middle ear will have no protection No experiments have been done on guinea-pigs or other animals comparing the effects of low and high notes with regard to the amount of stimulation required to produce degeneration The results of such experiments might provide a great deal of assistance in the elucidation of this problem.

We now come to a point where we are in a position to demand an answer to the question—what harm, and how much harm, is done to the ear by traffic and other noises to which we are daily subjected? It must be confessed that there is very little evidence which can be produced to show that any damage to the ear at all results from the ordinary stimulation we receive. Traffic noises are for the most part of comparatively low frequency, and it is against noises of this particular type that the human ear appears to be best protected. It is only when we come to really prolonged loud noises that we know that definite harm is done, and we have mentioned boiler-makers and riveters as being people particularly liable to this harm by reason of their occupation. As our general lives become more and more noisy, however, other classes of the community will probably be drawn into the group

particular part of the scale; but, on the other hand, no part of the scale is quite free from the effects; thus we have generalised auditory fatigue.

Generalised Auditory Degeneration

This is one of the well-known occupational diseases. Such people as boiler-makers, riveters, engineers—in fact, anyone who for practically the whole day and every day for years is subjected to the bombardment of loud noises—are liable to suffer after the lapse of a variable number of years from 'boiler-maker's deafness'—generalised auditory degeneration. If people who are the subjects of this condition be examined it will be found that their deafness is not complete for any particular note, but affects the whole scale. It was at one time stated that their upper tone limit was markedly lowered, but according to Tenaglio this is incorrect, both upper and lower tone limits being preserved.

We must now say a few words about the deafness due to injury by stimulation by a noise of excessive amplitude such as an explosion—usually known as 'concussion deafness.' When a person is deafened by an explosion one of three conditions may result. He may suffer temporarily from deafness and then recover his full hearing power. He has had a strain or concussion of his internal ear, which has been put out of action by the violent movements of the stapes.

Secondly, he may rupture the drumhead; this is probably a purely physical phenomenon, and produced in a manner similar to the broken panes of glass so commonly experienced during an explosion. The rupture in like manner is also outwards.

Thirdly, the drumhead may not rupture, but permanent deafness may result.

In the first instance, the patient has had a nerve shock—an internal ear deafness; this is temporary and is recovered from. It is comparable with the sudden blindness we experience upon changing from darkness to brilliant light or upon suddenly looking at the sun. A patch or disc of blurring appears in the centre of the visual field owing to sudden excessive stimulation.

In the second instance, if rupture of the drumhead occurs, there is a varying degree of deafness, which is permanent but not necessarily severe.

In the third instance, when the drumhead does not rupture the deafness is of the internal ear type. This suggests that rupture of the drumhead has in its way protected the more serious damage to the internal ear, which arises if the rupture does not occur. The mechanism of this is probably associated with the tension of the muscles at the time of the explosion. If the

for five minutes; if we then throw the same note again into both ears equally he will say that he hears the note better in the left ear, thus showing that the right ear has been partially deafened. This condition gradually passes off, until after a few minutes the note is once again equally heard in both ears. This shows that the deafness was temporary only. If now the experiment be repeated, but after throwing a note of 400 d.v.s. into the right ear for five minutes a note of 500 d.v.s. be thrown into both ears, then this note is heard equally in both ears, showing that the fatigue due to the note of 400 d.v.s. has affected only a portion of the total range of hearing corresponding to the frequency stimulated—that is to say, localised auditory fatigue.

Localised Auditory Degeneration

We know that certain people are deaf in particular parts of the scale, and in the few cases in which it has been possible to examine their ears after death it has been found that degeneration of the ganglion cells has existed in certain parts of the spinal ganglion.

Witmaak, however, by experimenting upon guinea-pigs, has very conclusively shown that this condition may follow upon prolonged stimulation

He subjected guinea-pigs to a constant loud note of a given pitch for several days At the end of this time the guinea-pigs were killed and their ears examined microscopically. It was found that there was a definite degeneration of the ganglion cells affecting only a definite localised portion of the spinal ganglion. In other words, he had artificially produced localised auditory degeneration

Generalised Auditory Fatigue

This is a condition which is probably well known to all of us. If a person is subjected to a loud noise, of no particular frequency, for a considerable time he will find that for some while after the noise has ceased he is hard of hearing. This is easily demonstrated in passengers in an aeroplane journey, who may suffer for as long as half an hour from the effects of a two-hour journey. There are many other examples which might be mentioned, such as a prolonged visit to a printing works or noisy engineering shop, or the condition may even occur in those of us who might be fortunate enough to be able to spend two hours watching a main road being broken up. If a person suffering from this type of deafness be examined immediately after the disturbing noise has ceased, it will be found that the deafness is not complete for any

corresponding in frequency to the note or notes sounded. The hair cells corresponding are also stimulated, and a nerve impulse passes to a ganglion or collection of nerve cells situated adjacent to the cochlea. From here the auditory nerve passes to the brain.

We are now in a position to examine our available facts. Damage to the ear may follow violence, fatigue, or disease. With the last we need not worry here, and violence only concerns us in the form of an excessively loud noise such as an explosion. We will mention this later. Now, fatigue may be, and usually is, temporary, and shows itself as a change in the ganglion cells supplying the basilar membrane. An expression which very aptly fits the case is that 'they look washed out.' If the cause of the fatigue is continued beyond a certain point, however, permanent harm may result, and actual degeneration of the ganglion cells may supervene. This is permanent and irrecoverable. Again, the effects may be quite localised to a particular part of the range of hearing, or may affect the greater part of the range. We thus get four definite conditions:

(1) Localised auditory fatigue. (2) Generalised auditory fatigue. (3) Localised auditory degeneration. (4) Generalised auditory degeneration.

It has not been possible to study human ears in which the ear has been in a state of fatigue, but we can be fairly certain of this condition by comparison, first, with the condition of animals' ears which have been fatigued before death, and, secondly, by comparison with nerve cells in other parts of the body which have been fatigued in other ways. The degeneration when it occurs affects not only the ganglion cells, but also the basilar membrane and the organ of Corti. The degenerative processes in these two latter are probably only secondary to that in the nerve ganglion.

We will now discuss some of the various phenomena and experiments which have given us our knowledge of this subject.

Localised Auditory Fatigue

The following experiment illustrates this condition—that is, fatigue (temporarily) of a certain portion only of the range of hearing. If a pair of head-phones are placed upon a person and a note of a certain frequency, such as 400 d.v.s per second, be thrown equally into both ears, the person will say (the hearing being normal) that the sound is not heard any more loudly in one ear than the other, but appears to come from the centre of the head.

Now let this note be thrown into one ear only, say the right,

indrawn in a state of tension: contraction will increase the tension of the membrane, and will therefore tend to move the stapes inwards; relaxation will have the reverse affect. The stapedius, the second little muscle, is attached at the other end of the line to the stapes, and by its contraction pulls out the stapes from the little oval window in which it lies, its action thus being exactly the opposite of the tensor tympani. The function of the drumhead and the ossicles is, as far as one can judge, to intensify and amplify the energy of the sound vibration reaching the drumhead, but the function of the muscles is still in doubt. It is usually assumed that contraction of the tensor tympani increases the sensitivity of the drumhead, and therefore its contraction is called into play in response to minimal stimuli Conversely, the function of the stapes is believed to prevent by its reflex contraction too sudden and violent an inward movement of the footplate of the stapes following a very loud noise. This is a comfortable explanation, and is possibly true Complications arise, however, when it is suggested that contraction of the tensor tympani, by causing increased tension of the drum, tends to decrease the amplitude of its vibratory excursion, and therefore protects against loud noise, while further complications arise when it is suggested that the mechanism of protection is a simultaneous contraction (tonically) of both muscles, thereby resisting movements of the vibrating system to the fullest possible extent It is impossible in the present state of our knowledge to state anything more definite than this, although it is almost certain that the action of the muscles is not quite so simple as the original idea suggests

Now, with regard to the internal ear, the essential facts are these The sound vibrations are conveyed to the inner ear by the footplate of the stapes, situated at one basal end of a double spiral tube This tube is filled with fluid and is called the cochlea. The two canals forming it are separate throughout their length except at the very furthermost point where they communicate. The basal end of the second tube ends blindly near the footplate of the stapes, but has no connexion with it. Separating these two canals from each other is a membrane known as the basilar membrane, upon which is situated the essential end organ. The basilar membrane is made up of some 20,000 transversely stretched fibres, varying in length from very short near one end to three times the length near the other end Upon the membrane are cells containing fine hair-like projections—which are really the fine terminations of the nerve fibrils of the auditory nerve. Whenever the fluid in the canals of the cochlea moves in response to movements of the footplate of the stapes the basilar membrane by resonance vibrates in one or more particular part or parts

(2) A sensitive end organ—in which are contained the specialised end filaments of the auditory nerves—which receives the sound vibrations and translates them into nerve impulses which pass to the brain.

Noise may have an effect on either or both of these parts, and as their function is entirely different we must take them absolutely separately.

Deafness due to some fault in the transmitting apparatus is usually known as middle ear or conducting deafness, while deafness due to some fault in the perceptive apparatus is known as internal ear or nerve deafness; this latter term is of course a little misleading, as it is not necessarily associated with disease of or damage to the nerve.

Conducting Apparatus

This consists of the drumhead, a lever system of three small bones and two small muscles.

The drumhead is a roughly circular, delicate membrane composed of fibrous tissue, not flat, but conical, the apex of the cone being deeper than the circumference. Neither are the sides of the cone straight, but are convex towards the centre of the cone. To the inner surface of the drumhead is attached, along a line from the apex of the cone to a point near the circumference, above and in front, the handle of the malleus or hammer bone. The anterior half of the drum is fairly tense at all times, while the posterior part is usually a little more lax. This complicated shape, together with the arrangement of the fibrous tissue forming it—a point we cannot discuss here—and the inertia of the (comparatively) heavy mass of bone attached to its inner surface, prevent the drumhead from having a periodicity of vibration of its own and thus vibrating more easily and forcefully by resonance to any particular frequency of vibration corresponding in pitch to its own periodicity.

The lever system of three small bones—the hammer, the anvil, and the stirrup—serves to transfer the vibrations of the drumhead to a similar but much smaller membrane guarding the inner ear. In so doing it reduces the extent of movement of the membrane, but conversely increases the energy of that movement (it is said about thirty times).

The two muscles of the middle ear have opposite actions. Both are normally in a state of tonic contraction, but react instantly and reflexly either by further contraction or by relaxation, according to the amplitude of the sound vibration reaching the drumhead.

The tensor tympani muscle holds the drumhead a little

its effect on the brain or mind of the recipient. This latter effect is more within the province of the psychologist than that of the aurist, and will be neglected in this article.

We set out, then, to limit ourselves to the effect of sound, and particularly the bad effects of sound or noise, on the ear itself. This problem, limited and well defined in its scope though it appears, is not an easy one to discuss, and for many reasons a still less easy problem to investigate. Ill effects of noise are not fatal effects, and can therefore, as a rule, be studied only clinically. Even if it be possible to obtain the material for examination, the inaccessibility of the ear and the intense hardness of the bone in which the ear is situated all tend to discourage investigation. A careful serial microscopic examination of the ear takes over six months to complete and about fifty hours of labour in the preparation and examination of the microscopic sections; while the cost of the actual material used amounts to little short of 10*l.* And even then the final effort may be a failure as a consequence of a mistake in technique early on, or the results may be negative —decidedly a job not to be undertaken, except by the very keenest research worker with the added advantage of time and money. Again, animals' ears differ from the human in that their range of hearing is not necessarily the same, and experiments upon them cannot be taken as conclusive evidence of a like effect upon the human subject

We have, however, certain positive data upon which to work, facts which have been repeatedly observed and confirmed and which may be accepted as fairly complete evidence. Full use will be made of these facts in arriving at our conclusions.

Harm may be done to the ear by noise in several ways, and we shall carefully analyse the mechanism by which this damage is done in each particular case, we shall then endeavour to trace any analogy that exists between these processes and like processes to which we may be subjected during the course of our lives in this boisterous and noisy world.

Before it is possible fully to appreciate the mechanism by which damage is done it is necessary for the reader to have some knowledge of the anatomy of the ear and of the mechanism of normal hearing. It is beyond the scope of this article to deal fully with these two subjects, and it will be assumed that a certain general knowledge of the subject is possessed by the reader. Only those points which have a definite bearing on our problem will be stressed.

The hearing apparatus may be broadly divided into two main parts:

(*a*) A part which receives, modifies and transmits the sound vibrations—the middle ear.

NOISE AND HEARING

THE present age is an age of restriction and repression, of stress and strain, and as a natural sequel we may also assume it is an age of complaints. These are sometimes justified; more often they are made without previous investigation, without knowledge of, or even cursory consideration of, the subject of complaint, and are often couched in terms so vague and generalised that they cannot withstand careful analysis and unbiassed scrutiny

Prominent among the more fashionable nuisances of the moment is noise, and it is the object of this article to continue further that probing into the subject of noise so admirably started last month by Dr W S Tucker In this article, however, we shall deal with this very wide subject only from a particular and limited angle, that of the aurist, and endeavour to estimate, so far as our knowledge will allow us, the effect of noise locally—that is to say, its effect on the ear itself, the actual end organ of hearing

We must at the outset dissociate ourselves from something which we commonly associate with noise, call noise, and generally assume is synonymous with noise, I refer to what we may vaguely call vibration. By this I mean the coarse type of vibration which can be felt, and which is appreciated by the sensory end organs of the muscles and joints of the body as opposed to the finer type of vibration—sound vibration—which is appreciated by the ear Although we do not wish to suggest that this coarse vibration may not in itself be harmful—it is certainly a nuisance—it is only with the latter type of vibration that this article will deal.

Sound vibrations are analysed by the ear and converted by the ear into nerve impulses—these nerve impulses being conducted from the ear to that receptive area of the brain which is set aside as the hearing centre, this hearing centre communicating, directly or indirectly, with all other parts of the brain. Effects of noise therefore may affect not only the ear itself, but also those regions beyond the ear to which the vibrations, albeit in a different form, penetrate. We can therefore consider the effect of noise from two points of view: locally, that is to say, its effect on the ear or actual end organ of hearing; and centrally, that is to say,

definitely on the statistical and probability methods which are in vogue among physicists at the present time. He claims that our physical certainty depends upon the statistical averages of large numbers, and that these averages may be quite determined and accurate, while yet each individual atom is subject to a spasmodic contingency; so that if mind can act on single particles it may really exercise a power of choice—more than one alternative being available. For instance, whether an electron drops into Bohr's orbit number 1 or into orbit number 2 may not have been predetermined; so he applies this amusingly to the Calvinistic doctrine of election, suggesting that the fate of a human being, whether he shall enter what may be called State 1 or State 2, need not have been predetermined either!

But if I were to deal with all the items in Eddington's treatise which arouse admiration and amusement, there would be no end. Suffice it that I have presumptuously indicated small differences in manner of expression: the book itself I welcome with both hands as a splendid contribution to philosophic thought. Readers must remember that it is based on a thorough knowledge of recent advances in abstruse science such as extremely few possess.

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above), meaning by 'above' the side away from the earth. Every particle of it is being accelerated downwards. And if the symbolical apple were aware of all the facts, it ought to admit that. Whereas Newton sitting on his chair is in equilibrium; under the same sort of pressure from above, opposed by the bombardment from below. It is not only 'inconvenient' to say that he and the whole earth are moving upwards to meet the apple, it is false. Their true relative motions are easily reckoned from the unchanged, *i.e.*, unaccelerated, position of their joint centre of gravity.

And so it is with many of the popular expositions or modes of statement to illustrate Relativity. The strength of Relativity, which I fully admit, is the detection of absolutes, the perception that what we observe in matter is only relative, and that the real happenings—I can hardly call them 'phenomena' because they are not appearances—occur in 'empty' space, by reason of the at present only partially known properties of that space.

Until those properties are known, the ingenuity of the mathematician has found it possible to express them in terms of hyper-geometry, a mode of expression highly ingenious and extremely difficult—so difficult that it has to be replaced in popular exposition by fanciful devices, but it cannot be the last word on the subject. It is a mode of tiding over the times of our ignorance, and achieving results without knowing what things really are or what they are doing. We know that something is doing something; and the marvel is that pure mathematicians had devised machinery which the ingenuity of Einstein and others found it possible to employ. I expect that this hyper-geometry will presently be regarded as a temporary and complicated expedient, though a step I doubt not towards a comprehension of the ultimate simplicity of truth.

Of Eddington's speculative philosophic contention, towards the end of his Gifford Lectures, that physical science is not so deterministic as we had thought, but that an element of contingency exists even in physics, which may justify the biological and psychological postulate of spontaneity and free will in animated matter, and may some day begin to solve the problem of the interaction of mind and matter, there is doubtless much that will have to be said, but I am not ready to attempt it now. He puts it forward without great confidence, as a first attempt, and as such it seems to me useful and suggestive. But whether it will stand scrutiny, and whether it really is the beginning of a more ambitious scheme, I at any rate am not prepared to say. It is, however, a valiant effort, which will require criticism not only from philosophers but from physicists, since it touches

residue responsible for their diurnal revolution. An apple on a tree is a small satellite, revolving, like the moon, under an unbalanced residue of what we call the earth's attraction. The ocean is conveniently regarded as a partially supported satellite, in the Theory of Tides.

There are certain physicists who have held that our statements about natural phenomena are conveniences of expression rather than actual truths. They would hold apparently that Truth is unknowable, and is therefore not the aim of science. They would give to science a still further limitation, and say that its ascertained laws are only handy formularies which if they are consistent with themselves enable us to deal with complicated phenomena in a convenient manner; they urge that convenience of expression, and not truth, is our end and aim. I am under the impression that the great mathematician Poincaré, and perhaps Mach, were of this school of thought. Fortunately I find that Eddington at least is rebellious against this claim, and does not seek to reduce science to so contemptible a position. But sometimes I think that even he falls under the sway of this idea, and in order to emphasise Relativity, holds that different modes of expression by different observers, each of whom thinks himself at rest while both are moving relatively to one another, are equally good, equally true, and that it is only a matter of convenience which we accept. To press Relativity to an absurdity, I have seen it urged that the controversy between Galileo and his pre-Copernican colleagues turned upon little more than modes of expression; so that it was only a matter of convenience whether we said that the stellar cosmos revolved round the earth once a day, or whether we said that the earth rotated on its axis. I call this an absurdity even on Relativist principles; for one of their main planks is that material bodies cannot move faster than light.

I do not accuse Eddington of this absurdity, but he has a parable about Newton and the apple which, if not equally absurd, suggests something equally false. The falling apple is depicted as saying to Newton, 'It is not I who am falling, it is you who are rising; I am free in space, while you are bombarded by the molecules below you, and are being driven up towards me.' He seems (perhaps only for the purposes of argument or illustration) to be recognising this as a legitimate statement from the apple's point of view: indeed even more reasonable than Newton's, who held that the detached apple, though perfectly free in space, was nevertheless being accelerated. But if a statement is false, it ought not to be legitimate, let alone reasonable: the apple's contention ought to be condemned. A detached apple is unsupported and free so far as matter is concerned, but it is subject to the unbalanced pressure of the gravitational field

termination of an electric field, and as pressure is the result of the molecular activities of a gas at its terminal boundary. Every field has certain terminal peculiarities. Even a field of radiation exerts pressure: so does a gravitational field. The peculiarity of a gravitational field is that in a sense it has no boundary; it casts no shadow; it continues, past the particle it is acting on, just as strong as before. This peculiarity makes it more difficult to deal with than the other fields.

The gravitational field of the earth exists all round it, it is a modification of space due to the very existence of the earth, and every portion of matter in that space feels the effect as a pressure or force driving it towards the earth. If the body is unsupported, then it is accelerated; but if it is what we call supported, if it rests upon the earth, then the molecular stress or atomic bombardment below it sustains it against the etheric pressure above, and it is no longer accelerated, it is in equilibrium.

In exceptional cases a body can appear to be supported without resting on anything, provided it has a certain tangential velocity, but, as everyone knows, it is then not really in equilibrium, it is subject to acceleration, it is obeying the second law of motion. The effect of the gravitational field, *i.e.*, the unbalanced force, is equal to the mass-acceleration, so that the path is curved in due proportion. Strictly speaking, even bodies resting on the earth are not in complete equilibrium. The greater part of the gravitational force is balanced by the bombardment below, but there is an unbalanced residue which curves the path and makes the body revolve round the earth once a day. There is another force, not balanced at all, due to a condition in space, or æther, caused by the neighbourhood of the sun; and this unbalanced force produces its due effect, curving the path of our bodies so that they revolve round the sun once a year.

All this is over-familiar, it is the mode of expression that I would call attention to. Bodies do not revolve round the sun because they are attached to the earth, they would do just the same if the earth were abolished, though naturally the diurnal revolution would then cease.

With this preliminary I come to Eddington's chapter or heading 'The Tug of Gravitation,' which he puts into the index in that form. Naturally I do not admit a 'tug' of gravitation, if by that is meant a pull from a distance. I attribute it, and I suppose everyone now does virtually though not in so many words, to the pressure on each particle exerted by the space in contact with it; that space having been thrown into a strained condition by the proximity of the earth. That field it is which accounts for 'weight.' Unsupported bodies fall, supported bodies are in equilibrium, if we neglect for the moment the small unbalanced

[illegible] and cohesion. Things are not always being moved by force. Forces may be in equilibrium, and then there is no acceleration. This indeed is Newton's first law. Genuine force is exerted by a spring or a stretched elastic, even when everything is in relative rest.

It must be admitted that forces do not act at a distance, except indirectly in a way which requires explanation. The primary action of force is between two things or entities in contact: so that if they move they move over the same distance: and then Newton's third law, that these forces are the equal opposite ends of a stress, leads at once to the conservation of energy.

It is often more convenient, and so to speak more powerful, to deal in equations with considerations of energy rather than of force. But that after all is rather a blindfold method: it gives results without explaining them, that is without reducing them to experiences of which we have had direct sensory apprehension. The terms light, sound, and heat are all sensory or mental terms; though they can all be regarded from a more physical or scientific point of view. But that should not lead to the abolition of those terms; and I would put force into the same category It is something which we directly apprehend, and which has to be otherwise explained.

We explain sound as a vibration of the air, we explain light as something like a tremor in the ether, we explain heat as a quiver or locomotion of the particles How shall we explain force? We may reduce cohesion to a residual electric or magnetic attraction, a residual trace of chemical affinity between molecules. But how are we to explain electric or magnetic attractions? Well, at present we cannot explain them properly, but we can say that they are functions of space, properties of an electric or a magnetic field. A 'field' is a region of space so modified that where it terminates on matter it exerts a force. This is by no means an ultimate explanation, but it is true as far as it goes. Matter is necessary to display the field; we should not be aware of its existence if it did not act upon matter. Force is the sign and demonstration of that action, and the matter so acted on behaves as it would to any other kind of force.

The ultimate ingredients of all matter are *in vacuo*, that is, in æther or space. They are not in contact, and they act on each other only through the intervening medium. The force which they exert on each other is due to the peculiarities of that medium: they are in fact always acted on by some peculiarity or property of space, something which is in direct contact with them. There is no action at a distance. Force is the termination of a field in space, a boundary condition; just as an electric charge is the

in science; though it is not the measurements, but the inferences which are drawn from them—the non-metrical inferences about what is really happening, inferences which begin as speculation and are confirmed by measurement—that are really important. Measurement is a splendid weapon, but it is not supreme; and to say, as Professor Donnan recently said at Glasgow, that science does not begin until measurements are made and equations are written down, is unduly to limit its scope.

In Philosophy, in Ethics, in Art, in Theology, the scope of the scientific man is undoubtedly limited; and it would be well if we all recognised our limitations; but I do not want to give ourselves away too lavishly, and to say that science is limited to pointer-readings. For we may thus occasion the enemy to blaspheme. For though science is to some extent admired, it undoubtedly has enemies; partly because it is so difficult, dry, and unintelligible, often because it maltreats the English language, introducing a number of names and uneducated methods of expression which are repugnant to literary men. Yet many of these names are necessary, just as they are to sailors on board a sailing ship, who have to do with a number of things which do not come within the purview of the landsman. Scientific nomenclature is inevitable, but illiterate construction of sentences is not; and Eddington is a brilliant example of those who are able to express abstruse ideas with some literary style: that is one of the reasons why he attracts widespread attention.

I will now pass to another instance of a less literary and more scientific kind. In this connexion I am not attacking Eddington in especial, but the whole trend of physics since the era of Thomson and Tait. Because forces are only observed between particles of matter or material bodies, and because action and reaction are equal and opposite, so that force is one component of a stress, there has been a tendency to abolish the idea of 'force' altogether. At one time it was too dominant; everything was called force or vis, with adjectives to discriminate the different things which came under that name. Just as in chemistry, before and even during the time of Priestley, all gaseous matter was called air, with adjectives to discriminate the different kinds of air.

Now force is a direct sensory perception located in the muscles; and it seems to me a pity to discard the term, or seek to abolish the idea of exertion or effort, merely because we can regard or express it in other ways. In kinetics force may be replaced by mass-acceleration. But to say that it is equal to mass-acceleration is one thing—it is in fact Newton's second law—and to say that it has no other meaning than mass-acceleration is another. Such an idea cannot be introduced into statics without artifi-

[illegible] unknown, and made Kepler possible. It may well be said that these measurements were the dawn of modern astronomy; but I would not say that the science of astronomy was then born, though it is true that the great progress of astronomy has been partly due to accurate instrumental construction, and to a study of the readings of spectroscopes, interferometers, and other metrical devices. But science, at any rate Science with a big S, surely has a wider scope than that. The discovery of the spectrum, or optical dispersion, although made by Newton himself, was purely qualitative in its early stages, and only later became metrical Surely that is the usual course of events in every branch of knowledge Phenomena are more fundamental than their measurement. Science means natural knowledge, but not necessarily metrical knowledge. Everything in the physical universe, and even in the mental universe, ought to come within its ultimate ken. Natural knowledge must have a bearing on philosophy A scientific man cannot help being to some extent a philosopher, though if he limits his outlook unduly he will be a presumptuous philosopher, and may make the mistake of denying a great deal of non-metrical existence, which after all is by far the larger portion

The Linnæan system of classification introduced number—trivially it is true—into botany, but naturalists who observed plants existed long before Linnæus; and the counting of pistils and stamens was not the beginning of the science of botany. Indeed the Linnæan system had to give way to a more natural system of classification, not based on number at all, but on heredity and family relationship, dependent on non-metrical but much more vital considerations.

Undoubtedly the discovery of number is important, especially if it is a natural number. Mendel's discovery of number in connexion with heredity is of first rate importance, just as the discovery of the quantum has been in physics. I would not for a moment seek to decry the vast importance of number and measurement. They often lead to explanation, and they continually check and eliminate spurious explanations. For instance the halo round the moon was explained by Newton on the strength of his measurement of its angular radius. As soon as he found that its angle was $22\frac{1}{2}°$, which he knew to be the angle of minimum deviation for a $60°$ prism of water or ice, his explanation of the halo quickly followed. So also it was the remarkably accurate measurement of spectrum lines that confirmed and substantiated Bohr's theory of the atom. It was measurements of the magnetic deflection of cathode rays which enabled J. J. Thomson to give us the individual electron.

It is difficult to over-estimate the importance of measurement

tative symbols. Things are observed long before they can be measured. Temperature was familiar to humanity long before thermometers were invented. Time was known before clocks. An electric current is something very different from a galvanometer reading. Measurement introduces a definiteness and a precision otherwise unattainable, but if science means natural knowledge, then it is an undue limitation of the term to say that it did not exist before the era of measurement. It is perhaps partly a question of terms, a question of what we understand by the term 'science,' but I fear that the undue limitation of the term to signify pointer-readings will lead to some misapprehension; possibly among philosophers, certainly among artists and men of letters, who will rather gleefully accept the limitation, and rejoice in finding that the abstruse writings which they did not understand were after all concerned with so special and trivial an aspect of reality. They would say, What can those readers of scales possibly have to say of any importance about the deeper things of experience? How can they presume to have an opinion about things which have never been measured, and which apparently are not susceptible of quantitative expression, and cannot be coaxed into their equations?

The object of Professor Eddington, I presume, in thus over-emphasising the limitations of science, is to restrict its exorbitant claims to deal with everything in heaven and earth, and not only to ignore but to exclude things which cannot be weighed and measured.

Now I am wholly in favour of an attack upon those Positivists—if for brevity we may call them so—who thus seek to limit the fulness of existence, and to deny everything which does not come directly or indirectly within the scope of their senses. But in limiting science to metrical determinations and pointer-readings Eddington, I think, goes too far. I expect that at Greenwich Observatory, in the time of the great Astronomer-Royal Sir George B Airy, an astronomer was to a large extent thus limited. It may be that the duty of the assistants in the Observatory was then limited mainly to the timing of transits and the reading of transit circles, and that the observation of celestial bodies for their own sake, apart from measurement, was discouraged or forbidden It is known that Eddington went through the mill of Greenwich Observatory; indeed his training there has given his astronomical pronouncements a weight and a solidity which they might not otherwise have possessed. But the Chaldeans and other ancient astronomers did good work; and Copernicus lived long before any observatory was founded

Yet it is true that the measurements of Tycho Brahe, which were the precursor of Greenwich, introduced a precision pre-

some stumbling-blocks which may impede progress, and by examining a few buttresses, which if they are really firm and sound will be none the worse for a friendly examination. It is not the facts on which we differ, but the mode of regarding them, and especially the mode of expressing them. Many of these are not peculiar to Eddington, but are characteristic of the more advanced modern physicists. I am not concerned with any personal questions, and shall not attempt to discriminate between the various authors by whom they are supported, or to discuss the arguments that have led to the present system of revolutionary ideas, though I may summarise their general outcome

The trend of physics ever since the time of Faraday has been to divert attention from the sensory objects that appeal to touch and attract universal attention, and to concentrate on the non-sensory properties of the empty space surrounding all tangible bodies It is in that space that phenomena occur, and it is there that energy resides The function of matter is to display these otherwise hidden properties, and to make them accessible to observation and experiment For it has become clear that we cannot observe or experiment upon space, we can only experiment upon matter And it is from the observed behaviour of matter that we make inferences about what is happening in the less accessible but far more extensive region. With all that I heartily agree, indeed it is an essential part of my own philosophy. We use the behaviour of discontinuous material bodies as an index of what is really occurring in the continuous fundamental entity which escapes our senses

Hitherto science has been mainly concerned with the properties of matter, and the exact sciences with its metrical properties. It is this limitation which Eddington wishes to emphasise when he says that science is concerned with 'pointer-readings.' There is undoubtedly a truth in this. The distance of the sun and of many of the stars is deduced as an inference from readings of graduated circles The chemical constitution of a star is an inference from the position, on a graduated scale, of lines in its spectrum. The strength of an electric current is inferred from readings of a galvanometer; temperature is expressed in thermometric readings; and so on. Metrical properties must be expressed in terms of number, a number of natural units if we can find them, of artificial and conventional units when natural units fail. And this metrical aspect of things is so important that it has led to the aphorism 'Science is measurement.'

Now undoubtedly metrical determinations constitute a great part of science; but I would not go so far as to say that science is solely concerned with measurement, or that a statement is not scientific unless it can be expressed numerically or in quanti-

EDDINGTON'S PHILOSOPHY[1]

I DOUBT if anyone has a greater admiration than I have for the genius who now lives among us and whom we call Eddington. I regard him as the high-water mark of the physical philosopher, that is to say, of one who seeks to develop and apply in the philosophical direction a profound knowledge of mathematical physics.

The philosophy that he seeks to expound in his Gifford Lectures is based upon a series of mathematical writings, some by himself, some by others, and thus has a secure, or at any rate substantial, foundation which emancipates it from superficial criticism. And yet there are points in it on which some diversity of judgment is inevitable, and which invite criticism, not only from others, but from himself also. Criticism can perform a useful function, even where it fails to undermine effectually, since its failure may bring into greater prominence the strength of the position which is being criticised.

With the greater part of his thesis I am in close agreement. His aim at an idealistic philosophy is akin to my own. His more speculative pronouncements deserve careful attention, and his manner of presentment is admirable. Hence if at any point I presume to disagree, or wish for something to be expressed differently, my criticism must be understood as of an apologetic nature, with full admission that I may sometimes be blinded by conservative prejudice, and not fully aware of the strength of the position that I venture to assail. But to write apologetically throughout, would be wearisome and would not conduce to clearness; so I put this apology in the forefront, and now proceed to deal, not so much with the multitude of statements with which I wholeheartedly agree, but with one or two contentions against which I politely and reasonably rebel. His main thesis is of such importance—if it can be substantiated—that one does not wish it to be supported by any doubtful arguments. My object is not to undermine but to strengthen his main position, by attacking

[1] *The Nature of the Physical World* being substantially the course of Gifford Lectures delivered in Edinburgh by Professor A. S. Eddington, Plumian Professor of Astronomy in the University of Cambridge. (C. U. Press.)

who can, even in these kaleidoscopic times. But, granted that you can keep still (and warm) for long enough, you will find that though he resents the familiarity of too close an approach, he will allow you to study his habits, engaging and curious: in the end you are bound to love him; it will be your fault if you do not. And your friendship with him will lead you into many pleasant places: you will discover unknown delights in the song of the mountain-streams; you will learn how they and the trees converse with each other, and how with every season each changes its tune and interweaves new harmonies. You will mark the infinite moods and mutabilities of light and shade upon waters ruffled and still, and the musical games that raindrops and sunbeams play together upon the stream's dimpled surface

And amid such scenes of quietude and beauty you will gain glimpses of that deeper life of the spirit which come to a man—though he be neither god nor wild beast—only in solitude and silence. Beauty in birds—and, indeed, in all Nature—allures us; but it is not for this alone that we seek them. Rather, their charm is a pane, dimmed in part, but yet spangled with brightness, through which shines the vision of that perfect beauty for which finer spirits have ever sought, and not entirely in vain.

E. W. HENDY.

into the water, emerging after a couple of seconds. He was unable to see whether it captured anything.

The dipper possesses one curious physical feature which is, I believe, unique among British birds. It is the upper eyelid, covered with tiny white feathers. When he blinks, as he often does, this white eyelid is most curiously conspicuous against the dark plumage. The play he makes with this quaint feature suggests that he is turning up the whites of his eyes, though really it is the upper eyelid which comes down. But watch him performing the trick in the solitude of some ravine whose cavernous banks and overhanging foliage turn noonday into gloom, and it becomes an eerie sight. Imagination transforms him into a baneful cockatrice endowed with the powers of the evil eye.

The invisibility of the water-ousel in its natural environment is surprising. One would suspect that a bird whose colours are, broadly, black and white would be conspicuous. But, in fact, this boldly marked plumage is wonderfully protective. If you try to spot a dipper in a stretch of swift-running stream, you will find yourself constantly baffled. A moss-grown stone, with its attendant tiny cascade, is a strangely deceptive imitation of the dipper's dark back and white front. Indeed, the lights and shadows upon flowing water repeat the bird's colouring endlessly. I know no other species which is absorbed more completely by its surroundings.

Bewick's woodcut of the dipper is not, to my eye, as successful as we might have hoped from one who must have known the bird intimately. It does not bring out its sturdy rotundity. Mr. Seaby has been more successful. But at the end of Bewick's chapter there is one of his matchless tail-pieces which etches the dipper in his element with an amazing vividness. Though the vignette fills but an inch or two of space, the whole scene is flashed upon you—the mountain streamlet, flowing glassy smooth between jagged rocks and stunted trees, till it breaks into miniature cascades athwart an irregular line of boulders. And here upon one of them is perched a tiny dipper: it is less than a thumb-nail sketch of him, yet there he is to the life—a consummate piece of artistry.

The bird whose habits I have tried to describe is the British dipper. Two other species occur in the British Isles. The black-bellied dipper, a European vagrant in winter to Norfolk, Yorkshire and a few other counties, has little or no chestnut upon the lower breast. The Irish dipper is said to have darker upper plumage than the British bird: one specimen of this race has been identified in the Isle of Man.

No restless person will ever become intimate with the dipper. You must have 'time to stand and stare'; there are still some

splash. He can swim easily and buoyantly on the surface; there is a pool on the shore side of a shingle bank which bars back the sea, in which I have often seen him bobbing up and down like a cork, when wind has ruffled its surface into miniature breakers. Between-whiles he dives and reappears with something edible, which he beats upon a stone, perhaps some small fish-fry. He can alight upon and take wing from the water with equal facility. Even against a rapid current he can dive and make headway; emerging after a spell of underwater activities, he enjoys a bathe and a careful preening to follow. He feeds not only in the water; you may watch him engaged in a wren-like rummaging among the dead leaves at the river's edge, and he has been seen hopping about over grass sods and prodding them like a thrush.

There was, and still is, what a certain popular authoress might call 'quite a little quarrel' among ornithologists about the dipper's method of progression under water. Some of the older ornithologists, Bewick for instance, speak of its power of walking, in quest of its prey, on the pebbly bottom of a river, in the same way, and with the same ease, as if it were on dry land. Montagu, with characteristic shrewdness, doubted this, and remarked that 'the idea of any bird being capable of walking beneath a fluid so infinitely more dense than itself does not require any depth of philosophical reasoning to refute.' When submerged, it appeared to him 'to tumble about in a very extraordinary manner with its head downward, as if pecking something.' He noticed also that the wings were not extended, but that progress was effected by short jerks from the shoulder joint.

What exactly does happen is extremely difficult to observe accurately. These activities usually take place in rough water, where the view is distorted by the refractions of light, and when in shadow the back assimilates so perfectly with the stream's surface that it is impossible to say whether it is floating or diving. I think Mr Coward's description, 'flying under water,' is right. The wings are certainly used: I saw that quite clearly in the case of a young bird which plunged in from the nest, and when the dipper is in the act of emerging at the end of a dive the wing action is perfectly plain. No doubt its feet cling to the bottom when it is walking into the water, but when once it is out of its depth it is difficult to believe that so buoyant a frame could remain submerged without the use of the wings.

A curious piece of behaviour on the part of a dipper, which I have never been lucky enough to see, has been described by Lord Scone. He saw it fly up-stream, gradually rising higher in the air until it was about 15 feet above the water: suddenly it stopped dead, and began to hover like a kestrel in exactly the same place for upwards of a quarter of a minute. Then it plunged straight

a means of escape is interesting, but, after all, what you would expect when you consider their parentage and upbringing. The sound of running water must have been in their ears from the moment they wriggled out of the eggs, though 'beauty born of murmuring sound' does not, as I have hinted, pass into their faces, at any rate in early infancy.

At a later stage the young run and crouch about the stream sides, closely attended by their very solicitous and excitable parents. Though at this period they try very hard to look like real dippers, they scarcely succeed: their tails are short, their backs are a speckled grey, the white shirt-front is smutched, and legs and bill are ash-coloured. It is not till after they are a year old that they acquire the genteel, well-tailored dress of the mature dipper

The song of the water-ousel is difficult to describe. W H Hudson compared it with the wren's, and indeed there are similarities between the two Looking through my field diaries for the last twenty years, I am surprised to find how varying are the impressions the song has made upon me at different times 'Bubbling, sweet like a blackbird, but more disjointed', 'not so loud as a wren's, and more guttural, something of the sedge-warbler in it—"cheep, cheep, cheep, chuckle"', 'like the ripple and gurgle and chatter of a stream', and (when almost drowned by the noise of a river in flood) 'like a subdued thrush's song.'

Some of these descriptions sound a little contradictory I do not think that this is due entirely to the vagaries of my powers of hearing, nor to diversity of mood when listening There is, in fact, a good deal of variety both in the volume and in the actual phrasing of the song Dippers sing in every month of the year. In March I have heard the music poured forth so robustiously that it rose above the roar of a snow-swollen torrent. In September it is little more than a husky, *sotto voce* meditation, scarcely audible above the murmur of a drought-dwindled stream.

But at all times there is a rippling, bubbling bourdon running through and beneath it—'burbling,' Lewis Carroll might have called it—which pleasantly recalls running water It has an exuberance, a superfluity of energy, which the bird has drunk in from the boisterous streams among which he passes his cheerfully amphibious existence His song is the song of the brook.

Of the dipper's quaint gyrations under water much has been written. His performances are most amusing to watch; he will wade into the shallows until he is partially submerged, and then tumble about in them until he seems to be trying to turn aquatic cart-wheels. When diving he usually goes in head first, and very neatly, but I have seen him flop in feet foremost with a clumsy

her work before leaving. I found the inside partly lined with leaves. Below, in the water, were the remains of two dippers' eggs. How they got there I cannot say, but, as the nest was not ready for them, it may be that they had been deposited therein and turned out, perhaps accidentally, while additions were being made, or prematurely laid in the water.

The very slight difference between the sexes is difficult to distinguish at a distance, even with glasses. Some observers have seen both birds helping to build. The cock of this pair certainly brought material to the nest, for he often sang while his mouth was full of it. Usually, however, he kept his distance, and watched me suspiciously. The next year this nest was repaired and used again. Two years later there was another nest on the same bridge, but in a slightly different place

When the hen is sitting the cock is not far off. Often he perches on a stone just below and sings—perhaps to her, perhaps as an expression of his satisfaction that things domestic are proceeding according to plan, or perhaps to warn off intruders. The presence of a third dipper near-by, when one hen was sitting and the cock in attendance, points to the last possibility. Music may be the food of love, but something more substantial, with calories in it, is also needed And so the cock brings dainties to his lady while she is covering the eggs ; but having presented his offering, he throws his head back and sings his heart out. Then, with a sense of duty done, he returns to his stony stance, preens himself, combs his wings out with his claws, scratches his head, and proceeds with the musical programme Incubation is said to be shared by both parents, but, so far as my observations go, the hen's is the greater part.

An old dipper's nest, being, as I have explained, a substantial structure, is for this reason sometimes used by other species as a safe hiding place for their own young I have found a pied wagtail's nest, containing eggs and young, so concealed, and grey wagtails have made use of similar quarters.

The young when not long hatched, with their eyes half open, their nakedness scantily concealed by dark down, and their feathers still in transparent sheaths, are not attractive. When a little older the greyish plumage is more pleasing. It is pretty to see a row of hungry beaks and bright, expectant eyes gathered round the entrance to their now overcrowded home. If disturbed by a touch of the finger, they all, if fully fledged, plunge helter-skelter into the pool beneath the nest. Swimming, fluttering and diving, with silver air-bubbles spangled on their backs, they make an adventurous journey down-stream until they find shelter, usually in a hole beneath the bank or among the tumbled wreckage which the stream tosses up. Their instinctive resort to diving as

There are three or four records of dippers' nests in a sand-martin's hole. When this site is chosen there is either a very slightly built dome or none at all. Certainly there seems to be no necessity to go to the trouble of building a roof when there is one ready made, but the question whether the dipper thinks this all out, or is prevented from following her usual methods of construction by want of space, raises a doubtful problem in bird psychology. It is safer to adopt the simpler explanation, and I am inclined to think that, finding there is no room for more material, the bird gives up the attempt.

An unusual nesting site suggests other speculations. These dippers' nests, which were found in widely separated districts, were out of sight at distances varying from 6 inches to 2 feet from the mouth of the hole. It is admitted that the nest-building habit in birds is instinctive, and not intelligent ; a year-old greenfinch builds a perfect nest , it does not have to learn how to do it But do these departures from the general rule show intelligence ? Did these dippers deliberately select a spot which was well concealed and protected from the weather, or was the ' choice ' fortuitous ? And were these nests, or any of them, first attempts or the work of birds who had hitherto built nests in normal situations ? and did they in subsequent years construct the usual type in the usual positions ? Were these birds pioneers, the possible forerunners of a race which, if they hide their nests more carefully, will have a better chance of survival ? We have not as yet enough evidence to answer these questions Only patient observation and close thinking can solve such puzzles

In North Wales I watched for several days on end the construction of a dipper's nest It consists of two parts a cup and a domed superstructure which covers and overhangs the lower portion. When I first arrived the cup had already been partly built : it rested upon a sapling rooted in a stone bridge, and, on the wall behind, the architect had already sketched out in moss the outline of the dome. By the morning of the next day the roof was partly on, the space between it and the wall had been filled in with mosses and grass, and the branches of the sapling had been cunningly woven into the side of the dome

By the afternoon of the following day the superstructure was entirely completed, and was 3 inches thick. The hen dipper approached the nest several times with bents and wet moss in her beak, but was suspicious : I noticed that she frequently dipped her burden in the water ; once she dived with it. Sometimes she dropped a beakful and collected another. Eventually she found courage enough to pay two short visits to the nest, and then one longer one of about a minute, during which I could see her shaping the cup by revolving therein on her own axis. When I inspected

environment is to destroy its charm. It becomes a specimen, perhaps scientifically interesting in a public collection, but bereft of beauty.

Speaking from my own experience, I should have said that dippers' nests are always near running water, but I read that one at least has been found 100 yards away from a stream. A stone bridge they consider very desirable, particularly one with a ledge or a buttress: the trestles of wooden ones are frequently used. One pair selected a secretive alcove formed by the girder of a railway bridge and an adjacent wall. A proved situation will be chosen again and again in successive years. I remember a shelf on a Cheshire bridge where there were the remains of four or five old nests, as well as a new one. Sometimes last year's nest is repaired and used again; broods were reared in an Exmoor nest in 1927 and 1928. Another much-fancied position is a crumbling rocky bank, and often one saturated with dripping water. Such a perch for a cradle sounds precarious, but the back of the nest possesses a certain adhesiveness, and this is why when the front has decayed and fallen away its hinder portion still survives *in situ*.

I recently detached a two-year-old dipper's nest from the bank of a stream. It was only with the use of considerable force that I was able to tear off its rear wall; the moss of which it was built was so firmly embedded that some of the soil came away with the nest. When first placed in position the material is wet: as the bank projected a little, the mosses dried, and thus in course of time sun and wind together welded their fibres into the clay; the result was a structure so compact that after two years it put up a good defence even against a human housebreaker.

There is in the *British Bird Book* (Kirkman, vol. i., p. 298) a photograph by Mr. Riley Fortune of a curious nest stuck casually on the top of a half-submerged tree trunk—a most extraordinary and, to me, unusual place. I have found nests in stumps by the waterside, but they have always been securely wedged in between branches. This nest looks as if it might be blown away by a strong puff of wind, but perhaps it was really more secure than it appeared to be.

Exmoor dippers often choose to nest where some small runnel joins a larger stream; such tributaries commonly end in a tumble of water between moss-green boulders, and the nest—itself a ball of moss—when hidden amid such an environment is exceedingly difficult to distinguish. So placed it is plentifully spattered with spray, but this the dipper enjoys; all West Country people perforce become inured to moisture—or die in the attempt. Nests have been found—I knew of one on the Exe—in the space between a waterfall and the rock over which it leaps, so that the parents have to dive through the downfall to reach eggs or young.

their offspring well into July. I have seen pairs in August, September, and October. In November, though you may find two dippers on one stretch of water, they are often not together—that is my experience; but a fisherman friend told me that during that month he saw two flying in the air 50 feet high, and singing, as he put it, 'like skylarks.' I have found them in pairs in the first few days of December. If the sexes do separate for any portion of the year, it is not for long.

Whatever was the cause of the evolution which my friend witnessed in November—and I strongly suspect it was prompted by some unseasonable outbreak of sex impulse—these soaring flights are usually connected with courtship or its preliminaries. I have seen exactly the same aerial gambols in January and February, and again in April, sometimes accompanied by a 'song,' consisting of a few high-pitched notes. At this time such behaviour is obviously part of the dippers' love-making. But these antics belong to the more violent ecstasies of love. Another time you may find the two of them in close company, the one diving and swimming and the other watching the performance from an overhanging branch with an air of contented contemplation. Such a couple has passed the philandering stage and come to a complete and satisfactory understanding.

But the most perfect understanding does not release the accepted suitor from paying those small attentions which are at once a duty and a pleasure. The hen dipper is standing alone upon a boulder; below, a mountain brook springs in cascades from one descending terrace to another. Downstream comes the cock, singing merrily, and in good fettle. He alights beside her; from his beak hangs his prosaic offering—a caddis-worm. Prosaic, but welcome; she shivers her wings and cries out petulantly. Inclining his beak towards her, he yields up the morsel. A very delicate piece of courting.

It is many years since I found my first dipper's nest, but the memory of it still gives me a hot thrill of pleasure. I waded into the water, slid a finger cautiously into the hole below the overhanging eaves of the top-heavy and untidy globe of moss, and felt the warm eggs nestling there. I drew one out, and gazed at it in delighted admiration as it lay in my palm. Its fragile whiteness was faintly flushed with a delicious tinge of pink, a mere nuance of colour, such as you may see on the fair skin of a girl on a frosty morning. Bewick describes the egg as 'lightly blushed with red.'

When the egg is blown this delicate flush disappears. I did not blow this egg, but I wonder how anyone can care for the faded shells in a cabinet when once he has seen these eggs in their unspoiled loveliness. To filch anything in Nature from its original

My happiest memories of the dipper are linked with the swirling, tumbling streams of the moors and mountains; it is these that he loves most, and among them he is seen at his best. I saw a pair swimming and diving in the Tummel at Pitlochry on a day of dismal and continuous downpour, depressing to us, but to them supremely enjoyable. If you are as happy in or under the water as out of it, it matters little what the weather may be. And there was a morning in March when snow had moulded the abrupt peaks of Capel Curig to smooth, sweeping curves; we saw no birds above the snow-line except a lonely kestrel, but there was the dipper, diving headlong off a boulder into the spate, and emerging on the opposite bank unperturbed and with every feather unruffled.

Everywhere in hill country you find him—throughout the length of the Pennines, in the ghylls of Cumberland, Westmorland, and Lancashire, by the scars of Yorkshire, up and down the Derbyshire dales He is at home among the mountains of Wales and in the border Marches of Herefordshire and Shropshire. The clear-eyed streams amid the Cotswolds know him also, and he adorns Mendip's limestone coombes

But he haunts more smoothly flowing waters as well. You may find him on rivers that amble contemplatively through the level meadows and undulating woodlands of the Cheshire plain. On Exmoor he follows the moorland torrents till they tire of their foamy frolics and dissolve unawares in the ocean Yet he is *par excellence* a bird of the hills, and for this reason in the east of England he is uncommon And I have been a little amused to find that naturalists from the home counties, who know their resident fauna well, often show an unexpected excitement at the sight of their first water-ousel, when to us who sit at the feet of the moors he is an accustomed, though always a pleasant, sight.

There is, I think, a reasonable amount of evidence that dippers pair for life In January I have many times seen one chasing another up and down a stream; this, I feel sure, is connected with courtship, and as I have noticed the same activities in December, it is fair to assume that this, too, is due to an early awakening of the mating instinct (Sometimes three dippers are engaged in these skirmishes, and one—probably an intruding male—is driven off by another) Though eggs are not usually laid till the end of March, they have been found in February. From nesting time till the young are able to look after themselves both old birds are, of course, together and in attendance on their offspring.

There are two or perhaps even three broods. I found a nest with one egg and newly hatched young in the Lake District as late as June 16; the parents of this brood must have been feeding

THE DIPPER

A FISHERMAN on a moorland stream sees a black bird suddenly start up from nowhere, and, chippering a few sharp, metallic notes, fly swiftly above the water until it vanishes round a bend in the stream. If a novice in bird-lore, he probably dismisses it as a blackbird, and thinks no more about it; but a discriminating eye would note, even when on the wing, its shorter tail and stockier appearance. True, one of its country names, 'water-ousel,' suggests 'the ousel cock so black of hue,' and in Somerset both dipper and blackbird are called 'colley,' a good Shakespearean adjective which means 'black.' But the two are not very closely related, the one being a thrush, and the other a member of a distinct family, the *Cinclidae*. Nor is the dipper really black, for his head is a delightful tawny-brown and his back mottled grey. And a front view of him will show you that he sports a neat, white shirt-front, below which a cinnamon cummerbund, usually brighter in the male than in the female, partly encircles his lower breast.

Pennant, as appears from one of Gilbert White's letters to him, confused the dipper with the ring-ousel, but, although this bird also wears a patch of white on his throat, he is really a thrush, while the dipper is closer kin to dunnock and wren. Wren-like, indeed, he is in shape, and in some of his habits; both have the trick of cocking the tail up and bobbing the body up and down, and it is this amusing trick of curtsying or 'dipping' that gives the dipper his name. He resembles the wren, too, in his ceaseless activity; both are ever prying and peering, the wren in hedgerow and brake and often at the water's edge, but the dipper in and out of and under the water.

Stumpy and stocky-looking when engaged in his customary pursuits, the dipper can when he likes transform himself surprisingly. I remember watching one singing cheerfully in midstream on a bleak December day. I was in hiding, but when at last he saw me he stretched out his head and neck to such an extent that he seemed to change into another bird; his whole body became attenuated, thereby attaining a slenderness of outline which was extraordinary in a bird whom one associates with sleek rotundity.

[illegible] has entailed an immense amount of spade-work beforehand in lectures, addresses and demonstrations throughout the length and breadth of the country. Not the least difficulty in getting it going was the fact that many of the more enlightened egg producers were already obtaining a fair market for their eggs simply because they, as efficient British producers, were in such a comparative minority Yet, just because they were the men of energy in the industry, they were also those whose support of the scheme was essential It would have been understandable if they had taken the shorter view and remained outside, content with the fairly profitable business they were doing It says much for the eloquence of the exponents of the scheme and for the public spirit of the good producers that so many of the latter are now loyally supporting it Those who, like the writer, attended some of those lectures and addresses and saw the very men who had come to oppose won over to its support, or, at the numerous agricultural shows last summer at which demonstrations were arranged, listened to the endless questionings and arguments, all patiently listened to and, so far as possible, answered, will realise the energy and the courage needed to start the movement going under favourable auspices It may not be perfect—it would be surprising if no modifications or changes were needed in a new undertaking that breaks so much fresh ground—but sufficient has been said to demonstrate that one of its features is its elasticity, and therefore there should be no real difficulty in adjusting it to practical requirements It would be a mistake to think of it merely as an attempt to win back a market that has been partially lost When the facts of the preparations of the foreigner to attack this market even more strenuously are realised—preparations which at this very minute are being made with all the resources behind them of business and production on a national scale—it is evident that, without similar counter-organisation of our own, even the market that our producers have left would be in jeopardy Upon the success of the scheme depend not only things so important as improved public health and more pecuniary wealth produced and kept in the country, but much that will result in an increase of the sum of good life and happiness throughout our countryside But the scheme can only succeed in proportion to the response given to it by the producers

L. F. EASTERBROOK.

This year three statutory reforms will have been introduced that will help to make this possible: (1) On February 1, the Egg Marketing Scheme, which virtually creates a guarantee for new-laid British eggs. (2) On March 1, the Grading and Marking Act, which will make it illegal to sell any preserved egg without the word 'Preserved' marked on the shell. (3) On April 21, the Merchandise Marks Act, forbidding the sale of any imported egg that does not bear on its shell an indication of origin

This should clear the way for a campaign to increase the consumption of eggs in Britain We have attempted the same thing with milk through the Milk Publicity Council, and, in spite of the ill-timed opposition of the National Farmers' Union, it has produced most excellent results It has created entirely fresh consumers of milk among the children in the Council schools, and whereas in the first year of the Milk Publicity Council's existence only 72,000,000 gallons of milk were brought to London by the railway companies, in the next year (1924) 77,000,000 were brought, in 1925, 99,000,000, in 1926, 107,000,000, and in 1927, 117,000,000 Similarly an 'eat more eggs' campaign in Canada raised consumption from 205 per head to 325 If we could increase our egg consumption by 120 per head (to 245), 5,400,000,000 more eggs would be required, equal to the value at 1½d each, of 33,750,000l On the consideration alone of what an increased consumption of British eggs would mean to our hard-pressed countryside, is not such a campaign well worth the consideration of the authorities ?

But the cash value to the countryside is not the only thing There is no other form of food which is cheaper, more nourishing, and better protected by Nature from adulteration than a fresh egg Its food value is the same as that of good beef, which costs per pound twice as much weight for weight it is equivalent to milk, as a source of iron it is more valuable than pork or lamb and more than competes with vegetables and fruit, it contains the exact proportion of dilutants and solvents for perfect digestion. If more eggs were eaten, and if it were more widely understood that only a *fresh egg* contains these qualities, while a stale egg is not only unpleasant but definitely devitalising, there would not be so many C3's in our population, or such a distressingly high average of malnutrition cases among our schoolchildren

It is impossible to close this article without a word of appreciation of the Markets Branch of the Ministry of Agriculture Mr. A. W. Street and his assistants have conceived and carried through a scheme which, there is reason to hope, will prove a more practical contribution to agriculture than anything yet achieved in this century. The conception of the scheme has not, perhaps, been the hardest part of the work Its successful

duce, in the shape of eggs and poultry, is usually of better quality and of more nutritious value than from birds kept on limited areas. There is probably no farm, holding, or orchard in England and Wales where they could not be made to pay handsomely as a staple crop, less influenced by the weather than any other. The National Mark will save the farmer who keeps poultry from the unsatisfactory higgler and the inferior local market, and from the trouble and waste of time in grading, packing, and disposing of them.

The annual value of our egg production exceeds 16,000,000*l.*, which is greater than the value of our wheat In spite of this, however, 3,000,000,000 foreign eggs are coming into Britain every year. Evidently there is scope for a big development in British egg production But that is not all With our annual consumption per head of only 125 eggs we are among the smallest consumers of eggs in a European country The reason is not far to seek. It is to be found on any average breakfast table in any average English city The eggs that will be found there are not appetising, as a rule, for they are of all sizes and of all ages. They may be called 'English new-laid,' and occasionally their contents may not belie the term, but as often as not they hail from Russia, Poland or China, or they may have lain for weeks in some hedgerow on an English farm, to be found eventually by a delighted hen-wife who cheerfully throws them in with those she has just collected warm from the poultry-house. No one could ever estimate accurately to what extent this is happening, or how wide is the fraud carried on by selling foreign eggs as 'English new-laid' Mr James Gatecliff the B B C lecturer on eggs, writes in a booklet he has just published [1]

> My experience over years of testing in many counties, from Yorkshire and Lancashire to Middlesex and Kent, is that I find it [i e., the selling of foreign eggs as English new laid] rampant in every city, town and fair-sized village that I have visited, and every man that I have met and with whom I have discussed this subject, whose opinion is worth noting, supports me in my theory Therefore a reliable estimate, in my opinion, can be formed sufficiently damning for all practical purposes For every one hundred British new-laid eggs consumed in this country there are one hundred and fifty imported eggs disposed of Further, I do not think I am over-estimating the fact when I state that in the general average of every so-called one hundred British new-laid eggs sold, twenty-five per cent. are imported

It is not surprising, therefore, that so many will be found who say: 'I would gladly eat a fresh egg every day if I could buy eggs that are fresh.'

[1] *Eggs*, by James Gatecliff, price 6d (obtainable at bookstalls).

Branch of the Ministry of Agriculture and originator schemes, points out.

I can foresee [the continued] exporting countries adopting b tising programmes, including the extensive use of display card bills and other devices to mobilise demand for their supplies, whi note in the case of near-European and Dominion produce, are despised from a quality standpoint

But if such increased foreign competition is a dang organised home trade it would be many times more da we were to remain in the old rut of inefficiency and packet marketing It can only be met by united effor the adoption of methods similar to those of our con For the local packing stations are only a beginning Pr made in the egg scheme for the individual units, co-oper non-co-operative, to organise themselves into regional tions, whereby advertisement could be carried out on and more economic scale and wasteful overlapping el These in turn should only be another step forward towa larger conception of one great national federation of ducers and egg packers which would not only elimin completely overlapping, but also abolish suicidal rivalry packing stations in the markets of the large consuming By this means organised feeding of the markets could l gently conducted, which would smooth out those fluctu price, caused by so-called ' gluts ' and ' shortages,' whi hostile to the real interests of the producers as of the co This would bring all the advantages of large-scale busin its increased facilities for advertisment, for employm business men at the head, and for all the modern aids market knowledge and salesmanship on a national scal the growth of such organisation in other countries, esp respect of agricultural produce, it is essential to the very of these branches of our agriculture that we adopt co measures. Already we have too long delayed them

It is encouraging that recently there have been sig increase in poultry keeping in this country, particu farmers Poultry keeping cannot be regarded as a so arable farming difficulties, but it can help it through b and is particularly suited to farms of that descripti our climatic conditions cause poultry to thrive best on fr or on a system nearly approaching it, and when grain p bad the arable farmer has grain cheap and ready to hand cost of buying it from agents or transporting it. Fow buted over a farm manure it at no cost of carting or sprea they are invaluable destroyers of insect pests, while t

In all the fruit-growing areas this has resulted in an acceleration of efforts to get better production, which will undoubtedly result in a substantial increase in the volume of National Mark fruit placed on the markets in subsequent seasons. Prophecy is dangerous, but it is difficult to read of this success and its immediate reactions upon national production without feeling that the National Mark has, in one stroke, lifted British fruit on to an entirely new plane, and that, when we come to look back, we shall realise that we have just seen a new and brighter chapter being opened in the history of certain branches of agricultural production.

But it would be a mistake to think that all is now plain sailing, or even that the most difficult part is over. The fruit and the egg schemes merely provide efficient machinery for fruit and egg producers to utilise. They will be useless if the producers do not grasp the offered opportunities. One of the dangers—perhaps the greatest danger—is that the National Mark will create a demand that the home trade cannot satisfy. A firm that might cancel its foreign contracts in order to buy National Mark produce, only to find that sufficient supplies were not available, would probably not be very willing to run the same risk again, although supplies might then be greater. 'Bad news travels fast,' other firms would soon hear of it, and the next thing might be a general belief that it was no use contracting for National Mark eggs because not enough for commercial purposes were available. Everyone knows the queer potency such half-truths can acquire and how difficult it is to live them down. Nothing of the sort has occurred with fruit, and the energetic groundwork carried out by the Ministry before February 1 gives good reason for believing that nothing of the sort will happen with eggs; but it is a danger, and that is why every egg producer who possibly can should support the scheme in his own interests.

Another danger is that our efforts at recapturing our own markets will not pass uncontested by the foreigner. On April 21 this year an Order in Council will come into force making the marketing of individual foreign eggs compulsory. It is significant that Denmark has accepted the challenge by adopting a marking policy in advance of the Order in Council, their argument being that hitherto their marketing efficiency has failed to connect up at the customer's end because, for all the consumer knows, Danish eggs might equally well be French, Belgian, Polish, or Chinese. Compulsory marks of origin supply the missing link, and there is a real danger that such words as 'Danish,' 'Dutch,' 'Belgian,' etc., may become trade marks of the first importance to the country concerned, as Mr. A. W. Street, head of the Markets

that is worth buying. The mark is a guarantee—a pictorial guarantee that needs no trouble in reading—that whatever bears it is dependable and can be bought with confidence, that it is exactly what it purports to be and conforms with certain statutory grades that are the same in Sheffield as in Torquay—never varying, home-grown, clean, fresh, reliable. The cumulative effect of the same mark on all gradable produce will be to create an instinctive trust and preference on the part of the housewife for the goods that bear it, and preference in turn will become insistence for that brand of produce alone

It will be realised, therefore, how important it is that regulations such as those outlined above for egg-packing stations should be faithfully carried out Upon these collecting centres will devolve the whole responsibility for building up a reputation for British produce At the same time it will be realised what a very great advantage to producers it will be to sell produce under the mark. *Here the mark adapts itself well to our national psychology* In some countries marketing regulations are made compulsory, but there is something in our national character that would have rebelled against such procedure over here, and producers would have been antagonistic to the scheme from the start But no one need conform to any regulations unless he wants to use the mark The scheme is entirely voluntary, but the beauty of it is that, in practice, it will compel support, not by Act of Parliament but by the benefits it will confer on those who will accept its discipline If the results already obtained by selling fruit under the mark are any guide producers will not be able to afford to stand outside

The National Mark for fruit was only introduced last September, but already some interesting results are to hand A large part of our quality production of apples and pears was marketed under the mark and disposed of at satisfactory prices In the early part of the season National Mark dessert apples and pears consistently fetched higher prices than comparable imported apples, and later, during the severe slump in imported apples, our own National Mark fruit sold well and realised relatively high prices In Manchester, for instance, National Mark bismarcks were realising 12s per bushel box, while comparable American apples sold as low as 6s The National Mark has demonstrated quite clearly in its first trial that buyers want home-grown goods and will pay remunerative prices *if the quality is good*. In one commodity at least it shows that intelligent organisation will enable us to meet and beat foreign competition without artificial aid. Another important result has been the convincing of many growers that to continue producing low and medium grade fruit is to court disaster.

anyhow, someone ought to have said—' Psychology is the mother of advertisement'; and the word 'pullet' immediately conjures up the vision of quite a diminutive egg, however much reason may add that its statutory minimum weight is 1⅞ oz. It might be thought that people in the trade are not so easily subject to their imagination, but the writer has been told by egg packers that the mention of 'pullet standards' to prospective buyers as often as not meets with the somewhat contemptuous answer: 'No, we don't want *pullet* eggs'.

In return for conforming with these regulations, together with one or two of minor importance but obviously necessary, such as clean, dry buildings and inspection by authorised persons, egg stations under the scheme are entitled to the use of the National Mark, which consists of a map of England and Wales coloured according to the particular grade and bearing the words 'Produce of England and Wales' inscribed in a circle. It bears also the packer's number. The power to determine what conditions must be fulfilled for the right to use the mark is vested in the Ministry of Agriculture by the Agricultural Produce (Grading and Marking) Act. This Act also provides for the marking of preserved, cold-stored and chemically-preserved eggs. A committee under Lord Darling's chairmanship authorises individuals to use the mark and has power to cancel and suspend such authorisation when necessary. It is a penal offence to forge the mark or to use a mark so nearly resembling it as to be calculated to deceive, or to use the mark without authority. Thus the mark is amply protected from abuse, either by its users or by its rivals, and the means are provided for a competent authority to safeguard its reputation. In practice, complaints of bad produce bearing the mark would be immediately traceable to the source through the stamped labels, and would thereupon be dealt with. Warnings would be given in serious cases, and if the packer appeared incorrigible in his inefficiency he would be deprived of the privilege of using the mark. It is evident that a public body such as the Ministry is an ideal one for administering this part of the scheme. There is no question of 'control by Whitehall'; it is merely a matter of protecting efficient producers against loss or misrepresentation.

By a stroke of inspiration the same mark will be applied to all other forms of produce which may be found capable of similar organisation; it already is being used for fruit. Thus a national symbol for efficiently marketed produce has been created under which one form of produce will advertise cumulatively every other for which the mark exists. This is of the very first importance, for it is not enough vaguely to exhort people to 'Buy British'; they must be offered something British

(wisely left equally open to co-operative or non-co-operative organisation) which must conform to certain rules. Each station must handle an annual average of at least twenty-four thirty-dozen cases a week,[1] in order that continuous supplies in commercial quantities may be available and that the volume of business may be big enough at each station to enable expert operators to be employed. Each egg must be singly 'candled' (*i.e.*, tested), for this is the only reliable method. Non-returnable cases must be used, for there is no doubt that our reluctance to adopt them was handicapping the home egg trade in comparison with the import trade, where non-returnables are universally used. They are cleaner, they save trouble, and when the high initial cost of returnables is considered, together with higher transport costs because of the greater weight, with the trouble and expense involved in repairing them, re-collecting them from the station and tracing them when they go astray, they will probably prove in the end as welcome to the producers as to the distributors. Packing stations must also conform to the statutory grades determined by the Ministry of Agriculture after the closest co-operation with the principal national organisations of producers and distributors. They are as follows:

Hen Eggs		Duck Eggs	
Grade Designation	Minimum Weight	Grade Designation	Minimum Weight
Special	2¼ oz.	Special (duck)	2½ oz.
Standard	2 oz.	Standard (duck)	2¼ oz.
Pullet (standard)	1⅞ oz.	Ducklet (standard)	2⅛ oz.

Among the producers there have been some who consider the grading too high, and they have even gone so far as to hold back from supporting the scheme on these grounds. Their objections should be treated with respect, because they include some of the producers of egg supplies that were well marketed before the scheme was thought of, and in support of their contention they evidence the good prices they had been receiving for lighter eggs than these grades designate. But it should not be forgotten that until now British eggs decently marketed shone out 'like a good deed in a naughty world,' and this favourable comparison will tend to disappear if the scheme succeeds. Moreover, foreign competition will increase, not slacken, in intensity to meet the challenge of the British egg. It is a point, however, that can safely be left to time and experience to settle. But if one may criticise on a smaller point, the designation 'pullet standard' does strike one as a little unfortunate. Someone has said—or

[1] Minimum actually specified: thirty cases from January to July, twenty cases August and September, ten cases October and December.

could not ask for the same thing again. Farmer Jones might produce only the very best eggs, Farmer Smith the very worst. It was impossible to advertise Farmer Jones' tiny output as "the Jones brand," or to prevent Farmer Smith's disgusting products from prejudicing the public against eggs in general and British eggs in particular. The result naturally was that egg dealers fought shy of handling these goods which, excellent as they often were, yet could never be depended upon not to bring a crop of complaints from their customers. Those who did handle British eggs had to test each one, clean them and repack them. This meant time and labour, which in turn meant money. Naturally the egg dealers were not disposed to pay for work which was unnecessary with the reputable brands of imported eggs. It was the British egg producers who paid in the reduced prices offered and the prejudice against British eggs. This was unfortunate for many of the good producers who undoubtedly took trouble to market their eggs well. As with eggs, so with fruit, meat and potatoes. Thrown on the market in quantities that varied in the wildest manner, in unreliable form and often in dirty condition, in lots that made advertisement and buying by the label impossible, and sold, in many cases, through little local markets and higglers that invited the formation of 'rings' to keep down the price, it is not surprising that they caused producers to complain that, though they grew these things, there was no profit in them.

There is no doubt that the much-criticised report of the standing committee under the Merchandise Marks Act of 1926 did a useful service in declaring against the marking of imported eggs while our egg industry was in such chaos; as things were, it was only too evident that the British egg might easily have lost far more than it would have gained by such embarrassing dissociation from the more reliable imported eggs, for it must be remembered that there is a deeper impression made by one offensive egg than by ninety and nine of first-rate quality. There was, of course, an outcry from a few Imperial optimists who held to the belief that even an egg had only to be British to be superior to any other, but the very shock of having such a belief officially questioned had its good effect. The report, by advising against the marking of imported eggs until British eggs could be better marketed, paved the way for a more favourable acceptance of the Ministry of Agriculture's egg marketing scheme, launched with the full approval of the Ministry's Poultry Advisory Committee early in 1928.

The details of the scheme, which came into force on February 1 this year, are now too familiar to be closely described. It has provided for the establishment of egg-packing stations

AGRICULTURAL MARKETING: A NEW PHASE OPENS

THE years 1928–29 will be found to have made agricultural history, for they have been marked by the first successful attempts to deal with some of our agricultural produce in accordance with modern business psychology.

For a long time British agriculturists have remained among that ever-dwindling minority of producers who have only been able to think of their own end of the complicated process by which things are extracted from the earth and brought into common use. Even the attempts to introduce co-operative marketing persisted in adopting only this one narrow angle of vision. It would hardly be too much to characterise that as the chief cause of the failure of agricultural co-operation in this country. While Mr Henry Ford and others were demonstrating in different spheres that it is the best service to the public at the lowest price that pays, agricultural co-operation was being misrepresented as the best way for the producer to take for himself the mythically exorbitant profits the middleman was erroneously supposed to be making. Not the least cause of the lack of success of the movement was its frequent failure to give the consumer as good service as the maligned middleman, although usually it charged just as much. The consumer was not really considered. High prices and big profits at the producer's end were the incentive held out to farmers to co-operate.

It is amazing now to look back and realise how blind we all were. Although every day and under our very noses foreign exporters into this country were, metaphorically, shouting at us that it was reliable, graded, easily handled goods that found the best market amongst us, yet somehow we let the significant fact escape us. Even while we ourselves were acquiring so thoroughly the modern habit of buying by the label, it never seemed to occur to us that it was then impossible to ask for this brand of British apples, that brand of British pears, or grade so-and-so of British eggs. 'Buy British' was a lottery so far as agricultural produce was concerned. It might be super-excellent, it might be unfit for consumption. No one could possibly tell. If satisfied, one

Departments, a matter of such importance and magnitude requires something more than proposals in a Report of a Royal Commission on Agriculture, which admits that 'forests' did not fall within its terms of reference; nor was there an expert forest representative amongst its members. In spite of—perhaps by reason of—the considerable part the administration of the forests has played during the last half-century in India, there has never been a time when their future, in the interests of the country as a whole, was of greater importance. The large increase of the population and their herds, the restriction of the forest areas in the more densely populated parts of the country, the growing part played by big industries, the possibilities of utilising the rivers for hydraulic power schemes, and the development of the great irrigation schemes (in the case of the Sukkur Barrage project the Commission mention that the Forest Department had not been invited to co-operate in the planting that will be necessary!), all these matters are vitally connected with the forests of the country and their correct maintenance and utilisation. It might be desirable in order to supplement the work of the Agricultural Commission that a small Forestry Commission be appointed, upon which delegates from the Revenue, Agricultural, and Irrigation Departments should sit, and that this Commission should investigate the whole problem of the forests of the country in order to settle, in the light of the management during the past sixty years, the desirable steps to be taken with reference to a reclassification of forest areas and perhaps a reclassification of the duties of the officers of the department. It might be suggested that such a classification in each case might fall into: (1) Timber and Protection Forests; (2) Agricultural (the so-called minor) Forests; and (3) Irrigation Forests. It is not improbable as time goes on that the management of each of these classes will become more intensive, and will demand a specialised knowledge on the part of the staff employed which would necessitate their retention in the branch of work in which they had been trained.

In any event, it would appear that the Report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture has raised questions in connexion with the management and utility of the forests in India which require decision in the interests of the population as a whole.

E. P. STEBBING.

mission express valuable opinions, the forests may be divided into two main groups—timber and purely protective forests, and fuel, fodder and grazing forests. These latter have been variously denominated village forests (in a resolution of the Bombay Government of 1866, in which it was realised that some protection would have to be given to such forests if they were not to be ruined by excessive exploitation), protection forests, minor forests (in Bombay in the Kanara forest district an experiment has been recently started of creating a minor forest department to be in charge of the forests, which, though not growing valuable timber, are of especial importance from the agricultural point of view); *panchayet* forests in Madras, and finally the minor forest suggested by the Commission.

The two types as advocated by the Commission, *panchayet* and minor, are in existence. The *panchayet* forest in Madras was introduced a few years ago. It excludes the forest officer save from inspections by an administrative officer, and is a reversion to the old 'jungle conservancy forest' of Madras, which was abolished in 1882 on the advice of a committee upon which sat Sir D. Brandis and several distinguished Madras civilians. This committee drew up the Madras Forest Bill, and after careful consideration reported that there was no difference between the two classes of forest, the one consisting of mainly timber forests in the hills under forest officers and the other (the jungle conservancy forests) mainly fuel and grazing areas in the plains under Revenue officers. The two classes were amalgamated and placed under the Forest Department. Their separation once again will be watched with interest not unfraught with anxiety. For it is a well-accepted fact in Continental forestry circles that fuel and grazing areas cannot be left to the management of the villagers even if watched over by the non-forestry expert civil officials. The argument given for the reversion of these areas to the Revenue Department that it did not pay to have a gazetted forest officer in charge is regarded by many experts as unsound—as unsound as the idea that the latter's only charge should be the timber forest areas. As regards the formation of new fuel and fodder reserves, the Commission notes upon the achievement in the Etawah district, in the United Provinces, with the reclamation of the wastes on the banks of the Jumna river:

The Chief Conservator of Forests pointed out to us how greatly land of this description could be improved by protection. At the same time he explained that it would be difficult to proceed rapidly with the work of improvement, since experience of the best methods of treating such waste was lacking and there were sylvicultural problems to be solved.

It may be suggested that, if there is a question of a reclassification of the forest areas in India or of the duties of the Forest

suggest that forest industries of use to the agriculturist should be developed by the Forest Department, a forest utilisation officer being appointed in every province for this purpose. Finally they are of opinion that a reclassification of forest areas should be undertaken, as follows.

> Areas most suitable for the growth of timber or for fuel plantations, or the preservation of which is desirable on climatic and physical grounds, those most suitable for development as fodder reserves and grazing grounds, and areas which should be handed over to ordinary cultivation.

Both the timber reserves and forests maintained for climatic or physical reasons may be left out of account. As regards the areas to be made over for cultivation, so far as the writer is aware this has always been in the hands of the local Government and the Government of India, and there never has been any question of objections by the Forest Department to transferring land required for cultivation. What the Commission fails to mention, over and above its suggested classification, is that it is essential that a due percentage of forests in proportion to the total area of the province should be maintained, and in any one locality, owing to the absence of forests of any size, it may be necessary to conserve areas otherwise suitable for agriculture—in fact, to remedy to some extent their own complaint concerning the uneven distribution of the forests in the country. Of the other classes it is most usual to classify fuel plantations and fodder and grazing grounds together. Certainly, for purposes of management and utilisation in India, they should be included in one category, since, efficiently managed, they can provide all three types of commodity - fuel, cut grass, and grazing.

It is this type of forest in which the Commission is naturally the most interested. They suggest that this type shall be managed distinct from the timber forests, etc., and that special forest officers should be in charge of this class of forest, which they term 'minor forests.' They offer no opinion as to whether the minor forests should remain under the Forest Department or be made over to the Revenue Department; in the latter event they suggest that the latter should 'have the advice and assistance of officers who possess a knowledge of forestry, more especially sylviculture,' whatever this may mean.

Forest history of the past half-century has seen repeated efforts on the part of the Government of India and Secretaries of State to prevent a minute sub-division of the forests into different types with different rules of management, etc., it being rightly pointed out that this only confused the public and rendered a forestry management unnecessarily harassing. If we omit, therefore, the irrigated type of plantation, on which the Com-

Secretaries of State (Lords Kimberley and Randolph Churchill) and the Viceroy (Lord Dufferin). The two chief problems considered were grazing and rab cultivation (*i.e.*, the cutting of green branches from trees to use as manure for the fields). Lord Reay, in opening the proceedings of the Commission, said

> Agricultural problems have always struck me as peculiarly interesting, and the more one looks into the various agricultural systems of various countries the more one becomes convinced that new legislation in agricultural matters is a mistake, and that in the present condition of agricultural science, which is not by any means as advanced as it ought to be, we must be careful to interfere as little as possible. Local wants, local customs and local systems of village tenure have a right not to be wantonly disturbed unless a very good cause be shown for it. In many instances a scientific justification for local agricultural practices unconsciously observed by the people will be forthcoming.

The question of the incidence of grazing per unit of area has ever proved a difficult one for the forest officer. The Commissioners face the fact that forest grazing will continue for a long period, and state that the intensity of grazing consistent with both the proper development of the forest and the preservation of desirable grasses should be determined as soon as possible. 'The Chief Conservator of Forests in the United Provinces,' they say, 'informed us that knowledge in both respects is at present defective.' One of the chief causes is, however, well known. The Chief Conservator of Bengal, in referring to the deterioration of forests through excessive grazing, observed: 'What appears to be light grazing in terms of head of cattle per acre is, in practice, concentrated near the village in stream beds and grassy blocks, the last two being just where it does most harm.' Did the Commissioners during their tours through India note, as the sun was dropping behind the near or distant line of hills, the herd of village cattle wending their way homeward from the nearest block of forest in charge of an urchin or two? Those cattle went out after sunrise in the morning. How far into the forest were they likely to have proceeded? And they will go out again to-morrow and next week, and so on *ad infinitum*.

The proposals of the Commission may be shortly summarised. On the subject of grazing and cut fodder they consider that the question of baling grass and its carriage at remunerative rates should be considered by the Forest, Agricultural, and Railway Departments.

With reference to the use of cowdung, apart from general suggestions, they propose that investigations should be made as to the cost of supplying as substitutes in the large areas in which the practice is prevalent either firewood, charcoal, or coal at a cheaper rate than the cost of cowdung now used. They also

of the poor type of village cattle is borne in mind, one would think baled grass would be as good as, if not better than, some of the grazing areas they frequent in the hot season. The Commission appear to consider that the onus of persuading the villager to use the baled grass rests to some extent on the Forest Officer.

It is from the Forest Department more than any other that complaints are heard of overstocking of grass land with animals of no economic value, for this is a subject that is being constantly forced upon their notice in the extensive grazing areas they control

So far as his own section of the agricultural portion of the population goes, those adjacent to the forest, the forest officer might and can do something, perhaps, towards introducing the use of baled grass, if supported by the civil officials responsible for the villagers But the bulk of the cattle it is sought to reach with baled grass is situated at a distance from the forest officer. Here it is the civil officers who are responsible, and certainly but little effort, having practical results, appears to have been made by them The idea of cutting and baling of grass for the cattle is no new one During the severe famine of 1876–78 in the Bombay Presidency the Forest Department undertook the work of cutting and baling grass in the forest to be utilised as fodder for the cattle The people however, would not buy the cut and stacked hay stating that the cattle would not eat it, and the work was stopped' Here again the Commission consider the question of cost of carriage of the baled grass from the forest to the consumer away out in the plains, and suggest that the Railway Department might take up the question of a low freight, since it might result in a considerable traffic But it is to be feared the problem is not so simple The first stage is to overcome the conservatism of the villager and to devise some steps to stop the breeding of the large numbers of worthless animals the herds contain These are both questions for the Revenue officials, including their agricultural advisers Moreover, in propaganda work in the case of the villagers in India it is not the stranger who will have any influence over them, but one of their own officers whom they know, trust and like They may listen to the stranger, but rarely will they act on recommendations he may make. At least this has been the lesson learnt from past experience

A good instance of the complexity of the grazing question, and the position reached in Bombay in the early 'eighties in this matter owing to increase of herds and the failure to fix and manage efficiently areas to provide the villagers with grazing and fuel, is provided by the mass of evidence and reports received by a special Commission appointed in 1885 by the Governor of Bombay (Lord Reay) after consultation with two

thus would be turned to its proper use as manure; the labour of manipulating and bringing this into the form of small cakes would be saved, and the cost of collecting it would not be more than at present. Changes, however, such as these require time, but this would seem a good reason for anticipating the results, and for taking the necessary steps to secure these with as little delay as possible.

There were several reasons for the above suggestions and hopes remaining a dead-letter in Madras, over and above the most crucial one of all, the conservatism of the people. Sixty years later the Commission in their 1928 Report (appendix, Central Provinces, p. 212) wrote:

Bona fide agriculturists are permitted to take dry firewood, thorns, etc., at special low rates and attempts are made to supply the local demand from areas of forest adjoining. A scheme to place at the disposal of the people cheap firewood from fuel depôts at convenient centres so as to help to remove the need for burning cowdung has not met with encouraging results. The continuance of this immemorial custom, with fuel stacked almost at the door, suggests that it is not lack of firewood which robs the soil of valuable manure.'

The next question which ranks in importance with the fuel matter, taking priority in some parts of the country, is that of grazing, or pasturage as it is termed in Europe. The Commissioners investigated this problem with great diligence, and their Report has many points of considerable interest in it. From time immemorial, as is well known, the villagers have grazed their cattle in the nearest forest area in much the same fashion as was practised in Britain and continental Europe in early times. Unrestricted pasturage was put an end to in Britain and Europe as the population increased and the value of the forests with it. In India the necessity of permitting grazing in the forest areas has always been recognised, pending the introduction of a more economic method, and the forest officer has always had to make arrangements to provide it. With the passing of the years, as the Commissions themselves show, both population and herds increased enormously under the settled rule introduced by the British. With this increase in the cattle has come greater pressure upon the forest. Efforts have been made to induce the villagers to make use of baled grass cut in the forests and baled by the Forest Department. So far the attempt has met with but slight success. The villager regards baled grass as merely a famine ration, and under ordinary conditions says his animals will not eat it. Space prohibits a detailed consideration of this matter here. The grass was baled in the forests and used in large quantities during the war in Mesopotamia, etc.; but this does not give us a good index to go upon, as the mortality figures may or may not have been high as a result. But when the average

on the subject of the firewood demands of the new railways, then under construction, said :

I fear that, in the present state of the Forest Reserves throughout your Presidency, there would not be found means for providing such a large supply, in addition to the wants of the public. I need not say that I should be most reluctant that your Government should interfere in any way with private enterprise, but for an object the profitable returns from which are not at first sight obvious, and are at all times slow in coming, private enterprise is not, I fear, likely to step in for some time, and when it does there is always time enough for the Government to transfer to it the preparations which they have made for the needed supply. I think therefore it is desirable that your Government should take measures for forming new plantations of firewood.

The habit of using cowdung as fuel arises in connexion with fuel supplies. This matter the Commission went into with considerable care. Beyond the recommendations that the Forest Department should endeavour to arrange for fuel supplies, and the railway authorities should carry fuel at rates which would enable the densely populated agricultural parts of the country to make use of it, it is doubtful whether the Report has produced anything new on this time-old custom. For instance, amongst other references at the period we find the matter coming up in Madras in 1860. The question of taking action to increase the amount of firewood in the Madras Presidency, and so checking the habit of the cultivator of burning cowdung as fuel, with the consequent decrease in the amount available for manuring the fields, was dealt with by the conservator, Dr. Cleghorn. Many of the Revenue officials considered it would be advisable to give the ryots areas of waste land adjacent to their fields rent free or at a small rent in order that wood for fuel might be grown upon them. But the wasteful methods of the villagers had by now become well known, and the proposal did not meet with the approval of either the Government of Madras or the Secretary of State. The former wrote, in a Minute, to the latter :

The first steps towards increasing the quantity of manure would be to provide the population with a better description of fuel. The loss of labour in bringing in the small amount of wood now consumed, and of preparing the cowdung, is enormous. Some arrangement might be made for planting a portion of the waste land. . . . The effect of planting upon the climate cannot but be beneficial, and it would be well worth the consideration of the Government whether it might not be advisable to provide nurseries of such plants as might be suitable to each district at all the stations where there is an officer who could be trusted to look after them ; the cost would be trifling, and the plants might be given to the natives upon the sole condition of looking after them. With a large supply of firewood the necessity of employing cowdung for fuel would cease, and

Reafforestation is urgently required in a few areas; and conservation of still existing forests by lengthening the period of rotation for cutting (at present only three to four years) is everywhere desirable. But it is not easy to convince the villager who needs fuel and the proprietor who needs cash that temporary self-denial will be more than repaid later on.

The history of fuel and fodder areas during the past half-century has furnished ample proof of this statement. The Madras Presidency may be instanced, though every province, to a more or less degree, with the exception of the greater part of Assam and Burma, is faced with the same problem, and it is no new one. In the late fifties of last century Dr. Cleghorn, the first Conservator of Madras, made certain recommendations on the subject of improving the already difficult matter of the fuel supplies in the drier tracts of the presidency. In giving approval to his recommendations the Government of Madras wrote (1860):

> As population increases and cultivation extends the subject of maintaining the supply of firewood becomes very important. In more advanced countries it is recognised as one of the modes of employing capital for a profit to maintain plantations for the purpose. India has not yet reached that state, but the time is approaching when a commencement of that system will be necessary in the neighbourhood of large towns and extensive factories. The terms on which land may be had for planting are so liberal as to offer no obstacle, but planting for this purpose is novel in this country and there is the usual backwardness to make a beginning.

An ephemeral success was achieved in Madras by the grant of land on the east coast for the formation of Casuarina plantations. The tree grew with great rapidity on the sandy areas, and people took advantage of free grants to plant a crop which was cut as soon as marketable; but, since a second crop cost more to obtain, the private speculator took a fresh piece of land and allowed the first to become derelict. To prevent this the Government decided to demand a rent for new land, and the private speculator gave up the business.

Sir John Lawrence, when Governor-General, showed a better appreciation of the position and its difficulties. In a despatch (1867) to the Secretary of State on the subject of the provision of fuel in areas where the article proved expensive to obtain by the agricultural population the Governor-General wrote:

> Expenditure on account of the following works and undertakings may be regarded as capital or extraordinary expenditure which need not necessarily be covered by the income [he was dealing with Forest Department finances] of the same year:—1st. Purchase of land on a large scale for plantation. . . . 2nd. Formation of plantations on a large scale.

In a similar connexion the Secretary of State (Sir Stafford Northcote), writing (September 1867) to the Government of Bombay

1869-70 and were managed by the department as fuel and fodder reserves. With the enormous development of the irrigation schemes in the Punjab during the last three decades large areas of the *rakhs* have been restored to the Revenue Department for agricultural development by means of the irrigation water. To such an extent has this restoration proceeded (5,850,000 acres made over, leaving 96,000 acres only under the Forest Department) that the Commissioners question whether it has not been carried far enough, or, alternatively, whether in return the Revenue and Irrigation Departments will consider what area of irrigated plantations, to be formed and managed by the Forest Department on the lines of those already in existence, will be required for the future demands of the new populations settled on the lands opened out by the irrigation schemes

These two instances of themselves illustrate the far-sighted action of the Governments of the time But in such cases the populations in these regions were small In many parts of the country large tracts of the so-called waste grounds in the neighbourhood of towns and villages containing poor forest or scrub and grazing lands were not placed under the management of the newly organised Forest Department, whose small staff, it may be admitted, had enough on their hands Nor was it realised (is it yet fully realised ?) that such areas, in the absence of skilled attention, and with increasing pressure upon them by a population which had always practised a wasteful utilisation, were bound to deteriorate and in the end disappear In most parts of India the results are perceivable to-day and account for the clamour of the people for more areas to treat in the same fashion, and for the remark of the Commission that the fuel and fodder resources of the bulk of the agricultural population are inadequate. This factor the Commission fully realise, and the evidence shows that the chief forest officers are of the same opinion

The most important points treated of in the Report in connexion with forestry in its bearing on agriculture are the requirements of the agricultural population in fuel and grazing or fodder and the suggested reclassification of the forests with the definite object of providing permanently for those indispensable wants. An important issue in connexion with the fuel question is the widespread habit in some parts of India of using cowdung as fuel and its loss thereby as manure for the cultural lands. The Commissioners also comment on the fact that shifting cultivation has not yet become extinct in the country

On the subject of providing the necessary fuel supplies it is realised that the problem is not an easy one, for in the appendix to the Report (Bengal, p. 58) in connexion with *zamindari* forest tracts and overcutting it is stated that

mistaken idea prevailed, and is still prevalent in some quarters, that the civil officers or the villagers, or the two combined, were capable of looking after these areas of 'forest only in name.' The inevitable result has been, with increasing pressure upon them through the growth in numbers both of population (the latter has increased by 62,000,000 in the last half-century) and cattle, that their place knows them no more.

The Commission in their Report allude to the matter as follows:

> Forty or fifty years ago when there were forest departments but no agricultural departments and when the problems arising out of the pressure of population on the soil and the necessity for cattle improvement had not assumed the importance they now possess, it was natural that the forest department should be regarded as the only department capable of turning to advantageous use large areas of State land which were lying neglected and which were not required for cultivation. The result was that the presence of trees or scrub jungle was considered sufficient justification for notifying as forest land which was in reality more suited for grazing or for cultivation than for the growth of trees. We consider that the time has come when a systematic reclassification of this type of land is required.

Few Indian forest officers would dispute the value of this suggestion. But the views expressed on the subject of the reservation of forest lands in the past do not give the full facts. In many cases the reason for reserving large tracts of waste land (including both timber forests and scrub areas) was the wise one of preventing wasteful utilisation of such areas by contractors and others and of preventing rights arising in such areas pending their ultimate disposal as agricultural lands, grazing and fuel areas, or permanent forests.

Sir Richard Temple's great settlement carried out throughout the Central Provinces in the sixties of last century, soon after the area had been formed into a province, is a case in point. After the claims to all lands, agricultural, waste or forest, had been adjudicated upon in the most broad-minded fashion (claims often being allowed without any legal proof), the large areas of forest and waste lands remaining were notified as Government forests. It was understood at the time that as the country developed, the population increased, and the demand for land for agriculture arose, areas of forests in suitable localities would be made over to the Revenue authorities for disafforestation. This policy has been given effect to, and the Report tells us that the Chief Conservator considers that the point has been reached when further disafforestation, in the interests of the province, will probably be unwise. The other case is that of the *rakhs* in the plains of the Punjab. These scrub-covered, almost desert, waterless areas were made over to the Forest Department in

the definition of 'forest,' and may on occasions be of first-class importance to the locality in providing the local agricultural inhabitants with their requirements in fuel and grazing—perhaps even in small timber.' Far from being excluded from the definition of 'forest,' in some parts of Europe it is recognised that, with the pressure of an increasing population in their neighbourhood, such areas of forest require the greatest attention and professional experience in their management; cases are known to the writer where senior forest officers are deputed for this work, which may, and often does, demand high administrative experience, tact, and sylvicultural knowledge.

It is to be expected, and within their terms of reference, that an Agricultural Commission should regard all forest problems from the agricultural view-point. But in some cases it becomes apparent that the Commission's views on the forests are somewhat out of date, as, *e.g.*, their complaint on the present distribution of the existing timber forests, a distribution for which the Forest Department has no responsibility.

Nearly sixty years ago in connexion with a report and sketch map of the distribution of the forests in Bengal, called for by the Government of India at the request of the Secretary of State in the early years of the inauguration of the Forest Department in the province, the Government of India (April 1870) wrote:

> The map which accompanies the Report shows at a glance the unequal distribution of the Government forest and woodlands over this wide extent of country. The largest breadth of Government forest is on the eastern and north-eastern frontier, where the principal difficulty appears to be to find a market for the wood, timber and other forest produce, whereas in the vicinity of the more densely populated districts the Government forest lands are few and of limited extent. This however makes it the more necessary to protect, and, if possible, to improve, the forests of this latter class. His Excellency in Council . . . trusts that meanwhile efficient measures will be taken to guard against the alienation of any of these forest lands, or against any diminution of the Government forest rights in the same. But although these isolated forest tracts deserve special attention on account of their special position, it is of course important that the case of the vast forest lands in Assam, Cachar and Chittagong should not in any way be neglected. And here again the first care of Government should be to guard against the alienation of any Government forest lands likely to be valuable hereafter.

These sound expressions of opinion were written nearly sixty years ago. Had they been given effect to in other provinces of India, where their application was of even greater importance than in Bengal, numbers of the isolated forest tracts which have since disappeared wholesale under unregulated extension of agriculture or the unchecked utilisation by the villagers (by axe, fire and excessive grazing) would have been preserved. For the

India. Almost for the first time we find a Commission concerned with agriculture taking into consideration the question of the forests and the part played by the forests, as they conceive that part, in the agricultural economy of the country. Those possessing some acquaintance with the subject will probably agree that the views and recommendations contained in this Report make it one of the most important documents bearing upon Indian agriculture which have ever been compiled. In this article it is proposed to deal with that portion of the Report which is devoted to the forests in their relation to agriculture.

'Forests,' say the Commission, 'are often described as the handmaiden of agriculture, and it is as such in their relation to the agriculturists' needs that we deal with them here.' No forest officer of experience would quarrel with the definition, since he would realise to the full the type of forest it chiefly referred to. It is a somewhat dangerous one, however, in the hands of the non-forestry expert. In the early part of the chapter on the forests we find the Commission referring to the hardships entailed on the greater proportion of the population owing to the uneven distribution of the 'forests proper,' the bulk of which are inaccessible, says the Report, to the vast majority of cultivators. 'The relations between forestry and agriculture are increasingly influenced at every point by the general remoteness of the timber forests from the cultivation of the plains. The distances involved and the difficulties of transport between the hills and the plains result in the great mass of the agricultural population deriving little or no direct benefit from the forests proper.' Further, it is stated that 'many of the forests in the plains are forests only in name.' The first contention as to the bulk of the population obtaining no direct benefit from the timber forests is a dangerous half-truth. The chief water supplies of the plains of India upon which the agricultural population are directly dependent (either in the form of river water or water from tanks and wells) have their sources in the hills clothed with the timber forests, which may be 100 miles and more distant. Subject the latter to irregular and devastating fellings, as was done in numberless cases in India in the past, and the even flow in the rivers and the spring level of the underground water which feeds innumerable tanks and wells used for watering the crops is seriously upset.

The Commission's apparently accepted definition of a 'forest' as one which contains timber in contradistinction to areas which only produce fuel and grass (with perhaps a few timber trees), which they term 'forests only in name,' is not only dangerous, but is not in accordance with the definition of a forest in acceptance in professional forestry circles on the continent of Europe. Any area containing mainly scrub with rough grazing falls within

THE ROYAL COMMISSION ON AGRICULTURE IN INDIA AND THE INDIAN FORESTS

IN his speech on the Indian Budget in the year 1885 the Secretary of State for India of that day (Lord Randolph Churchill) asked the question

> How are you on the one hand to obtain the most desirable objects of preserving and renewing the forests without on the other hand, entailing hardships on the people by depriving them of valuable and long established customs? That is the question which has constantly presented itself to me. I believe however, that if forest conservancy tends to increase the supply of fodder and fuel for the people of this country, the enterprise will meet with their support, and has a right to their sympathy

Owing to the periodical famines which visited India at varying intervals and devastated more or less large tracts of country, Commissions were appointed in the past to study methods of reducing the damage and distress occasioned by such calamities. Some of the most noteworthy were the Commissions of 1880, 1898, 1901, 1903 (irrigation), etc. The terms of reference of these Commissions had for their object the devising of methods which would ensure a reduction of the deplorable mortality, both in human beings and animals. It was inevitable, however, that the consideration of means towards allaying distress would involve a study of the agricultural methods and customs in force in the locality and that the Commissioners would recommend such measures of improvement as might appear practicable. A curious factor common to all the old reports was the omission of any allusion to the forests and the important part they play in agricultural economy in India; the only utility assigned to the forests, when mentioned, being that they could be thrown open in times of famine to provide such grazing as they afforded to the starving cattle and such edible food as fruits and roots, etc., to the section of the population which understood how to make use of such products.

The Royal Commission on Agriculture in India, appointed in 1926, under the chairmanship of the Marquess of Linlithgow, was the first Commission to be appointed specifically to examine and report on the conditions of agriculture and rural economy in

There is, fortunately, no sign as yet of any tendency towards the adoption of arbitrary forms of government. The fashion for dictatorships, aristocratic, proletarian or military, as the case may be, is not conducive to that firm belief in the permanency of things which is essential to a peaceful atmosphere in Europe. There is no desire to see the number of tyrants increased.

The bitter need of Europe is peace. Peace as the natural assumption of contented peoples, and not an uneasy peace maintained only by the fear of an unsuccessful end to adventures. Czecho-Slovakia, which possesses regions torn from other States, and has to deal with a 'national' problem of great complexity, must for many years be herself regarded as one of the storm centres of Europe—what the Americans call a 'sensitive point.' For this reason she has an obligation towards the keeping of peace which transcends her own obvious interest in it.

As for ourselves, we have no interest in any fresh upheaval in Europe, any recasting of frontiers, least of all in the interests of Pan-Germanism. On the contrary, the pressure of events in the future must bind us closer and closer to France, the one European country with which we have a frontier which is, for all practical purposes, contiguous. In spite of all the implications of the Treaty of Locarno, a break with France is inconceivable. If war should break out over any matter that affects the 'nationalities' of Czecho-Slovakia, there is always the danger that France and Germany may find themselves on opposite sides. The crux of the situation would then be the attitude of Great Britain, if all efforts to find a peaceful solution failed. The fear of the future is not so much concerned with a small local war as with a widespread conflict, and, just because so much which affects France and Germany is bound up in the 'national' problem of the Czecho-Slovak republic, it is one of the most important with which modern statesmanship has to deal. Dr. Beneš can appeal from his past for a vote of confidence in his ability to weather the storms ahead, but this will be the more readily given if he himself refrain from playing a Czech solo in a mixed orchestra.

T. MONTGOMERY-CUNINGHAME

organisation, which would give fuller scope for national consciousness without impairing the cohesion of the whole. In the British system this takes the form of 'Dominion status,' and in the settlement of the German colonies the principle of mandatory control. It is pertinent to observe, however, that in the days preceding settlement all suggestions involving the persistence of any imperial suzerainty were utterly repudiated by the Czechs. The painter had to be wholly cut, while, on the other hand, we find them now disinclined to grant any measure of autonomy to their own cousins, the Slovaks, and ready to prosecute with vigour the leaders of that 'oppressed nationality' who advocate it.

We flatter ourselves that we give to our subject peoples the fullest possible measure of local self-government consistent with the sacred duty of preserving our Imperial heritage. It does not follow, however, that on that account we shall avoid vexatious efforts at liberation and irredentism in the countries which we hold by the sword. On the contrary, the more sympathetic we are to local sentiment, the more certain it is that national ambition will seek its chance in any British embarrassment that may arise. The same is true of Czecho-Slovakia. The more people get, the more they want, and it is quite understandable if Dr. Beneš, knowing that it is the first step that counts, declines to take it. Only, as between varying 'cultures' in a population racially heterogeneous, it would seem wiser to follow the example of the predominant English element in the British Isles *vis-à-vis* to the spasmodic Chauvinism of the Celtic fringe, and treat them with good-humoured patience, rather than to advocate the accentuation of one particular cult.

So far, in spite of difficulties due to mixed population, Czecho-Slovakia has maintained intact her belief in democratic principles of government as proclaimed by Professor Masaryk when the new republic was first inaugurated. There is still much Socialism in the land, and little sign of any widespread moral courage among individual citizens to help them to assert their rights against the oppressions of government. Such courage is the 'hall-mark' of a people fit for democracy, and without it popular institutions are delusive. The Government, like others nearer home, has learnt that it can bully with impunity, which is not a healthy sign. The task of modern rulers in an enlightened State is to govern efficiently without recourse to bullying. 'Like master, like man.' As the Government is, so will the citizens be. If the Government resorts to objectionable methods, the citizens will quickly follow suit. Since the troubled times of 1918 much, no doubt, has been settled. Confiscatory policies and methods of the Star Chamber have slackened. Well-wishers will hope that they can be wholly abandoned.

become 'social and national malcontents,' and might even proceed to the formation of a 'League of Oppressed Nationalities' aimed at the hegemony of Prague.

At the present moment the Pan-Germanic movement in Central Europe is hibernating. It is not politic to mention it. Even the Austrian enthusiasts receive scant encouragement from Berlin. The German people have to recover their confidence, their diplomatic liberty, and their material strength before they can make a bid for hegemony. It is there none the less, in the womb of the future, ready to be stirred up into a great cause, having now connected with it all the attributes of persecution which will make it attractive as a crusade to men of generous heart. The last effort was botched, because all was made to depend upon victory in the field, and arrogance was too confident of victory to proceed wisely. If it is ever raised again, the same mistake will not be made, for it will surely awaken an echo in those regions of Czecho-Slovakia where the Germans live. In that day the criterion will simply be whether the Germans find it more pleasant and profitable to remain as they are than to join their fellow nationals in an extended German Empire.

Dr Beneš speaks of the 'Austrian politicians who identify themselves with the philosophy of power, but who have not the necessary man power to put it into effect.' He does not dissociate his own methods from the philosophy of power. On the contrary, he testifies to his belief in real politics, and the persuasive effect of military forces. It may be, therefore, that when, if ever, Pan-Germanism raises its head, forcible steps will be taken by Dr Beneš, or his successor, to keep it from affecting the State. Measures more forcible, we will hope, than were taken by the imperial Government in 1914 against Messrs. Masaryk and Beneš! Measures, let us say, resembling those taken by Great Britain against Sir *Roger Casement*. Even then, however, it will be a handicap if more than half the population have been pushed into opposition by unsympathetic treatment.

The position of the Czechs in the old empire, and of the German minority in the new Czecho-Slovak republic, has a certain application to ourselves. The original 'League of Oppressed Nationalities' was, as stated above, composed of Czechs, Poles, Roumanians, Yugo-Slavs, and Italians. They might well have been Irish, Egyptians, Hindus, Sikhs, and Pathans! Before we sympathise too wholeheartedly with the secessionists we ought to remember that what is sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander. We can likewise recollect the sacrifices which the Americans made in the Civil War to deny the right of individual States to secede. Dr. Beneš is obviously aware of the parallel, for he mentions the growing tendency towards looser bonds in imperial

[illegible] [illegible] and to develop a national culture,' we welcome his sentiment as an expression of good Liberalism, and hope that it is not unconnected with another to the effect that 'modern democracy will not solve the problem of the social structure of the community.' Perhaps, then, we may yet see Dr. Beneš emerging as a Liberal, if the political machinery in Czecho-Slovakia develops on lines which allow the true requirements of personal liberty to be ventilated

What Dr. Beneš means by 'national culture' is worth some investigation, for it is not without importance Neither word is used in a sense which is familiar to Englishmen By 'national' we mean usually something that appertains to the State, and the word 'culture' we take to be akin to 'cultivation' Dr. Beneš, however, apparently means by 'national culture' to signify 'fostered racial idiosyncrasy'—i e, the subtle distinctions, deliberately acquired and enthusiastically practised, which make a Welshman a Welshman or a Czech a Czech 'There is no such thing,' says Dr Beneš, 'as a common human culture. there are only national cultures' With the outstanding exception of the Jews, he is probably right and even the Jews, in one sense, conform to his definition When, then, he states that he is in favour of a 'world-wide outlook as a means towards developing a strong Czech national spirit with world-wide standards' we wish to know whether he means a culture applying to Slav Czechs only, or whether he intends the word 'national' in this case to include the Germans, Magyars, and Ruthenes who inhabit the new republic We catch an echo of the importance of the difference when we remember that the Austrian Pan-German Party call themselves the German 'National' Party, showing that the common connotation of the word national' is 'racial,' or, as we might say, 'nationalistic' A plea for a purely Czech racial feeling in a conglomerate State like Czecho-Slovakia sounds like a challenge to other 'nationals' to develop counter 'cultures' of their own

From the point of view of racial distribution, the modern Czecho-Slovakia is a replica in miniature of the old Austro-Hungarian 'pie of nationalities' Out of 15,000,000 inhabitants 3,500,000 are German, 3,500,000 are Magyar, and 500,000 are Ruthenes. Dr Beneš s appeal for a Czech racial 'culture' would apply only to Czechs and possibly Slovaks, who together are less than half the population His challenge would be taken up by the rest—that is to say, we would see the Germans, Magyars, and Ruthenes fostering within the State 'cultures' identical with those practised by neighbouring peoples outside it; a state of affairs which would make their position strangely like that of Dr. Beneš himself in old imperial times They might also

> For why, because the ancient way suffices them, the simple plan,
> That he shall take, who has the power, and he shall keep who can

In a concluding chapter, under the heading of 'Final Reflections,' Dr. Beneš sums up his political faith, reacting it, so to speak, by the main issues of the great European conflict. As a Czech, it is natural that he bless the occurrence of the war in the form of its results, though to most people it stands out as the most unprofitable disaster that ever delayed the march of man. He claims, among other things, that it accelerated the advent of Socialism in Central Europe, without which, according to him, progress in democratic development was not procurable. Even if this be true, it is a matter for speculation whether Socialism would not have been more practical in form, and less destructive in nature, if it had been reached by the normal processes of peaceful development instead of the chaotic exigencies of an undisciplined interlude. The tragedy of European politics to-day is the complete obliteration of the Liberal principle. Dr. Beneš, who in many passages expresses his concern for the intellectual development of the individual, does not see that Socialism is as little likely to foster it as any oligarchic or monarchical system. Modern Socialists make the same mistake as the old arbitrary rulers. In both cases there is the unwarranted assumption that mankind is a flock of sheep and must be treated as such, and in both cases there is an equally unwarranted assumption of the right to act as shepherd. The result is a perpetual campaign to impose upon people a form of public opinion concocted *ad hoc*, instead of a faithful effort to interpret the focussed expression of spontaneous individual thought. Socialist policy is not what practical people desire, but what theorists think they ought to desire. It is a policy of despair based upon the argument that, as real public opinion is unascertainable, something ready made must be substituted for it. This misconception of the politician's function bars the road to real democracy, and will do so as long as the people are content to be treated as sheep. Meanwhile the profession of politician suffers, is discredited in the minds of ordinary men, and associated with humbug, insincerity, selfishness and graft.

Dr. Beneš may say that this has always been so, and to some extent that is true. It is likewise the case, as he points out, that the Executives are subject to more effective control by the legislative assemblies than they used to be. Quite recently there has been a set-back in this direction, but, however that may be, the degeneration of politics has been accentuated by the war, and nowhere more so than in Central Europe. When Dr. Beneš, therefore, says that he regards it as 'a dictate of humanity for every individual, just as every collective entity, to live without

growing, but still small, was probably drowned in the chorus, but, all the same, as we know, every little helps! That the world at large would be a happier place to-day if peace had come before the Angel of Destruction had done his work so thoroughly can hardly be denied. From the point of view of Dr. Beneš, however, it was necessary to proceed to the bitter end.

Ultimately remained Great Britain alone—the last to acquiesce in the destruction of the Danubian empire. With feelings, no doubt, of regret, but still not vitally concerned, and in any case left stranded by the general landslide, she followed suit. *Carthago delenda est*, and Beneš has triumphed! Nothing in the history of diplomacy can quite equal his achievement. Five great nations, no one of which was originally committed to this far-reaching policy, were successively induced to Balkanise the whole of Central Europe. It is not only the achievement itself that is remarkable, but the subtle way in which it was done. It resembles a game of fox and geese with the positions reversed.

At an earlier stage Dr. Beneš had formed the League of Oppressed Nationalities, which included the Poles, Yugo-Slavs, Roumanians, and inhabitants of the Italian Trentino. As far as the Czechs themselves were concerned, the word 'oppressed' must be understood in a somewhat Pickwickian sense. There is a certain humour in the necessity which urges Dr. Beneš to write to Prague to ask them there to be so good as to incur a little more persecution, as there is not enough going on for him to make a song about! From the very first he takes the line that the Slovak inhabitants of Hungary must be liberated and united with their cousins, the Czechs, in one independent nation. When the time comes for the drawing of frontiers he plays with a double-headed penny. In Bohemia the frontiers must be those of the old historic kingdom, in spite of the fact that the Germans within it will in the future be in exactly the same position as the Czechs were in the old Habsburg monarchy. In the case of the Slovaks, however, he takes the opposite line. The kingdom of Hungary must be broken up along the main boundaries of nationalistic settlement. '*Vae Victis*' is the only comment that can be made regarding this kind of logic. Because President Wilson favoured 'self-determination' and applied it to the Czechs as against the Austrian Empire, a railway station in Prague was named after him. One assumes that if he had gone further and applied it to the German Bohemians in the new republic, who wanted then, and want still, to join some Germanic nation, the railway station would have been instantly renamed. But Dr. Beneš lays stress throughout on the fact that he is an advocate of 'practical' politics, and doubtless agrees with Rob Roy.

the promise of large contingents which attracts the French. Dr. Beneš offers to collect them and make them available for service in France. This offer is made at the aptest moment. The French are appalled by their heavy casualties. They begin to doubt their ability to keep their front intact. In the proposals of Beneš they descry a welcome reinforcement, and accept them thankfully. And the price? The price is the adoption of the policy of breaking up Austria-Hungary. The French accept. A policy of great mutual benefit is forthwith inaugurated. The Czechs can operate on a front where they will not be called upon to oppose their fellow-countrymen, and by so doing will receive the endorsement of one of the Entente Powers to their claims for independence. The French receive the additional troops, under their own direction, which they so much require, together with the expectation of a foothold in Central Europe, after the war is ended, for the exercise of that form of diplomatic activity which appeals to their peculiar genius.

In the diplomacy of Dr. Beneš the winning of one point is always made the jumping-off place for the winning of the next. The French have accepted the principle of breaking up Austria-Hungary. The other nations of the Entente, and America, after her entry into the war, must be brought into line. Dr. Beneš begins with the Italians. They, however, hesitate. M. Sonnino is definitely opposed, fearing any too great expansion of Slav influence in Central Europe, and especially the unification of the Austrian Slovenes and the Hungarian Croats with the Serbs. Following his usual policy of patience, Dr. Beneš lies low. He advises the Serbs not to antagonise Italy by any inopportune pressure of their claims. He leaves persuasion of Italy to the logic of events. After the disaster of Caporetto Italy realises that no sources of reinforcement can be neglected, and agrees, like the French, to make use of the Czechs at their price. The entry of America into the war and the fall of the Tsarist *régime* in Russia are skilfully utilised by Dr. Beneš. The provisional Government in Russia has not the same objection to the overthrow of the Habsburg dynasty as the Tsar Nicholas had. In America, through the efforts of Professor Masaryk, a strong bias against the continuation of German tyranny over Slavonic peoples is successfully established in the mind of President Wilson. In the same skilful way the various efforts of the Central Powers to secure peace by agreement are made to serve the purposes of the Czechs, especially the frantic efforts of Czernin to cut loose from Germany before it is too late. Dr. Beneš does not hide the fact that he was prepared to use every instrument at his disposal to hamstring any movement in the direction of premature peace. So many other more powerful agencies took the same line, that his voice

a Czech army to fight on the Entente side. From the Czech colonists in Russia a small detachment has already been formed. There are Czechs also in France, and more still in America, but all that volunteer from these countries are caught up at first into the French Foreign Legion This will not suffice for his purposes. The Czechs must have their own independent army, and so, by an act of genius, he determines to form it out of the Czech prisoners taken in battle by the Entente themselves The initial difficulties of doing so are great It is necessary to persuade the Entente commanders that the Czech prisoners are really ready to change sides There is a natural disposition at first to be sceptical. The possibility of harbouring spies has to be taken into consideration Military commanders are crazy on the subject of spies How, exactly, Dr Beneš gets over the difficulty must be read to be appreciated Beginning with the French, and supporting his efforts by a most convincing propaganda, he persuades all in turn—Serbs, Russians, Italians, British, and Americans—to do what he desires The Czech prisoners are segregated and re-enlisted on our side, with the additional liability of being hanged or shot if caught by their old associates Recruiting begins in Serbia, 25,000 Czechs have been captured by the Serbs in the 'Straf' expeditions of the unlucky General Potiorek Here is a fine field for the new project! Unfortunately, before the necessary steps can be taken, the Mackensen flood descends upon Serbia The prisoners are hustled over the Albanian mountains with the retreating Serbs They die in thousands on the way. Only 11,000 reach the coast, and of these only 4000 survive the ravages of disease contracted by their sufferings and reach the newly formed legion in France

In Galicia there is another field even more promising. On the Russian front the Czechs desert by whole units The Tsarist Government is not enthusiastic on the subject of their re-enlistment. There is schism also on the part of the Czech representatives, who are working in Russia Not until Masaryk himself goes there, and until the establishment of the provisional Government in Petrograd, does Beneš get his way Two army corps are formed for the purpose of being transferred to France by way of Archangel or Vladivostock The Bolshevist Government, however, play fast and loose with their promises, the Czech formations are deemed reactionary and an attempt is made to disarm them. Their experiences thereafter read more like the wanderings of the children of Israel in the desert than like any concerted effort to reach the eastern ports. A detachment under Husak does manage to reach France, but the main body is detained in Russia and never reaches the European theatre at all. Yet for their country they act decisively even during the process of formation. It is

theory and British Liberal practice, is, in his own words, 'a social and national malcontent.'

To his mind it is not the interests of the high and mighty that should prevail, but those of humdrum folk. Not the convenience of a federalised empire—even when commercially correlated—should be considered, but the full development of nationalistic consciousness, within the ambit of which, economic organisation should be confined

It is strange to think how the pendulum has swung back from belief in great schemes of federalisation to passionate advocacy of the opposite principle The work of Garibaldi as a liberator of the Italian States is bound up with the unification of Italy Alexander Hamilton owes his fame to his policy of coalescing the separated States of America Cecil Rhodes, among our own people, stands out as a great annexer of territory in the interests of empire development Now we have before us, for our admiration, men who have schemed successfully to break up a great federation in the names of nationality and self determination

Though the outbreak of war came with unexpected suddenness, the possibility of armed conflict between the Central Powers and the Entente had been foreseen for a long time Professor Masaryk is ready with his plan He sees that it is essential for the Czechs to have a foot in both camps A secret committee—dubbed the Maffia—is formed from prominent citizens whose sympathies are with the Entente Masaryk himself, and later Beneš, are to operate from outside, exchanging news and information with their fellow conspirators at home By this means a policy can be developed apt to take advantage of all that occurs What will happen ?—Who can say ? It depends upon the fortunes of the rival armies in the decisive theatres of operation. It may be merely an extension of autonomy, or a semi-independent position in a looser form of federation But from the first the hope of complete independence is present

The Austrian Government hears of the movement, but acts half-heartedly and with fatal slowness Masaryk leaves the country. He plans to return The Austrians are warned of this The Minister of the Interior lets his servant see the important telegram His servant is a Czech and the Czech Committee are warned in their turn How very Austrian it all reads ! Then Beneš leaves the country and the death warrant of the empire is already signed

Now begins the thrilling part of the story The Battle of the Marne has been fought. There is no further chance of any sudden decision or of any early end to the war. It will be a long fight settled by exhaustion. Masaryk sees that the Czech cause will not make progress among the Entente nations unless he can raise

THE MAKING OF CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

In his book [1] Dr Beneš tells us with engaging simplicity how the Czecho-Slovaks won their independence in the war It is an unusually faithful record of history in the making and derives an additional interest from the close relation between the maker and his masterpiece The two are inseparable, they develop together: equally insignificant in the beginning, equally remarkable at the end We can watch the whole process of growth, the planting of the seeds, the slow, almost invisible germination, the final flowering on the day of jubilee We recognise a master hand at work so light a touch, so firm a faith, so rich a vein of resourcefulness, patience and good humour, and so deep an insight into human motives and such unswerving loyalty We feel that although Professor Masaryk may have been the great leader who traced the outlines of policy it is Beneš who has given them practical form Masaryk may have been the 'first cause,' but Beneš is the builder who has brought things into the world of phenomenon Often isolated and out of touch with his chief, we find him again and again obliged to take decisions of vital importance to his cause He does not hesitate There is no interruption in the wise guidance which finds a way over or round every impeding obstacle

Dr. Beneš does not overload his story with any long-winded preliminary history of the Slav peoples in Central Europe. He assumes that his readers know the essential facts, and contents himself with a short review of them The Czechs have been under Habsburg rule for centuries They are not, however, Germanised. Predominant feeling—the feeling that counts politically—remains Slav and is spiritually antipathetic to foreign control. It is moreover democratic The people are therefore arrayed against aristocracy and the Habsburg empire The empire is an aristocratic erection—the aristocracy an imperial appanage. The Czech people have neither lot nor plot in either. Beneš himself, having drunk deeply at the fountains of French humanitarian

[1] *My War Memories*, by Dr Edouard Beneš George Allen & Unwin, Ltd (21s.).

sistency would have been gross, and would have been almost certainly followed before very long, but after bloodshed and loss of prestige, by the further inconsistency of a second complete reversal of policy. For the British Cabinet may well have asked itself the question how long English opinion would tolerate the government of Egypt by military methods. History, had she been in a sardonic humour, might have replied, 'In any case, not long enough.'

For the averting of dangers appreciated perhaps by few at the time, and forgotten or minimised when they are over-past, the State sometimes calls upon its servants for the sacrifice, at least temporarily, of some part of their popular renown: reputations, it has been said, are made to be spent. It is the belief of many that, by the courageous if unwelcome operation they performed in 1922, Mr. Lloyd George and Lord Allenby averted a discreditable and perhaps a tragic chapter in Anglo-Egyptian history. It is well to remember with gratitude the drafts they made on their credit, and how few there were who possessed an adequate balance.

It would of course be idle to pretend that the Declaration of February 28, 1922, with its four important reservations,* constitutes an ideal solution of the problem of the relations between England and Egypt. How far it falls short of perfection is known only too well to those who have followed Egyptian affairs for the last seven years. What is claimed with confidence for that Declaration is that it was justified by a wise and courageous appreciation of all the elements in a complicated situation. Many would go further and claim not only that it averted great dangers, but that it restored the true tradition of Lord Cromer's policy, and that under that omen it is of good augury for the future relations of the two countries. There can be no doubt that the Declaration of 1922 has had a marked effect in allaying hostile feeling in Egypt and in disposing the great majority of Egyptians to see in England a friendly nation, true to her professions and faithful to her promises.

M. S. Amos.

* The following matters were declared to be reserved *in statu quo* to the absolute discretion of His Majesty's Government: Imperial communications; the protection of foreign interests in Egypt; the prevention of foreign intervention; and the Soudan. A circular to foreign Powers, by which they were informed of the recognition of Egyptian independence, warned them that the British Government would nevertheless regard any interference in her affairs as an unfriendly act.

reversal of policy there had been no preparation of sentiment and opinion in Egypt; or, for that matter, in England either. It may be that in 1922 the majority of people in this country had little appreciated how far Egypt had already travelled on the path of autonomy—but they would quickly have found out. It would be difficult to exaggerate the exacerbation of feeling which would have been excited in Egypt. It was not only that Egyptians, not unreasonably, regarded the restoration of the constitution of 1913 as an indisputable minimum. They had followed with close interest the events of subsequent years: the declarations of the Allies respecting the rights of small nations; the 'fourteen points', the treaty with Ireland, the establishment of the Arab kingdom (a poignant analogy), and, last but not least, Lord Milner's Report. Here, they thought, was a foremost Conservative statesman recognising that Egypt was ripe for independence, and that she might properly dispense with her foreign officials; and that those opinions bore the indorsement of the British Government appeared sufficiently to follow from the fact that after their publication Lord Milner remained a member of the Cabinet.

There could be no doubt in 1922, and there can be no doubt to-day, that the restoration of the Kitchener constitution was the barest minimum that could be given; yet that minimum contained in itself the widest potentialities for self-expansion. Had it been offered to and accepted by the Egyptians there was little doubt that in no long time they would by its means alone have extorted their independence. But the restoration of the Kitchener constitution was not offered to them. Lord Milner had offered far more. It is true that he had stipulated for conditions, but his conditions were not politically enforceable.

Was it indeed possible to hold out for Lord Milner's conditions, and to refuse to recognise the independence of Egypt until she had signed a treaty of alliance with England, and until a dozen foreign Powers had surrendered their cherished privileges into our hands? There was no prospect of the realisation of either condition; and the fulfilment of the second of the two lay with third parties who had little or no motive for compliance. For England to adopt such an attitude would, in appearance, have been for her to put a price upon natural rights. It is not necessary to discuss whether any rights are natural, for the British Government was committed to the affirmative. Particularly since 1914, we were, as a nation, pledged to the principle that peoples who are fit for self-government are entitled to self-government; and we had been equally committed by Lord Milner to the proposition that the syllogism applied to Egypt. It is true that in politics consistency is not everything. But in this case the incon-

We are now in a position to consider the situation as it presented itself to Mr. Lloyd George's Government in February 1922. The main engine of the Egyptian Government, the Council of Ministers, had very definitely come to a standstill; no combination of political men was prepared to take office on the old lines so long as the Protectorate was in force. The choice lay between two courses: on the one hand, to resort to a policy of Thorough, the abolition of the native Government, the setting back of the clock, not to where Lord Kitchener had left it, but to some zero point at which it had never yet stood On the other hand, to carry out so much of Lord Milner's recommendations as was possible by unilateral declaration, without insisting on a treaty of alliance or on the acquisition of the capitulary tribunate. The realisation of Lord Milner's plans in the form in which they left his hand was not to be considered, the Egyptians were not prepared to sign the treaty, and the foreign Powers were not prepared to surrender their privileges

Positive arguments in favour of the policy of Thorough were few, only those unacquainted with the history of the Occupation, and insensitive to the political forces of the world, could have thought it possible to transform Egypt, by a stroke of the pen or by a whiff of grape-shot, into a British province. The negative arguments consisted in the objections to the only alternative. To many people Lord Milner's proposed concessions, even when coupled with the conditions he attached, were a sore stumbling-block But to make those unpalatable concessions gratuitously, under the menace of what may have seemed, from a distance, to be little more than a strike, may well have appeared an unnecessary display of weakness For the sake of immediate though probably only temporary peace and quiet the work of forty years was to be thrown away, Egypt was to be allowed to relapse into barbarism, and vital British interests were to be put in jeopardy

On the other hand, the arguments against Thorough, the arguments which prevailed, may be summarised as follows.

With martial law removed—it could not, with any propriety, be kept in force when peace was made with Turkey—the status of the British power in Egypt reverted to what it had been on the eve of the war Save in respect of foreign affairs, the Protectorate was nothing but a name; it was certainly never intended that it should be used to deprive Egyptians of liberties which Lord Kitchener had extended. To have embarked upon the adventure of direct autocratic government would have involved a catastrophic destruction of the political and administrative system which England had fostered from the beginning of the Occupation until the outbreak of the war. For such a

to ministers, whose pecuniary obligations to the political piper could not fail to secure for them the right to call the tune.

Then came the war; and the war brought the Protectorate. Lord Cromer had placed it on record that in his opinion a protectorate, as a method of defining our position in Egypt, was unthinkable. Nevertheless, it was necessary, when we went to war with Turkey, to change the international status of a Turkish province which we already occupied. But the effects attached by the British Government to the new *régime* were kept down to a minimum; indeed, outside Egypt it is little appreciated how scanty were the innovations introduced as a consequence of the Protectorate into the government of Egypt; and misunderstanding on this capital subject is the source of many erroneous judgments on the recent history of that country.

Reasoning by the analogy of other protectorates, it might well be imagined that on December 18, 1914, the representative of His Majesty in Cairo sent the Council of Ministers about their business, appointed English governors and heads of departments, and proceeded to exercise full and direct legislative and administrative authority. None of these things happened. The High Commissioner assumed, it is true, the direction of foreign affairs; but the diplomatic representatives of foreign nations accredited to the Court of Abdin remained at their posts; and in every other respect, save for the suspension of the Assembly—a measure taken by the Egyptian Government before the institution of the Protectorate—the institutions of the country remained unaltered. Nevertheless the widespread belief that during the period when the Protectorate was in force the English authorities exercised powers of direct government which they had never previously possessed is, in the main, true; but its explanation does not lie in the Protectorate. Those powers were exercised, not by the civil, but by the military authorities, and not by virtue of the Protectorate but by virtue of martial law, which was proclaimed some weeks before the Protectorate, and remained in force till more than a year after it was abrogated—coinciding in fact, almost to a day, with the duration of the war with Turkey. It would be irrelevant, on this page, to explain in any detail the necessary services which the *régime* of martial law rendered during the years of war and political crisis not only to the army, but to the civil Government. Suffice it to say that one of its principal purposes and uses was to overcome the obstacle opposed by the Capitulations to the power of the Egyptian Government to legislate for foreigners. It is martial law, the confused memory of which largely accounts for the tradition of a recent Golden Age of direct British rule in Egypt, to which the abolition of the Protectorate is supposed to have put an end.

or encouragement in Egypt between 1882 and 1914. Egyptian nationalism, on the contrary, Lord Cromer regarded as a natural and healthy movement, and one of his most significant public acts was that by which in 1907, the year of his retirement, he procured the appointment to ministerial office of the rising Nationalist leader, Saad Pasha Zaghlul, of whose capacities he had a high opinion. This appointment was important not only as marking the advent to maturity of the new non-Turkish middle class, but as constituting a long step forward in the evolution of the Council of Ministers into a politically powerful Council of State Zaghlul's appointment may also be regarded as the first of three conspicuous landmarks which, in the years immediately preceding the war, had marked the rapid progress of the movement for self-government, and the wise recognition by England of its vitality.

The second landmark was the rejection by the General Assembly in 1910 of the proposal for a revision of the terms of the Suez Canal concession Space does not permit a record of the details of this significant incident It must suffice to say that a financial measure of the first importance, sponsored by responsible British authorities, was found to excite strong Nationalist susceptibilities, that, with the approval of the British Government, this measure was submitted to the considera- tion of a specially convened session of the General Assembly, and that, on its rejection by an overwhelming majority, it was dropped. A momentous precedent government by advice was already wearing thin

The third landmark was erected by Lord Kitchener, and con- sisted in the far-reaching revision of the constitution which he promoted in 1913 Under the new arrangements a single elective assembly was to meet annually and to exercise powers of control and delay over the budget and other legislation, and was to enjoy the important right of interpellation This assembly held one session, during which it did some creditable work, but shortly after the outbreak of the war, and before the date appointed for its second convocation, it was suspended, never to meet again

From what precedes it will be evident that by the year 1914 Egypt had made no slight progress along that political path which shows no backward footsteps—a path along which England had always professed to be leading her. Not only was the complete machinery of a purely native government in existence— it had never been dismantled, but the motive force of that machinery was in steady course of being transferred from English Advisers to Egyptian executives Institutions were already in existence whose normal development must inevitably, before many years had elapsed, have completed the transfer of power

very misleading to depreciate—the influence of France had been that of a civilisation. It had not tended to the incorporation of Egypt in the British Empire.

The population of Egypt is homogeneous; it has a tradition of social equality; no caste system divides neighbours by impassable barriers; the religious division between Musulmans and Copts, in view of the fact that the latter constitute less than a tenth of the population, is of secondary importance. There are probably few villages none of whose inhabitants have sons or other near relatives in Government schools or in Government service. If readers are few, listeners are many, and the ideas, suspicions, and enthusiasms current in the big towns spread easily and rapidly through all classes and throughout the country. The whole of Egypt forms a sounding-board for the excitements of the capital

Into the rapidly changing world thus briefly sketched there entered, about the beginning of the century, a new and potent factor—politics Sooner or later it was inevitable that contact with England and with France should set up the electric current of the ideas which, in this age, we in the West most effectively entertain—that man is above all things a political animal, and that self-respect requires self-government Indeed, speaking generally, it is impossible to understand what is happening in the East to-day unless one appreciates that the body of ideas born of the English, the American, and the French revolutions are being propagated through the world with a momentum and an amplitude for which a parallel can be found only in the spread of a missionary religion It is not that everyone is a believer. It is that the believers have it all their own way. disbelievers, finding themselves isolated, leaderless, tongue-tied, without battle cries, without a creed, hopeless of applause, fated to opprobrium, generally prefer to lie low

No field was more favourable than Egypt for the spread of the European gospel In that country it had to contend with no conflicting faith. The sentiment of loyalty, whether based on religion, on ancient tradition, or on a recognition of the claims of a majestic and beneficent conqueror, is a great political force. To that sentiment England had carefully abstained from ever making the slightest appeal Every form and formula of the system established by Lord Cromer was designed and directed to assuring the Egyptians that their loyalty was due to their own sovereign and his Government alone. That any sentimental attachment was due to the Union Jack or to the British Empire, that England invited or expected anything more than such a measure of rational appreciation and collaboration as is due to a competent professional adviser, were ideas which had no currency

with this country, which is wrong, and is the source of mistaken and unjust judgments.

Let us first consider the situation in Egypt on the eve of the outbreak of the war.

On the abstract question how far it is possible for a national character to be substantially modified, by favouring circumstance, in a comparatively brief period of time it is not necessary to be dogmatic. But it is impossible for anyone who has known Egypt and the Egyptians since before the days of the British occupation, however free he seek to keep himself from facile optimism, to conceal from himself the fact that by the year 1914 the apparent character and capacities of the Egyptian people had undergone a definite evolution, and that the changes which had made themselves apparent were, if not wholly, yet largely for the better, and constituted real progress, moral as well as material. Many factors had been at work Wealth had produced a middle class, and the elements of a native-born aristocracy The old Turkish ruling class had become Egyptianised —a fact of capital political importance, it had learned to talk Arabic, was intermarrying with new Egyptian broad acres and was learning—indeed, had already learned—not only to share but to lead Egyptian patriotism Prosperity and order had taught the fellah that he had rights, wealth, education, foreign travel, intermarriage with Europeans—often with women of position and education—the experience of office, a diffused atmosphere of liberty and public life, had taught the upper classes to hold their heads high, and to look their neighbours and their rulers in the face Profound changes were in progress in the world of the harems, and in the relations between men and women—women of the well-to-do classes were not uncommonly to be found who were widely read, and who were accustomed, when travelling abroad, to live like Europeans

The influence of Europe in Egypt had been flowing through numerous and ever-widening channels, of which only a part had their origin in England The importation in 1875 of the French codes and administrative system had had a profound influence on the life of the country. A majority of the ruling class had been educated in French law, often in French universities; and the French language, not infrequently used by Egyptians in their own homes, was the usual vehicle of communication with Europeans, from British High Commissioners and Advisers downwards. It is hardly an exaggeration to say that after a generation of British government it was in the law, manners, and institutions of France that Egyptians of the educated class saw their undisputed model. While the influence of England had been that of men—an influence it would be

These conditions were, both in substance and in the contemplation of Lord Milner and his colleagues, of capital importance. The alliance would have given a contractual basis to the claim, to which we attach so great importance, to prevent Egypt from falling into the clutches of a foreign Power; while the unified control of capitulary privileges would have constituted, in the hands of the British Government, a novel and most powerful security for the preservation of British influence. In point of fact it is the gravamen of the criticism implicit in the type of view of the Egyptian question which we are now considering that Lord Milner's reservations were, in the sequel, not adhered to, and that the jam was conceded without the powder.

A bare eighteen months of troubled and hesitating politics intervened between the day in August 1920 when, by the unauthorised publication of his letter to Zaghlul Pasha, Lord Milner's proposals became known to the public, and the last day of February 1922, when Mr Lloyd George's Government, on the advice of Lord Allenby, unhappily and unwisely (so it is contended) surrendered to Egyptian agitation, and, by abolishing the Protectorate without insisting on Lord Milner's conditions, not only imperilled British interests, but put in jeopardy the fruits of Lord Cromer's labours.

Such, in outline—and I hope not unfairly stated—is what may be called the 'right-wing' view of British relations with Egypt from 1882 to 1922, a view widely held and frequently propounded, both publicly and privately. Let us now examine how far it is justified by the facts.

With the earlier part of the story no fair-minded and sufficiently informed person will quarrel. There can be no dispute that in 1882 Egypt had fallen into a state such that it is difficult to conceive how she could have been rescued from it without the help of an external and civilised authority; and without undue national presumption we may fairly claim that she could not have come under the care of wiser physicians than Lord Cromer and his coadjutors and successors. That by forty years of good government Napoleon's prophecy with regard to Egypt's potentialities had been realised is a matter of universal knowledge, on which Englishmen do not need to insist. Where there is room for difference of opinion is as to the nature and degree of the transformation which had taken place, and as to its effect upon the political relations between the two countries. It is here that the 'right-wing' view lays itself open to demurrer. Owing to imperfect familiarity with facts of decisive significance, the partisans of that view are not infrequently led to form a picture of the recent political history of Egypt, and of her relations

a development was remote and improbable. Happily so, perhaps—since not only was the prosperity of Egypt under our skilled and sympathetic rule a legitimate source of national pride, but we had come to take a view of our interests in that country of a much more possessive character than that entertained by our statesmen before the chapter of accidents had led to the occupation of the country.

Then, unhappily, during the war, there was mismanagement. It was no doubt very pardonable that we should in everything have put the need for victory first, leaving the cost to be reckoned afterwards; that we should have allowed many of our best civilians to join the army, and should have failed to ensure that the insistent demands of the army in the East should not bear too heavily upon the Egyptian peasant, and should not offer too great opportunities for corruption and oppression by minor native agents. But, however pardonably, faults were committed, and they bore fruit, four months after the Armistice, in very serious disorders throughout Egypt. The presence in the country of a large British army enabled order to be restored promptly, and with little bloodshed. The criticism is sometimes heard, even to-day, that, under the inspiration of a vain policy of conciliation, the measures of retribution which followed the restoration of the authority of government were unduly attenuated and too speedily remitted. Lord Allenby is sometimes put in the same pillory with 'Clemency' Canning. However that may be, the rising had been sufficiently unexpected and startling to convince the home Government of the peremptory need for an authoritative investigation of 'the Egyptian problem', and the task was entrusted to a strong Commission, presided over by a Conservative statesman of the highest rank, of unrivalled experience, and with an unimpeachable reputation as an Imperialist. After a prolonged visit to Egypt, and repeated interviews in London with the principal Nationalist leader, Lord Milner, in a letter to Zaghlul Pasha which speedily became public property, recorded the unexpected conclusions to which he had been led. The Protectorate was to be abolished. Egypt's claim to independence was to be recognised, her foreign civil servants were to be paid off, and she was to have control of her own foreign affairs. On the other hand, Egypt was to enter into an offensive and defensive alliance with Great Britain, and it was to be a condition precedent of the whole arrangement coming into force that Great Britain should have obtained from the United States, and from the European Powers, great and small, which enjoy extra-territorial privileges in Egypt, the assignment to herself, as trustee for all, of their judicial immunities and legislative veto.

taken by England; and for a period of forty years, under the guidance of a succession of remarkable administrators, Egypt enjoyed the advantages of firm, far-sighted, and enlightened government. Under this beneficent *régime* the country was transformed beyond recognition: from a poverty-stricken and bankrupt State she became, both economically and financially, one of the most prosperous countries in the world; corruption was suppressed, a pure administration of justice was established, epidemics became a memory, water was abundant and equitably distributed, education was extended in ever-widening circles, the Soudan was reconquered, the control of the Nile was secured to Egypt's trustee, and an end was put, at considerable diplomatic expense, to the sinister intrigues of foreign pretenders to influence in the Nile Valley. It is true that England's government was cloaked under the forms of advice; but this pretence deceived no one, and did not prevent the British representative and his staff from exercising an effective control over the administration commensurate with their responsibilities. With the outbreak of the Great War the pretence, which had with every year worn thinner, was finally abandoned, and the proclamation of a British Protectorate put an end to shams, and gave Egypt in name the status she had long enjoyed in fact of a province of the British Empire.

Up to this point, or rather up till the end of the war, all had gone well. It is true that there had been some signs, from time to time, of Nationalist unrest; but this had been due to agitators, to an irresponsible vernacular Press, to the lust for office of an unduly numerous clerkly class, perhaps to foreign covert influences. The great mass of the Egyptian people had remained uncontaminated. The old folks remembered the bad times of their youth, the days of the corbash and of corruption; old and young alike, preoccupied with their growing prosperity, rejoiced in their security, in the ever-diminishing burden of taxation, and in the ever-rising standard of material well-being. An essentially unpolitical people, whom ages of foreign domination had taught to regard government, whether good, bad, or indifferent, as indistinguishable from fate, the Egyptians as a nation continued, as in the past, to find in the practice of their religion a sufficient expression for any needs of the mind going beyond the satisfaction of material wants. A generation of British rule, and of ever-increasing penetration by Europe, had had no great effect in modifying or widening the Egyptian outlook. Egyptians remained, what we had found them, admirable subjects for the practice of enlightened administration, unperverted by the spirit of the age. Some day in the future, perhaps, they might be so greatly transformed as to be fitted for self-government, but such

ENGLAND AND EGYPT

THE fact that within less than twelve months no less than three volumes have been published in London [1] dealing, from various angles, with the history of British relations with Egypt seems to indicate that the public is still unwearied in its search for light upon this intricate topic. For intricate it is, and full of pitfalls for the unwary. To understand the present it is essential to know a good deal about the past; and on this head even those who aspire to authorship are not always perfectly equipped.

It is not, however, my purpose to offer a comprehensive criticism of all or of any one of the writers referred to: it is to endeavour to put in its true light a transaction of capital importance, the justification and explanation of which are, it is apprehended, insufficiently expounded, even in the best informed and most authoritative of the books before us—Colonel Elgood's *Transit of Egypt*. The transaction in question is the unilateral declaration of February 1922, by which Mr Lloyd George's Administration abrogated the British Protectorate over Egypt, and, subject to certain reservations, recognised that country to be independent. It was a striking, not to say a sensational, act; and the question whether it was inspired by wisdom or by weakness still divides opinion. It is the thesis of this article that it was inspired by wisdom.

What may be called the 'right-wing' picture of the history of Egypt in the forty years preceding 1922 is something to the following effect.

In 1882 Egypt was in a state of bankruptcy and chaos. The dynasty founded by Mehemet Ali Pasha, which had rendered indisputable services to the country, had apparently exhausted its aptitude for government, while 2000 years of subjection to foreign rulers had reduced Egyptians to the lowest degree of moral and mental inertia. Redemption could only be looked for in the intervention of a civilised foreign Power, experienced in the task of political and financial salvage. The work was under-

[1] *Great Britain in Egypt*, Major E. W. Polson-Newman; *The Egyptian Enigma*, J. E. Marshall; *The Transit of Egypt*, Lieut.-Colonel P. G. Elgood.

For 100 years and more previous to the Great War our policy in India has been based on the supposition that sooner or later a Russian army bent on conquest would cross the Indus. There was a time, no doubt, when the weakness of our defences encouraged such an attempt. Time, however, has completely changed all this. Added to natural barriers, in the shape of vast mountain ranges, numerous rivers, difficult passes and few, every possible approach has been strengthened and fortified to such an extent that to-day India is about as nearly impregnable as it is possible to conceive. With every external condition favourable to an enemy force—and it would have to be considerably larger than anything Russia has hitherto conceived—success might possibly result. But the day is far distant when any such invasion will be attempted, and the Soviet is aware of the fact, if indeed the idea has not vanished altogether

Accordingly another plan of campaign is afoot—an attack far more insidious, far more dangerous, inasmuch as it finds us to a great extent without any adequate weapon of defence. Bolshevism in its most illusive, cunning and desperate form is now the enemy that threatens India, against which natural barriers and military defences are as a pack of cards—an enemy that works underground and whose weapons are discontent, sedition, and revolution The ordinary strategic warfare has thus been discarded for an entirely new method of attack To-day the armies of Russia march unseen ; there are no trenches, no sound of guns, or hospital bases. Propaganda of the most violent and destructive nature is the only artillery employed

Not for the first time has the invasion of India been attempted ; never before, however, has the enemy been more persistent, subtle or unscrupulous That we can counter-attack and win the day is certain ; it is only a question of selecting the right weapons and using them

T. Comyn-Platt.

policy to-day is to befriend the Afghan, then to fan the embers of discontent to a revolution, always with the one hope that it will spread across the Indian frontier to the destruction of our Empire.

In thus stating the Soviet policy and the Bolshevist menace I am not suggesting that the Indian Government is not fully alive to the situation, or that every effort is not being made to meet the danger. What Simla does not know is not worth discussing. But 'the key of India' is not there. The real danger is that so few people here at home realise how far, or how insidiously is spread the Bolshevist net in the direction of India. That a policy of intensive commercial penetration is the one and only antidote I firmly believe; that it is an expensive remedy I admit. But great possessions carry with them great responsibilities, and no financial effort is too great if only the cursed tide of Bolshevism can be stemmed. Already it has reached the northern frontier of Afghanistan, and everything is being done by the Soviet to extend its course. Ignorant and shut off from the rest of the world, the Afghan, none too contented with the system of government under which he lives, can hardly be blamed if he listens to those who promise him an earthly paradise, where taxes are unknown, together with the same freedom and independence as that enjoyed by his forebears. Add to this the tangible evidence of the Soviet's seeming interest and good-will, is it surprising that he compares the advantages of Russian and British friendship?

The problem, therefore, now is how to open his eyes to the fact that Soviet policy is the absorption of Afghanistan, as a stepping-stone to the eventual conquest of India. As already stated, I do not believe that counter propaganda—a Jehad of words, so to speak—can be anything more than a palliative to the Bolshevist menace. Deeds, not words, will be effective. To this end commercial development and penetration can alone save the situation. It may be said that in present circumstances the expense of such a policy is too great for India to bear. It is well to remember, however, that, heavy as will be the initial outlay, the development of Afghanistan is an investment that will ultimately yield a big return, political as also financial.

Again, it may be argued that any such policy will raise Afghan suspicions as to our friendly intentions. The resulting commercial advantages, however, to the Afghans themselves will, I maintain, more than counterbalance any such idea. And in any case the Soviet, in carrying out the very same policy, is certainly gaining ground. The fact is, national antipathies and suspicions are apt to fade very quickly in the light of commercial advantages and profits.

its banks at certain places, with the result that, as in Egypt, the land, where watered, produces the most abundant harvest. Here again, of course, the Ameer may raise objections. But argument and reason might well win the day, for any such irrigation scheme would enrich Afghanistan a thousandfold. Far more likely is it that the expense of any such venture would scare the Indian Government. Should this be the case, surely encouragement and some measure of financial guarantee might be given to private enterprise? As things are at present, except for a few scattered villages, the Helmund basin is a desert waste. Only in Seistan itself is any attempt made at irrigation; the methods are primitive, but the results indicate that wherever the Helmund flows there is a hidden granary.

Meanwhile, as there is no immediate hope of an extension of the Nushki line, an improved road for motor traffic between Dus Dab and Seistan would be of the greatest benefit to Afghan and Indian alike. At present there is a fairly good route from railhead to Nasirabad—the heart of the Seistan area, but north-east of this, to Farah and Herat, no motor could travel. There are many side-tracks, it is true; all, however, are equally useless, except for animal transport.

That these trade alleyways, so to speak, should be at once converted into broad roads is not suggested. But at least a beginning might be made with the existing main route to Herat, as evidence of our practical good-will, always bearing in mind, and this quite apart from the trade point of view, that such action countermines Bolshevist activities, here as in other directions.

As things are to-day trade between India and the interior of Afghanistan is entirely carried on by means of pack animals. The journeys are lengthy, difficult, and not always safe. But the Soviet Government, from its Central Asian base, realises that, given better roads, the motor will replace the camel, much to the advantage of commerce. Accordingly improved communications with Afghanistan are the order of the day.

Here is an extraordinarily astute move on the part of Moscow, for not only will Russia score commercially, but from the political point of view she hopes by her efforts to demonstrate the advantages of Soviet as compared with British friendship and good-will towards the Ameer's subjects.

But underlying all this is the fanatical and all-absorbing hatred of England. If only Bolshevism 'catches on' in Afghanistan, if only the Ameer could be sent the way of the late Czar, Soviet influence would reign supreme, and at long last Russia would be at the gate of India. It is no longer a question of conquest by arms, even if that was ever a possibility. Russia's

propaganda than intensive commercial penetration—in other words, increased trading facilities for Afghan and Indian alike? And if this is a possible corrective—and I know of no other—improved communications are essential. That the Indian Government is and always has been alive to such a policy is fully shown by the extension of the Nushki line to Seistan, as also the railway up the Khyber, not to mention other rail advances towards the Afghan frontier. It is true that these lines are strategic, but the commercial advantages were never lost sight of.

But be that as it may, no railway has, so far, penetrated the Ameer's kingdom, and is not likely to for some time to come. In the circumstances, therefore, the obvious course to adopt is to improve and extend the existing trade routes, from the Indian frontier, at such places as the railways stop short. And if this policy was carried out, if good roads were made and properly kept up, Kandahar and Kabul would both be within motoring distance of our frontier railheads, thus opening up an enormous additional trade area. Motor transport, not rail transport, therefore, is the first and the immediate need in the struggle with Bolshevism.

It may seem odd, but the Afghan has not the same rooted objection to roads as he has to rails, or to motors as he has to engines. By improved and more rapid communications, therefore, he would benefit enormously, and he is beginning to see it. We may fail to convince him of the advantages of motor transport, but it is quite certain that the Bolshevik will succeed.

Again, by way of showing our good-will and increasing trade with Afghanistan a revision of the Indian customs and export duties should be considered. That any lowering of the present rates would hit the Indian Treasury goes without saying. The Soviet, however, is forging ahead; it scatters subsidies broadcast, and has done so for years past. Indeed, at the rate things are moving, Russia bids fair to monopolise the trade of Afghanistan altogether.

But there is yet a further step that might be taken by way of convincing the Afghan of our good-will and friendship, and that in the region of Seistan, on the Persian frontier. Here without a doubt is an enormous and practically virgin field for commercial activity. And, what is more, it is comparatively easy to 'tap,' for the Nushki line, extended during the late war, runs to within 30 miles of what might well be made one of the richest agricultural districts in the world. Watered by the Helmund, that winds its way from Kabul to Nasirabad, the vast plains, if properly cultivated, would produce food sufficient, not only for the whole of Afghanistan, but for Persia into the bargain. It is merely a question of irrigation, for, like the Nile, the Helmund overflows

With regard to Afghan objections, however much the Soviet menace may be realised and disliked, it will, on the other hand, be necessary to convince the Ameer's subjects that improved communications from the Indian frontier will in no wise constitute a British menace The task will not be easy In this respect one is reminded that when some years ago the Indian Government approached the Ameer as regards railway construction in Afghanistan, the question was discussed at a special Durbar representative of all classes, and the suggestion, though welcomed on commercial grounds, was finally dismissed on the score that military conquest was our ultimate goal The Indian Government, therefore, to prove its good faith, dropped the subject

Apart, however, from railway construction, which, anyhow for the present, seems out of the question, if a policy of improved road communications was decided upon it is quite certain that the Soviet would redouble its efforts on the same lines and spend recklessly What matters the cost if only Afghanistan can be brought to the Soviet heel!

That the Indian Government is alive to this Bolshevist menace goes without saying In view, however, of still more intensive propaganda, is it prepared to redouble the offensive?—as also to shoulder the large additional expense which this will entail? If so, there is little doubt that Soviet intrigue and Bolshevist propaganda can be defeated if for no other reason than that mistrust of Russia, to use no stronger a term, is hereditary with the Afghan In this respect, therefore, we have a decided 'pull,' for, although the Afghan has always been suspicious of our intentions, commercial and political, his mistrust of Russia is far more deeply rooted. At the back of his mind he has, despite all Bolshevist statements to the contrary, a vague idea that of the two—Russia and ourselves—British professions of good-will are possibly the more disinterested The question is—and a solution is now more than ever vital—how to convince him that we have no intention of extending our frontier and that his prosperity and contentment is our one and only aim?

Now with all Easterns—and the Afghan is very true to type—nothing is more convincing than deeds, mere expressions of friendship, good-will, disinterestedness, however true and plausible, are as nothing compared with concrete evidence. It is the taste of the fruit, not the sight, that alone convinces the Afghan of its existence. The Soviet has no doubt whatsoever of this, and plays its cards accordingly Why should we not act similarly? The fact that England has no ulterior motive would strengthen our hand enormously.

In these circumstances, what better antidote to Bolshevist

precisely the same policy is being carried out as regards the Bokhara-Termez route, with this added advantage, that a railway has lately been completed linking up these two places This means, in effect, that in future Northern Afghanistan, with Kabul as a centre, will be able to trade more advantageously with Central Europe than with India. For the moment that is the Soviet dream ; there are others to follow.

But granted that it fails to materialise, the commercial effort is well worth the political advantage ; here is the political sword, for wherever the Soviet trades the Bolshevist agent spreads his propaganda—always anti-British

For instance, at Herat and in the surrounding district the Bolshevist agitator is hard at work and has been for several years, undermining the authority of the Ameer Enlarging on the advantages of self-government, he points to the happy condition of those enjoying it in Turkestan, and urges the Heratis to throw off their present allegiance and claim the independence that was once their own If only this could be brought about Moscow would, of course, rule the roost and be at the gates of India The same policy is applied at Termez, the back entrance, so to speak, of the province of Kabul And always the Bolshevist agent promises the support of armed Russia if a native rising is decided upon

Now the loss of our Indian trade with Afghanistan would be serious indeed , but the loss of our influence and prestige with the Ameer's subjects would, in the long run, be far more disastrous. If Afghanistan should go the way of Central Asia an enormous impetus would be given to Indian unrest, where Bolshevist seed, by the very fact of its growth across the frontier, would fall on good ground

The great question, therefore, is how to counteract successfully this Soviet menace The task is indeed difficult but by no means impossible In the first place, any hope that Bolshevist agitation in Afghanistan can be successfully opposed by counter-propaganda is useless and out of the question The only really sound and effective antidote is to convince the native that his trade interests are in our hands, and, further, give him proof of the fact

Now, to this end the first and most vital necessity is improved Indo-Afghan communications, by which I mean the improvement of existing roads, the construction of new ones, motor routes and motor traffic, and, if only it were possible, the extension of the existing railway lines towards Kandahar and Kabul, which at present stop short at the Indian frontier Two obstacles, however, present themselves to any such policy : the first, opposition from the Afghans—on political grounds ; the second, opposition from India—on financial grounds.

in short, Russia posed as the deliverer of all Oriental peoples, and in particular those of Turkestan.

Here was a policy that must surely appeal to every element of disorder in Central Asia. And, if successful, British interests and prestige would disappear, and the way be cleared of the greatest obstacle to Russia's advancement and ambitions. But in this connexion the Soviet reckoned without its host, for instead of moulding and uniting the many Asiatic elements to her political model the Moscow leaders very soon realised that they were creating a Frankenstein. Accordingly there was a complete volteface! Disintegration, not federation, was the order of the day—the old Turkish policy, in fact, of *Divide et impera*. In other words, the puppet rulers of the various Central Asian khanites were left to themselves, the Soviet merely stoking up the fire of their discontent. In due course there was a blaze.

Much to Russia's satisfaction, Uzbeks, Tartars, Tajiks, Sarts, Turcomans, in short, every tribe and nationality from the Caspian to the borders of China, were soon at one another's throats like mad dogs, with the Soviet always at hand—the benevolent and disinterested peace-maker! So far everything has worked out 'according to plan'—that is to say, from the purely Soviet point of view. Thus Turkestan is to-day split up into several small republics, all at daggers drawn, and with differences that Moscow studiously keeps alive, awaiting the day when she can swoop down and reconquer the whole country.

How long this policy of head-knocking will last remains to be seen. Meanwhile, Russia's position in Central Asia is sufficiently secure to admit of similar action, always anti-British, being carried out in Afghanistan. Accordingly the fire of discontent is trailed further afield, though for obvious reasons Moscow keeps in the background: the Third International does all the dirty work. Peaceful trade is the ostensible weapon of the former; a political sword—Bolshevism—that of the latter.

Now, with regard to the first there are two main routes from Central Asia into Afghanistan, one down the Murghab Valley to Herat, the other from Bokhara to Termez—and on to Kabul. Along both the Soviet is extending its commercial activities with feverish energy. The reason for this is glaringly plain. If only something tangible is forthcoming as the result of an anti-British policy, Soviet influence will take root the quicker. To this end facilities of travel, bounties, reduced customs, improved roads, telegraphs, telephones—in short, everything to help the native and promote Russian commerce—is being undertaken by way of popularising the trade route between Merv and Herat, the inhabitants of which towns and the surrounding districts have relied on India hitherto for the bulk of their supplies. And

In any case, civil war appears inevitable in the Spring, an event that will encourage every independent tribe throughout the country to revive an old feud or pay off an old score. Out of this chaos the ruler of Afghanistan, whoever he is, will have to evolve order, or his throne will not be worth a day's purchase

The fire of unrest, discontent, insurrection, has now been lighted, and Soviet agents, who are everywhere, will fan the flame For several years these social pests have been busy, as the Indian Government very well knows, and by a process silent but persistent have wormed their way from Moscow through Central Asia into Afghanistan, always with India as the main objective This is worth recalling in present circumstances, for it emphasises the fact that Russia, under Czar or Soviet, still pursues the same policy, nurtures the same ideal, and will employ all and every means to destroy British rule and prestige wherever met with in the East

There is nothing new in this policy, it is centuries old, bred in the first place by Russia's very natural desire for an ice-free littoral Shut up in the Baltic, headed off in the Mediterranean, forestalled in the Persian Gulf, towards the Indian Ocean the line of approach was at least possible, and the way led—indeed the only way—through Central Asia and Afghanistan Incidentally, of course, this meant the conquest of India Small wonder if we have always found ourselves at loggerheads with Russia in Eastern lands

Still, in 1907 an agreement that hoodwinked neither Government was arrived at, and both set to work to lull the other into a false confidence And so things continued until after the Great War, when the Soviet rulers, who had replaced the Czar's Government, tore up every treaty in connexion with Central Asia, and openly declared that, as British interests there were inimical to their own, no stone should be left unturned to uproot our influence and damage our prestige

And that is the position to-day, the Moscow Government is certainly acting up to its pretension with a vengeance But the methods now employed are very different from the old Czarist ways and means At the outset, the Soviet authorities realised that the first step towards undermining our position was to ingratiate themselves with the various tribes and petty rulers throughout Turkestan

To this end every local grievance was exploited and laid at our door, every concession made to native prejudices, whilst at the same time a flood of anti-British propaganda was let loose which swept everything before it. Bolshevism, with Moscow at its back, was proclaimed the one and only panacea for the curse of British influence, and the discontent and misery that had resulted

AFGHANISTAN AND THE SOVIET

WHATEVER the end of the trouble in Afghanistan, whether the old or some new Ameer wins the day, there is not the least doubt that the fires of discontent will burn the brighter for some time to come. He would be an astute watchman who could say 'What of the night'—or 'What of the day, for that matter—in Amanullah's kingdom. But at any rate he would bear in mind, in answering, that it is only within the last 100 years that Afghanistan has been a kingdom at all! Previously the country consisted of four well-defined and quite distinct provinces—Kabul, Herat, Kandahar, and Afghan Turkestan—all with their separate rulers, all coveting supremacy of the entire country. Kabul eventually won the day, though always disunion has resulted whenever a weak and vacillating Ameer has held the reins of government.

History is never really repeated, for the reason that circumstances are never the same. Any analogy drawn, therefore, from previous revolutionary happenings in Afghanistan is likely to be wide of the mark. One thing, however, is certain: whoever grasps the sword firmest will command the greatest following, for there is no country in the world where a strong man is more respected.

Even before the present upheaval the ruler of Afghanistan—and many before him—found it advisable, as regards many of the hill tribes, not to demand too drastic an obedience to royal decrees. It was better policy to wink the other eye, and wise Ameers always did so. But always Kabul could be relied upon. An Ameer, by force or fraud, was at least master in his own house—thanks to the good-will of the garrison—and could therefore enforce obedience to his will. And so things might have continued for some time to come but for Amanullah's precipitancy. It is the old story again of young men in a hurry, and if there is one thing the Afghan dislikes it is haste and change. It will be interesting to see how things fare at Kandahar. Further removed than Kabul from Western influence, and less accessible, if Amanullah reverts to type in dealing with the inhabitants there and in the southern districts he may quite possibly regain his throne.

Risks! Of course there are risks. Every company, every business man, every man, woman and child, takes risks every day. The world would be stagnant if risks were not taken: business risks are considered and weighed in the balance against the advantages and taken or left as the case may be, and I assert unhesitatingly that the risk in this matter is infinitesimal in comparison with the advantages that will accrue to us and the whole world

WILLIAM BULL

and electricity succeeded gas; machinery killed the hand loom and nothing I can say will alter facts.

To go back to the subject of unemployment. The late Lo[rd] Cowdray once told me that I could take it from him that [a] 30,000,000*l*. contract meant 6,000,000 weeks' wages at 5*l*. a wee[k.] I am certain that is what he said. You will say, 'How can tha[t] be?' I frankly confess I do not know: it seems to leave n[o] margin for expenses, cost of machinery, or profit; but I thin[k] he meant that, directly and indirectly, that amount would b[e] spent on wages, and I believe it to be true when you consider th[e] amount of material that will be required and the infinite numbe[r] of trades that will be employed

At the close of this already too long article, may I indulge i[n] a favourite day-dream? After the Napoleonic wars this countr[y] was in as bad or worse condition than it is to-day. We had [a] debt of 800,000,000*l*., equivalent to 8,000,000,000*l*. to-day. W[e] had unemployment, strikes, bad trade, bad harvests, starvatio[n] and riots. We were saved, in my opinion, by what my old frien[d] the late Charles Reade called 'as promising a wedding as civilisation ever saw' Some genius invented an iron tramway by whic[h] a horse could draw 42 instead of 17 cwts This was married t[o] the steam engine, and quick methods of communication saved England, and I believe tunnels may save Europe to-day. Whe[n] the Stockton and Darlington line was opened, whoever believed that England would become a network of railways? Men and capital which is lying idle in the banks both cry out for employment.

If the tunnel proves a success, as I am sure it will, it will at once become necessary to build tunnels at Gravesend, under the Humber and the Firth of Forth. On the other side we shall want a tunnel to Ulster and another under the Severn lower down. We might also build with advantage two tunnels, one to the Isle of Man and another to the Isle of Wight What better employment for miners? Enlarging this idea, we shall want a tunnel from Gibraltar so that people can run from London to the Cape in ten days. Ah! says the critic What about the Spanish gauge? I believe the Spanish would alter their main line through Spain without hesitation if they could see a rich vein of traffic running through their beautiful country. Then, again, what about a tunnel through the Bosphorus and under the Suez Canal? Why not get in at Aberdeen and travel without changing to Vladivostock?

From the forties to the sixties of the last century the British built most of the railway lines on the Continent Why cannot we lead the way now as we did then? I firmly believe this tunnel will be a turning point in our financial history, and indeed the history of the world.

It is impossible to say to what the passenger figures may run; but it must be remembered that there are 40,000,000 people on this side and 250,000,000 people in Europe, a large majority of whom have never thought of crossing the Channel. The horse omnibuses carried a certain number of people, but no one would have believed when they were swept off the road what the trains, motor omnibuses, and tubes in London alone would carry. At a conservative estimate of 4,000,000 passengers a year the gross receipts would be 3,200,000*l.* from passenger traffic alone, which with a moderate estimate for luggage, perishable goods, and parcel post would be brought up to 4,000,000*l.* Allowing 1,000,000*l.* as the annual cost of works, the line profit would be 3,000,000*l.*, which with a capital outlay of 30,000,000*l.* would be 10 per cent. I hear the critic exclaim at this point, Whoever heard of a railway company that made 75 per cent. profit on its gross receipts? Stay, my friend; this is not a railway in the ordinary sense of the term; it has no stations, and has a very small staff and no rolling stock. It is merely a pipe through which the rolling stock of the Southern Railway and the Nord of France, together with trains from other countries, will run.

(5) *That all the market gardeners and small farmers in Kent and Sussex will be ruined by cheap vegetables and fruit coming over from France.* I have yet to learn that railway rates can compete with shipping; and, as the French Ambassador pointed out on a recent occasion, French people are fond of British products. There is quite a sale for British cameras and English roses in Paris, and there is no reason why the delightful vegetables and fruit of England should not find a fresh market on the Continent.

(6) *That it would put out of action our packet service (which, by the way, is largely French) and out of employment* 1000 *of the finest seamen in the world—seamen who rendered enormous and valuable service in the Great War.*

I freely admit the last statement in this objection, and I was a constant witness of that service during the many times I crossed during those four years; but, in the first place, I deny it will be necessary or desirable to abolish the packet service. Plenty of people will prefer the sea trip, and much merchandise which cannot be conveyed through the tunnel will be carried. In the second place, it will take two years to bore the pilot tunnel and four and a half years to finish the job; in that time some of the men can be pensioned, others absorbed, and others found different employment if necessary.

(7) *That it will destroy our coastal trade.* I deny this for reasons shown above; but even if it were so, and the tunnel were found desirable, can the wheels of progress be kept back, however much we desire it? Tallow succeeded oil; gas succeeded candles,

tunnel of [illegible] feet in diameter beneath them. Each tunnel will have trains going only one way. It is considered that this will cause ample natural draught, but if it is not sufficient, ventilation similar to that in use in mines and on the tubes can be installed.

(2) *That there may be faults in the blue gault through which the tunnel will run.* It seems as if Nature had preconceived the idea of a tunnel, for a definite stratum of this blue gault runs across the Straits of Dover at the narrowest point which can contain any number of tunnels. This occurs here, and nowhere else. A continuous stratum of this kind was not formed by a convulsion of Nature, and therefore it is highly improbable that it contains a single fault. In 1884 the French spent 2,000,000 francs in making 8000 soundings, all across, to try and find a fault, and failed to do so; but supposing there was? In advance of the pilot tunnel a little bore 1 inch in diameter will be made 60 feet in advance of the shield. If it came upon water, due notice will be given of the fact, and it could either be dealt with by pumping or frozen, in the way that similar difficulties have been overcome before in subaqueous tunnelling. A subterranean river was discovered when boring the Severn Tunnel and it was successfully dealt with.

(3) *That submarines could sit on the bed of the Channel and fire depth-charges which would destroy the tunnel.* Explosives go upward, and I have yet to learn of any explosive that can penetrate downward through 100 feet of clay and chalk even if a submarine commander could locate the exact spot, which would be extremely difficult.

(4) *That the tunnel will not pay and cannot be made to pay.* Let me here state that if the Government decides to make the tunnel out of the national funds no one could say them nay, and if they so decide, my friend Baron d'Erlanger, the chairman of the English Channel Tunnel Company, has publicly said on more than one occasion that he will place the services of his company—their records, researches, plans, and statistics—entirely at the disposal of the Government.

If it decides that it is too great a risk for the taxpayers' money, then I am confident that the money can be found privately. France and Italy have already intimated that they would like to find all the money. I do not think we could allow this: as the island partner, it is only reasonable that we should have the financial control at least of our end, and that means 51 per cent. must be in British hands. Spain, Belgium, and Holland have also intimated they would like to take a hand in the finance.

The cost of the tunnel, according to the last figures and prices, has been put at 29,000,000*l.*—say, 30,000,000*l.* in round figures.

pass the ticket collectors and customs-house officials without bein discovered and the alarm given? And, mind you, in a matter c seconds the tunnel could be closed without active damage t trains inside it, although the passengers might, it is true, hav to get out and walk back under uncomfortable conditions

In these days, when more and more timid people go flying, is absurd to think that passengers would refuse to use th tunnel because *in making it safe for war it did not remain safe fo them.*

The editor states that *all were agreed in 1882—and I imagi all would be agreed to-day that a permanent first-class fortre with a garrison of some thousands of men is necessary at the Briti end of the tunnel* Why? Switzerland is a little country th has been coveted by powerful neighbours in the past She is a island in the middle of Europe, not surrounded, it is true, by channel, but by a chain of impregnable mountains which it woul be more difficult to get over than it was in Napoleon's time an yet the Swiss to their very great advantage, have allow tunnels to be bored all round into neighbouring countries witho first-class fortresses or garrisons of thousands of men, indeed believe the precautions are of the simplest

Aircraft diminishes the advantages and prospects of a tunn Why? When electric light was first made a commercial succe gas shares went down but there was no cause for this alarm to-day gas and electricity flourish side by side There is amp room for both tunnel and aircraft and each will perform usef but different functions

The editor states the self-evident fact that *cars give off petr fumes and carbon monoxide, and a 20-mile* (really 30) *dri in an unwholesome atmosphere is not attractive* I agree for onc A stream of cars under their own petrol would kill all the pa sengers and their drivers very quickly But let me reassure hi that there is no intention at present of making a road tunnel f motors under the Channel Special trucks are being design to carry motors 'dead'

Finally, he concludes by saying *it is necessary to exami carefully all the criticisms which have been made against it a discover why the conclusions previously come to do not now app* I quite agree, and, whilst I have dealt with all those he mentio I will, for the benefit of numerous debating societies who ha appealed to me to know the pros and cons, set out all the othe I have been able to gather together during the few last strenuo weeks

(1) *That the tunnel cannot be ventilated.* The tunnel w consist of two tunnels 24 feet in diameter with cross tunnels every 200 yards, and frequent connexions with the draina

Sir James Knowles spoke of floating railway stations, and there are schemes for bridges and ferries. Why have none of them been built during the last forty-seven years? The idea of a bridge is appalling to anyone who has cruised in the Channel on a stormy night in winter.

The editor states that the engineers in 1882 *made a guarded report on the certainty of destroying it at all times.* May I point out that there is no question of destroying the tunnel? The engineers now declare that the tunnel can be put out of action in several ways. Dips or water locks will be constructed at each end of the tunnel, which will fill it to the brim for a mile in twenty minutes, each dip being controlled by the adjacent country. The tunnel can also be effectually filled with poison gas.

I recently learned, to my surprise, that the military authorities prefer, curiously enough, simple mechanical means, such as a great steel door or portcullis that can be lowered in a few seconds or masses of shingle being let down on the line from ballast shoots constructed above the tunnel. The electricity can also be cut off. All these methods, and some others which are naturally secret, can be applied simultaneously, and it is absurd to think that all would fail.

The next question is *Who is going to press the button, and when is he going to press it?* Allow me to assure your readers that no such moment will ever arise. It must occur to the thoughtful that there are half a dozen obvious ways of stopping the traffic in the tunnel without doing 'an act which would amount to a declaration of war' or offending the susceptibilities of a proud neighbour. Our own passengers returning home would not be sacrificed in order to close the English end of the tunnel in such a dramatic manner.

Whilst I am on this part of the subject, may I inquire how the invading force will be accumulated? If, as it is alleged, we shall require 12,000 troops always on guard at Dover or Folkestone, it presumes that a force of at least a similar size will invade us. How is it to be assembled in a time of profound peace between Paris and Calais? With a busy line crowded with English passengers, engineers and guards, how will twelve trains to hold 1000 soldiers each, plus their impedimenta and camp followers and stores, be secretly collected and hidden away ready to proceed the moment the signal was given that the English end is open or free for attack? How will they detrain on this side? Will there be enough sidings for them to be side-tracked as they arrive? As the Irishman said when someone described how he intended to thrash him, 'What should I be doing all this time?'

Could *enemy soldiers in disguise* in any useful numbers really

tunnels now existing can be called 'dark' or 'stuffy': at night I am often not conscious that I am going through a tunnel.

He casts a grave doubt that an *increase of tourist traffic* and traffic in *perishable goods will increase our wealth*. I have not the figures by me, but I believe it is estimated that every year visitors from North and South America spend 70,000,000*l.* on the Continent. Now it is well known to travellers by the liners that Americans and their wives are continually declaring openly that they would come to Liverpool and Southampton but for the fact that there is the Channel to cross: hence they decide to go to the Continent; hence the increasing tourist trade which goes direct to Cherbourg and avoids England altogether.

He doubts the *number of men that could be employed* and speaks of only *two faces of limited capacity for progress*. This is not the case. I was in charge (as chairman of the Bridges Committee of the London County Council) during the greater part of the construction of Blackwall Tunnel, and there work was carried on simultaneously on six faces, namely, the two approaches and by means of two shafts at the edges of the river.

When the pilot tunnel of 12 feet in diameter has been made cuts will be made into the two tunnels to be constituted above, and any number of faces can be opened up in the 24 miles of actual tunnelling. The grey marl will be 'slurryfied' (*i.e.*, converted into paste) and discharged by pipe lines to the coasts.

Sir James Knowles, the founder of the Review, stated in 1882 that as a consequence of the tunnel there would be *Panics about invasion* and *inevitable outcries for more and more armaments*. I deny that there has been any panic about invasion since 1882. It is clear and admitted that the tunnel will be of use against every possible enemy except France. What object or motive could the French have in invading us any more than we have any thought of invading France? What use would it be to her if she successfully invaded England? Could she hold her down if she succeeded, and could she force the British public to work to pay any indemnity she could demand? The late war has shown how difficult it is to extract indemnities from an exhausted foe. What would it be worth if she demanded as one of the terms of an indemnity that she *stipulated for continued possession of the English end of the tunnel?* Surely in these days of the League of Nations and a desire for peace among all nations these fears of 1882 are a little out of date and old-fashioned?

Are we more timid as a nation than the French, and are we not prepared to take any risk that there may be for the sake of the advantages that will accrue to the cause of peace, good-will, and understanding between the nations, as well as the material advantages that I hope to show here will accrue to both nations?

NINETEENTH
CENTURY
AND AFTER



No. DCXXV—March 1929

THE CHANNEL TUNNEL

The Nineteenth Century has been consistent in its opposition to the Channel Tunnel, and in the February number the editor has written an article compiled very largely of all the old arguments that have been used again and again during the last forty years, and he says that the matter is surely concluded unless new conditions have arisen which invalidate the old case for the defence Having been invited to reply to that article, I am very pleased to do so As a lawyer, I always say the strong points of a case can take care of themselves, but it is much more necessary to examine the weak ones before it comes into court.

Let me first show some of the prejudice (possibly unintentional) that has crept into the article. These quotations I have put in (my) italics.

The editor talks of *half an hour in a dark and stuffy tunnel.* Why dark and stuffy ? The carriages will be well lighted and the ventilation will be carefully attended to. None of the long

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER

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P T O

to have it killed for meat! With such an animal a more or less lengthy struggle is bound to ensue, whatever be the method of killing. No sane person would even attempt to shoot it with a so-called safety pistol, in a confined area, until it had been brought to a standstill.

There remains her third ground for attack—namely, that she herself saw a bullock slaughtered in a slaughter-house with the carcases and hides of its dead predecessors in view and the place streaming with blood from previous killings. In actual experience it has been found that bullocks are singularly unaffected by the sight of carcases and blood, merely exhibiting slight curiosity. But if Miss Macnaghten has any complaint it is against the public authorities who are responsible for keeping their buildings clean and orderly; and it is absurd to suggest that such a condition of things, for which the Jews are in no way to blame, and which would exist by whatever method the animals were killed, proves that our method of slaughter is inhumane or that we are lacking in humane feelings.

I should mention that it is not Miss Macnaghten's first attack. Two years after her previous attack she wrote saying that she would like to study the subject—a reversal of the usual order of things—and I therefore sent her the reports of Professors Hill and Bayliss and of Mr. Openshaw. They should have convinced any unbiassed person that our method of slaughter and its preliminaries are humane. I shall be pleased to send copies of the reports to any of your readers.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

CHARLES H. L. EMANUEL,

Solicitor to the Board.

The Board of Deputies of British Jews,
23 Finsbury Square, London, E.C. 2.

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PTO

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'SLAUGHTER-HOUSE REFORM.'

To the Editor of the NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER.

SIR,—My attention has been directed to an attack on the Jewish method of slaughter in Miss Macnaghten's article on the above subject in your issue of January. She gives, as authority for her view that our method and its preliminaries are cruel, first, the findings of an Admiralty Committee, assisted by Professors Starling and Foster. She omits to state, however, that the report she relies upon was dated about a quarter of a century ago, so that, apart from other considerations which I will relate, it is hopelessly out of date. The proceedings of the Committee in question were extraordinary. The chairman had obviously preconceived an unfavourable view on the Jewish method, and made no effort to conceal it. Witnesses, who desired to testify as to what they knew about it, were stopped by him. I will take one example only from the published evidence, which makes this clear:

CHAIRMAN (to Mr. John Colam, a skilled witness with long experience): 'Have you anything further to say on the subject of slaughtering cattle?'

MR. COLAM: 'Do you mean the Jewish method?'

CHAIRMAN: '*No, we are not going into that really. I think we are all agreed that it is a cruel method.*'

Instead of calling scientific witnesses whose evidence could be subjected to cross-examination, and if necessary controverted by other evidence, the Committee asked two scientists to prepare for them a joint report on Jewish slaughtering, the contents of which were undisclosed to the persons affected or to the general public until the report was printed with the evidence given before the Committee. It was then found to be unfavourable. Its accuracy was at once challenged by two equally skilled investigators, Professor Leonard Hill, F.R.S., and Mr. Openshaw, the well-known surgeon, who made independent study of the method, watching a large number of killings and issuing separate reports. Both of their reports, affirming that the method and its preliminaries were humane, were published and widely circulated. The challenge so offered was not taken up. Quite recently, in view of the constant attacks by individuals connected with the various humane societies, which were working for one uniform method of slaughter, Professor Sir William Bayliss, F.R.S., was asked to make fresh investigations. He did so, and made a report which, in every respect, confirmed the findings of Professor Hill and Mr. Openshaw, and constituted a third challenge to the 'advisers' of the Admiralty Committee. This challenge also remained unanswered. I have answered literally scores of attacks on our method, every one relying mainly, like the present one, or entirely, on the findings of an out-of-date report by two scientists, which has been discredited over and over again.

But Miss Macnaghten gives another ground for her attack. She relies upon what she heard (from an unnamed person) of an occasion on which it took twenty-five minutes to get an animal into position for the cut required by the Jewish method. Assuming that this can be regarded as evidence, such a type of information has to be viewed with suspicion. Some time ago we were notified of an alleged test proving the inhumanity of the method of casting the animals, a preliminary to the Jewish method. Investigation, however, proved that the animal actually submitted for casting was a valuable bull, so intractable that, in spite of its value, its owner had

CORRESPONDENCE

'CAPITAL PUNISHMENT'

To the Editor of the NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER

SIR,—I have seen in your January number a letter in which the Spanish Ambassador takes strong exception to passages in my article on 'Capital Punishment' published in the preceding month. I hasten to make the *amende honorable* to his Excellency. The information that I obtained regarding Italy and Spain was drawn from the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, now of somewhat old date, and the words 'in chains in perpetuity till death' were those used in that article to describe the sentence known to Spanish law as *cadena perpetua*. The *Encyclopædia* article was itself dealing with a somewhat older period, and I did not suppose that the punishment thus described was a sentence now actually enforced in modern Spain. In the remarks which followed afterwards, to which his Excellency takes special exception, I had not Spain or any particular country in mind, but merely wished to make the point that comparisons in regard to many other data are necessary before the results of abolition of capital punishment in one country can be adopted as probable results in another. It was an oversight on my part to let the second allusion to imprisonment in chains be placed in inverted commas, but I perceive now that these had the effect of suggesting that the sentence was aimed at Spanish practice. All that I was concerned to argue in the last of those sentences was that if any man were prepared to impose a sentence of terrible rigour, such for example as perpetual imprisonment in chains on a murderer, but shrank from a merciful death penalty, then there was more superstition than humanity in his attitude. I had in my mind not Spain at all, but certain Eastern lines of thought which, while condemning most severely the taking of life, even of an insect, feel no repugnance from the most savage punishment. Properly speaking, the sentences referring to the law in Italy and Spain should have been joined up with the preceding paragraph, and the sentence which follows, 'If the law in any country,' etc., etc., should have been the beginning of a new paragraph.

I am indeed sorry that inadvertence in the arrangement of sentences should have given them the effect of suggesting that Spain was a country in which either the law was ineffective or punishment lacked humanity. Any such idea was very far from my mind; and indeed the whole gist of the article was that in these modern days in all civilised countries imprisonment is so relieved by humanitarian considerations that it has lost most of its efficacy as a deterrent to the murderer.

Yours, etc.,

REGINALD CRADDOCK

84, Whitehall Court, S.W. 1

reality, it would be such a new world we should no longer be surprised at anything.

Mrs. Blake. Well, I'm never surprised at you, Mr. Blake—not now.

Blake. That's true, woman-angel; and a great mercy for both of us.

Mrs. Blake. (*Concluding*) I've learned better.

Blake. So the visions have decided for us: London will see us again. Naked we came, naked we shall return—naked, but not ashamed, woman Aye, Mr Hayley has meant kindly, I don't doubt—wanted me to wear his old clothes!

Mrs. Blake Did he, Mr Blake?

Blake. I hear a voice you cannot hear, that says I must not stay·
I see a hand you cannot see, that beckons me away.

Mrs. Blake Oh, Mr Blake, not poetry—dinner, please! The mutton's getting overdone.

(*And at that moment* Sister Maria *enters carrying the coat.*)

Maria. Here's your coat, William—mended.

Blake (*As he puts it on*) What do *you* think of Mr. Hayley, woman—after this?

Mrs. Blake Think of him? I don't think anything of him, Mr Blake.

Blake. Nor did I, till to-day But now I perceive, in the light he has brought, that he is a messenger from God; so is the murderous man, so is mutton—messengers all of them!

(*And they go in where one of God's messengers—a little overdone—is waiting for them*)

Laurence Housman.

HAYLEY. No, indeed, dear Mr. Blake, I thank you. No, Mrs. Blake, do not trouble! I have guests at home, who will be expecting me: it is almost time I were back. Therefore, you must let me excuse myself. Roast mutton? Oh, excellent!—nothing I like better, had it been possible. And, my dear Mr. Blake, I don't think you could have said 'Damn the King!' in any circumstances, or with any meaning, however harmless. Try and think not! Try and think not! It would be so much better—so much safer—to be quite sure that the word 'King' was never uttered. The truth, of course, *that* before all things! But—dear Mr. Blake—nothing *but* the truth. *No* political opinions—or names. Oh, promise me, and try to think *not!* Good-bye!

(*And quite happy in the sense that at least he has made an impression, off he goes to his imaginary guests.* BLAKE *stands looking after him, and presently speaks.*)

BLAKE. Oh, why was I born with a different face?
Why was I not born like the rest of my race?
When I look, each one starts; when I speak, I offend;
When silent and passive, I lose my best friend.
Then my verse I dishonour, my pictures despise,
My person degrade, and my temper chastise;
The pen is my terror, the pencil my shame,
All my talents I bury, and dead is my fame.
Here either too low or too highly I'm prized;
When elate I am envied, when meek I'm despised.

MRS. BLAKE. What's that, Mr. Blake?

BLAKE. My own epitaph, woman! On that part of me which died to-day. The spirits don't like Felpham; they were angry and wanted to get me away. So they sent two Devils—one in a red coat, and the other in a brown—to do it for them. Never trust appearances, Mrs. Blake; appearances are the Devil!

MRS. BLAKE. If I was to trust 'em, Mr. Blake, I'd say you in your black coat, tossing 'em across the gate like a mad bull, looked a deal more like the Devil than they did.

BLAKE. Quite right, woman; so I was the Devil to them—and had to be. One has to appear to every man in the form he best comprehends. The Devil is the only good some people can perceive, which is why God allows him to exist. Had I appeared to them more spiritually, they would not have seen me.

MRS. BLAKE. Well, to be sure, that would have surprised them—to be run down the garden and over the gate by something they couldn't see!

BLAKE. If we could all appear to each other as we are in

are doing work for me. Meeting you at my house, people connect us. Also, apart from that, I have a very real affection for you; and I ask you—I must ask you—if this affair comes before the Court, *not* to mention Thomas Paine. Mention Milton if you like: your friendship with Mr. Flaxman, Mr. Stothard, and Mr. Fuseli—all known artists. Mr. Butts too, so long your patron, a man of handsome means and high respectability. But do not go into politics—avoid them! You must realise, my dear Blake, that your politics are not—well, not everybody's politics. The Bench has its prejudices like the Church. I, you know, do not feel bound by what the Church says; I am liberal-minded in my opinions. But when you are before the Bench, you *are* before it. You don't have to go to church; but you do have to go to court when you are summoned there. And it is so important when there will be prejudice against you, in the fact that you are charged by a soldier with insulting the King's uniform—as I'm afraid you did, Mr. Blake, in throwing it over the gate *twice*—first one and then the other—it is so important that you should make a good impression.

Blake All this trouble, good sir, that you are giving yourself on my behalf, though very kind, is quite unnecessary. The visions tell me not to be afraid; so you, my friend, need not be afraid either. It will not be necessary, they assure me, to call Tom Paine, or any of my own witnesses, so I will say nothing except the plain truth as to what happened, and will leave you and any others you may be kind enough to call as to my character to make upon the judge and jury the impression which I am sure they will make I know, Mr Hayley, that I have said hasty things, that I have done hasty things, but life itself is a hasty process, and if one does not catch the moment as it flies it has gone for all eternity. While you have been taking such kind pains to convince me of what I should do, I have been conversing with the spirits of the Eternal Ages—not with any inattention to what you were saying, I assure you, for man has two minds by which he comes to the truth, a lower and a higher, and these can only act and become a unity if they agree in the direction of their aim So now I am brought to the life of the senses by the reminder of certain laws of hospitality which go back to the days when Abraham entertained Angels. I smell roast mutton, and I see Mrs. Blake looking anxious. Mr. Hayley, will you honour us?

(*But* Mr. Hayley, *though now of a friendly mind, has still his position—and eventualities—to consider. To share a meal with one so recently charged with sedition would not be prudent; and so to* Mr Blake *on the one side, and to* Mrs. Blake, *standing anxious in the doorway, on the other, he makes his polite excuses.*)

BLAKE. You are very good, Mr. Hayley; indeed, you are most kind and generous, after what has occurred between us. And I ask your pardon sincerely, if I have been rude to you, or if I am ever rude to you again. But the people of influence I meet at your house will not be of such use to me as the people of much greater influence I meet at my own. If this case comes before the court, *they* will speak for me, Mr. Hayley, and will convince everybody.

HAYLEY. Dear me! Mr. Blake, I did not know you had any such friends. Whom, pray, do you mean?

BLAKE. Moses and the prophets: Homer, Dante, to whom you yourself introduced me—they are both now intimate friends of mine. Raphael will speak for me, Michael Angelo will speak for me. Milton also, though, like you and me, we often differ in our opinions. Will they not hear them, do you think, when I say they are my friends and teachers?

HAYLEY. (*Still trepidant.*) Yes, yes, I know what you mean, Mr. Blake; and it is all quite excellent. But they are all of the past—'dead' we call them. I know you don't agree, but you know what I mean. But to speak for a man's character, in a case like this, you require living people, people of standing and influence.

BLAKE. Oh, if it is someone of influence in our own day that you require, I will call Thomas Paine, of whose *Rights of Man* I have a copy here in my house. He, at least——

HAYLEY. My dear sir, you distress me infinitely—nay, you alarm me! Thomas Paine? Never mention him, or you are a hanged man! As for that copy—hide it, burn it! Oh, Mr. Blake, what can you be thinking of?

BLAKE. I am thinking, Mr. Hayley, of the very good service I once did both to him and my country by getting him safely out of it. I got him away to France only just in time; for if he had stayed, it is very probable that Mr. Pitt—whose myrmidons were already after him—would have made us guilty of his blood. Now, mainly through me and my timely warning, he has become a Frenchman, which most men of your thinking, Mr. Hayley—judges, magistrates, and juries—would surely greatly prefer. His religious views, I know, are abominable; but his *Rights of Man* has never been refuted, and cannot be, for Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Jesus Christ all helped him to write it; and it was, indeed, written from eternity—his being merely the hand which made it visible to our corporeal eyes. *The Rights of Man*, therefore, forms a part of the Bible, and when I give my evidence, I will take my oath on it.

HAYLEY. Mr. Blake, I must insist that in this matter you take counsel from me! You are my friend, my neighbour: you

But the mole knoweth what is there, and the worm shall tell it thee!

(There is a pause. The words of prophecy have ceased: and Mrs. Blake *once more thinks of the dinner.* 'Aye! It's wonderful!' *she says, rising: and is crossing the room to make domestic inquiry, when through the door something catches her eye: she stops and looks out.)*

Mrs. Blake Oh, Mr Blake, here is Mr Hayley again!

Blake. *(Without looking round)* Not again, woman. His toils no longer hold me. This is his angel that is coming. Is there not a light round him?

*(*Blake *has risen, and now, becoming practical, is taking off his coat.)*

Mrs. Blake *(Obedient to the vision)* Yes, I think there is, Mr Blake. He's coming in a great hurry.

(And in a great hurry, at that moment, Mr Hayley *enters.)*

Hayley. *(Speaking according to the light which Blake has perceived in him)* My dear Mr Blake, what have you done? What have you done? Word of it is going everywhere!

Blake God's will, sir, to the best of my ability; and have torn my coat in the doing of it. Wife, give that to Maria! *(She takes it and goes.)*

Hayley. But the King's uniform! Oh, you should be more careful! The King's uniform!

Blake. With the Devil inside it—as I told him.

Hayley. Yes, he told me that you said that. Knowing that I was a Justice of the Peace, he spoke to me.

Blake Then, sir, you can certify that he was drunk.

Hayley Yes, yes drunk, of course. Oh, but the King's uniform! And also—what is much worse—that you not only said *he* was the Devil, but that the *King* was the Devil!

Blake I said no such thing, sir. I said *his* King was the Devil, which is true.

Hayley. But it was the King's uniform—*Our* King's uniform—he was wearing, Mr. Blake.

Blake. Well, it cleared the gate; *his* coat didn't get torn. What's *he* complaining about?

Hayley About your language, Mr. Blake. I'm afraid—oh, I don't know what will happen!—most dangerous! In these days, it's sedition, you know. And now he is going to charge you—summons you. It may even be a warrant: you may be arrested. Of course, I will go bail, I will speak for you; and I will get others to speak for you—people of influence whom you have met at my house, whose word may count. Oh, but most unfortunate!—for with things so—our close relations—I share in it!

BLAKE. He made me to sow the thistle for wheat, the nettle for a flourishing dainty.

I planted a false oath in the earth; it has brought forth a poison tree.

I have chosen the ape for a councillor, the dog for a schoolmaster to my children.

I have blotted out from light and living the dove and the nightingale.

I have allowed the earthworm to banquet at my door, I have taught the thief a secret path into the house of the just.

I have taught pale artifice to spread his nets upon the morning.

Therefore have my heavens become brass, my earth iron, my moon a clod of clay,

My sun a pestilence burning at noon, a vapour of death in the night

What is the price of experience? Do men buy it for a song?

Or wisdom for a dance in the street? No, it is bought with the price

Of all that a man hath—his wife, his house, and the visions that are his children

Where art thou, O thought? To what remote land is thy flight?

If thou returnest to the present moment of affliction,

Wilt thou bring comforts on thy wings, and dews and honey and balm,

Or poison from the desert wilds, from the eyes of the envier?

Does not the great mouth laugh at a gift? And the narrow eyelids mock at the labour that is above payment?

Does he who contemns poverty, and he who turns with abhorrence from usury

Feel the same passion—or are they moved alike?

Does the whale worship at thy footsteps as the hungry dog?

Or does he scent the mountain prey because his nostrils wide drink in the ocean?

Does his eye discern the flying cloud as the raven's? Or does he measure the expanse like the vulture?

Does the still spider view the cliffs where the eagles hide their young?

Or does the fly rejoice because the harvest is brought in?

Does not the eagle scorn the earth, and despise the treasures beneath?

BLAKE. Aye from you; and all servants of Satan! Go to your Master!

SOLDIER. You say that to a man in his King's uniform.

BLAKE. In any uniform! Damn you, and damn your King! He's not my King. Your King is the Devil!

(This scares even Mrs BLAKE.)

Mrs. BLAKE. Oh, Mr. Blake!

BLAKE. Now then, off to your own kingdom! Will you march, or must I make you?

(Apparently he must be made to. He makes a lunge at BLAKE, *staggers, and before he can recover himself,* BLAKE *has him by the elbows, and, with incredible energy for so small a man, has run him down to the gate; and the gate being no longer open, over it he goes. In another moment* BLAKE *has reappeared under the porch; his quarry, the second red-coat, squares up to him.)*

Mrs. BLAKE. Oh, Mr Blake, dear Mr. Blake, don't! You'll hurt yourself!

BLAKE. Woman, hold your peace! I'm enjoying myself!

(And evidently he is, the second soldier, showing fight to all points of the compass but one, follows the first, over the gate into the road, where together they lie helplessly biting the dust.)

Mrs. BLAKE. Oh, well, it's in God's hands now, and He knows best what to do.

(They hear BLAKE'S *voice outside giving directions to the gardener.* 'Thomas, see those men don't come in again!' *Then he reappears.)*

BLAKE. Kate, woman, the next time the word of the Lord comes to me, don't interrupt!

Mrs. BLAKE. *(Meekly.)* No, Mr. Blake.

BLAKE. It's not a woman's business.

Mrs. BLAKE. Why, of course it isn't.

BLAKE. Now remember! Maria, is dinner ready?

(MARIA *scurries off to her household duties, leaving* Mrs. BLAKE *to face the prophet alone.)*

Mrs. BLAKE. Why, Mr Blake, your coat's all torn at the shoulders! Take it off, and I'll mend it.

BLAKE. You shall not. Sister shall mend it.

Mrs. BLAKE. But she's getting the dinner.

BLAKE. Then let it wait.

Mrs. BLAKE. Which? The coat or the dinner?

(The question receives no answer. For BLAKE *is now getting his reward for letting himself go. 'The word of the Lord' comes to him. And while it does so,* Mrs. BLAKE *sits down reverently and waits.)*

same clothes—red-brown—and while I was contemplating it, all at once the apparition opened its mouth and stuck out its tongue at me: I drew the outline of it at once—there on the spot; so if Mr. Hayley came upon *that*, it would account——

(*At this moment the sound of a voice, drunken and truculent, comes from the garden. Looking out they see two red-coats in a very staggering condition talking across the hedge to the gardener The voice is loud, and for all its thickness of utterance, the words carry*)

SOLDIER So you are working for that bloody Republican, are you? Call yourself an Englishman?

(*From the inner room, anxious and a little panic-stricken, comes* SISTER MARIA *This, apparently, is an old trouble*)

MARIA BLAKE Oh, William, shut the door, bolt it! It's that drunken soldier again

BLAKE What business brings him here?

MARIA. I'm afraid our poor Thomas has picked up with him I've seen them together more than once Oh, dear! now he has come in!

BLAKE Then now he goes out again (*He advances to the door*)

MARIA. Take care, William! There are two of them

BLAKE If they are a hundred, I care not (*And out he goes The two women stand at the door anxious, listening to what follows*) Mr Redcoat, will you please to take yourself off my premises? Aye, both of you!

SOLDIER Damned if I do! I'm not here to be ordered about by a bloody Republican England's not for your likes England's a free country God save England!

BLAKE Amen! The prayer is needed

SOLDIER *Free* England!

BLAKE Which it never will be, till freed from men like you!

MARIA Oh, Kate! Stop him! Stop him!

MRS BLAKE Nothing's going to stop him now, Maria Go and get the dinner

(*And meanwhile the* SOLDIER *has been having his say*)

SOLDIER. Who you're saying that to? I'm a soldier of the King Fight for King and country! Fight *you*, you bloody Republican.

BLAKE. And that you will not, my fine fellow, for I shall not allow it.

SOLDIER What were you made for but to walk on, you piece of dirt?

BLAKE. No more words! Out you go!

SOLDIER God save King George!

Mrs. Blake. It's very foolish of him, Mr. Blake; but he doesn't know any better. And I'm sure he's been very kind to us.

Blake. He has always been very kind letting us know of it; and letting everybody else know! Mr. Hayley has been using me as an occasion for virtue To-day he has gone away forgiving me, and despising me at the same time

Mrs. Blake. But isn't it quite right to forgive people?

Blake. It's a detestable crime, woman, to forgive those whom you have injured What would you think of me if, after beating you for something you hadn't done, I forgave you on condition you never did it again?

Mrs. Blake. But you never have beaten me, Mr Blake; and if you did, I'd think it was only Balaam, or somebody else out of the Bible, pretending to be you.

Blake Kate, woman, you are an angel!

Mrs. Blake You made me that when you married me, Mr. Blake. And now you get yourself ready, while I go and help Sister Maria lay and dish up the dinner

Blake Sister Maria shall do it herself I've still things I want to say to you Kate, it's a great mercy that this has happened I was blind, and now my eyes are opened. Here have I been, for the last three years, making not only myself but others prisoners and captives, chaining them in fetters to the walls of that dungeon he calls his library Aye, who knows? Perhaps the fool was right after all, and I have not seen the true spiritual face of one of them, but only their spectres.

When Hayley finds out what you cannot do,
That is the very thing he'll set you to!

And here have I been, day after day, dragging them from the realms of eternity to fill odd corners in the place where he goes to enjoy himself, supposing himself to be somebody—as if they could ever be fit company for him! And *his* portrait to be in the place of honour, if you please! Yes, that is what makes him so impatient! That's why he goes poking his nose into the library to see how it's getting on It's his own portrait he's looking for. I've put off doing it to the last, as a man puts off death; but it's there—waiting to be done And the other day, as I sat looking at the space left for it, I saw the ghost of a flea come out and settle on that very spot

Mrs. Blake. Good gracious, Mr. Blake! Has a flea got a ghost?

Blake A flea is all ghost, woman! But when released from the flesh—its own flesh, I mean—its appearance becomes much larger, and may, to the eye of imagination, equal the size of a man. This one was the size of Hayley, and was wearing the

Mrs. Blake. What did Socrates say, Mr. Blake?

Blake. He said he was the hind-legs of an ass.

Mrs. Blake. The hind-legs? Where was the rest of him?

Blake. In eternity, I imagine, for, he being an eternal ass, there's no beginning and no end to him. Socrates said something about me, too—which I might have told him, for his good.

Mrs. Blake. What about you, Mr. Blake?

Blake. Why, it was really about me that he said the other thing—else *he'd* never have been mentioned. Socrates told me that I'd tied myself to the hind-legs of an ass—which, by God, is true! For now the ass has spoken, and I know.

Mrs. Blake. Like Balaam?

Blake. Yes, like Balaam, when, consenting to be bribed by a king, he went to tell lies, and call down darkness out of light on the children of Israel—he knowing better all the time! Woman, have you ever tried to kindle a black flame in the light of noon?

Mrs. Blake. No, Mr. Blake, never.

Blake. Then don't! That's what I've been doing here with him: riding on his back all the while, and he paying for it. Now, if I've made him kick me off, I'm glad of it.

Mrs. Blake. That means we shall go back to London, I suppose?

Blake. We shan't go *back* anywhere. Whether we go to London, or Jerusalem, or Jericho, it's *on*, it isn't *back*. No one has ever gone back to the same place wherever it was, not since the world began. London will never again be the London we knew—that was a portion of time; we have passed through it—just as we pass through the meals we've eaten, or the clothes we've worn. To go back to them you must roll yourself on a dung-heap—or go rummage at the rag-pickers'.

Mrs. Blake. I don't want to do that, Mr. Blake.

Blake. Then don't talk about going back to London; else you'll be turning yourself to a pillar of salt.

Mrs. Blake. No, Mr. Blake; though I shan't be sorry to, for this place has been bad for my rheumatism.

Blake. It's your rheumatism that has been bad for the place, my good woman; just as Mr. Hayley's foolish notions about art have been bad for it. The place is infected: I don't wonder the visions are angry with us; the sooner we get away the better. Here I find myself every day groping in thick darkness, and all the other plagues of Egypt—including the death of Hayley's first-born, for which he expects *me* to go into mourning, four years after the event! And now he comes to pretend that he knows what Socrates was like better than I do who talk with him every day. Yes, somebody had already told me that he'd been in and said that none of them was like anybody.

most charitable supposition I can make is that the same thing is happening again to-day which happened last Wednesday!

HAYLEY. Mr. Blake, you are sadly forgetting yourself, and not only yourself, but our respective positions—yours and mine. But I have so high an esteem for you, when you are truly yourself, that I think the kindest thing I can do now is to terminate this interview. And if, as I go, you perceive me carrying a tail, I beg that you will advise me of it, for I do not wish to carry anything off your premises which does not belong to me!

BLAKE. I would not so suspect you for a moment, sir. I am sure you are not capable of carrying away anything from here which is not your own

(After this Mr HAYLEY *has no more words to waste on his antagonist, but he is nevertheless a person of good manners, and as he makes hastily to the door he turns to give parting recognition to one who has done nothing amiss)*

HAYLEY I wish you good morning, Mrs Blake

MRS BLAKE Good morning, sir.

(But the offended gentleman has already gone Looking at her adored man with troubled eyes, she breathes an invocation of his name, then stops. Oh, Mr. Blake! *But* BLAKE *is not heeding her The light of battle still shines in his eyes, but there is an amused look on his face Fiery he may be, but he has the sweetest temper in the world)*

BLAKE. The cauliflower puts forth a thorn!
The roasted sheep a threatening horn!

I don't think I have ever liked him better, or found the man more to my mind! Damn braces, bless relaxes! The thing needed saying, and now it's been said

MRS BLAKE Oh, but you've hurt his feelings, Mr. Blake!

BLAKE. Hurt his feelings? How have I hurt them? Have I prevented him from seeing the sun rise to-morrow: made it harder for him to believe that a lark sings better than he does, or the roaring of the sea sound less to him? If in any such way I had prevented his feelings, I should have hurt them. But if I have helped him to know that he's a fool, I have not hurt them—I've done him a service.

MRS. BLAKE But you haven't, Mr. Blake: you've only made him know that you *think* him a fool.

BLAKE. Well, if he has any respect for my opinion, as he pretends—and it isn't only *my* opinion, woman, I'd have ye know! . . . I might have told him what Socrates said of him yesterday; but I didn't!

BLAKE. To paint a pair of hand-screens for a lady of title, who wanted them to screen her own paint from the fire; also to go on with some miniatures that would bring me more money than a design of Adam and Eve in their state of innocence, which—on the commission of the Holy Ghost—I was then doing instead.

HAYLEY. (*At last obtusely perceiving.*) But that—that is precisely—— (*He breaks off.*) Mr. Blake, are you intending to insult me?

BLAKE. Certainly not, Mr. Hayley; but it would be insulting my own intelligence to accept such advice myself, or to suppose you capable of offering it except the Devil had made you his vehicle.

HAYLEY. (*Rising.*) Mr. Blake, Devil, or no Devil, I am speaking now according to the intelligence which God has given me; and that, I venture to think, is not inferior to yours. And let me tell you that, ever since you came here, I have had your interests far more at heart than you have yourself, and I have done everything—everything I could—to introduce you to the best people—people of influence and quality, and people of means; yes, and even of title. To keep you in work here entirely myself—that was not to be looked for, and I did not promise it. But I have noticed—I have noticed with pain and growing concern—a certain parade of independence which you—'put on,' shall I say?—yes, put on, when I speak to you about working more profitably, for I do not think you have it at other times. And I might—taking your own line of illustration—say that when you do that it is the Devil who is making use of you. But I know it is not—it is only your unfortunate republican principles, which are also the reason, let me tell you, Mr. Blake, why you do not prosper and get more commissions.

BLAKE. Commissions—commissions, sir? And pray, whose image and superscription have they, do you suppose? What would Jesus Christ say to me if He found me with my hands full of such commissions and coining money by them, instead of making representations of the Divine Image as it has declared itself through the men of genius of all ages? Am I to imperil my eternal salvation for commissions, sir?

HAYLEY. Mr. Blake, let me tell you that you are talking nonsense!

BLAKE. And let me tell you, Mr. Hayley, that what appears nonsense to you is divine truth to me! I have a great respect for you, sir, and for your opinions when you keep them to yourself; but when you try to make them be *my* opinions, and would have me rule my conduct by them, accepting commissions contrary to my conscience, and even to my liberty, then I think the

BLAKE. And if you did, you would sleep like the rest of them, and I shouldn't blame you. And yet they dare to call *that*—'preaching the word of the Lord.' When the word of the Lord comes to *me*, it doesn't send me to sleep; it wakes me, aye—even at the dead of night. Doesn't it, Mrs. Blake?

MRS. BLAKE. It wakes both of us, Mr. Blake; and it's little sleep we get afterwards, for the rest of *that* night. Oh, it so excites him, Mr. Hayley, there's no keeping him in bed! Up he gets, and has to write it all down. And then I generally get up too, and make him a hot posset or a cup of tea.

HAYLEY. Well, that must be a very interesting experience. But don't you think there is something to be said for putting everything in its place—the right thing at the right time—so that you have a time for everything in turn? In that way there is much to be said for church-going, when people, having nothing else to do, can collect their thoughts and direct them in—well, in the proper direction.

BLAKE. That is the Devil's favourite arrangement. You could not have stated it better.

HAYLEY. Mr. Blake, you surprise me! I'm sure the Devil does not favour church-going.

BLAKE. Why, he goes himself, and is the most regular in his attendance! Generally, when *I've* been to church, it was the Devil who did all the preaching and the praying.

HAYLEY. Really, my dear Mr. Blake, the things you do say! Perhaps you'll think some day that *I'm* the Devil!

BLAKE. No, dear sir and friend, I don't think you are the Devil, for you always mean well. But I think the Devil has sometimes come here in your form to tempt me.

HAYLEY. Here?

BLAKE. Yes, here, sir; and not long ago either.

HAYLEY. Pray, when?

BLAKE. When was it, Mrs. Blake, that we received a visit which we began by supposing was from our kind friend here—and then as he went, seeing his hind view, I said 'There goes the Devil!'?

MRS. BLAKE. The last time you said that, Mr. Blake, was three o'clock last Wednesday.

HAYLEY. (*Much scandalised.*) But I came to see you *myself* last Wednesday.

BLAKE. Of course, the Devil would have you to think so, Mr. Hayley, wishing to have you on his side, and to cause bad blood between us. But don't let him deceive you again; he didn't deceive *me*. The moment I shut my vegetable eyes, and opened my spiritual, I saw him in his true form.

HAYLEY. (*With a growing stiffness.*) But what—if you will allow me to ask—was he trying to persuade you to do?

HAYLEY. In his own spectre, Mr. Blake? I never imagined that anybody was supposed to have a spectre until he was dead.

BLAKE. Why, it is then, sir, that he has his best chance of escaping from it. When he is dead either he gets rid of it, or it carries him down bodily into Hell, where—being the more powerful part of him—it causes him to remain, a delusion of the senses to all eternity.

HAYLEY. What a terrible fate!

BLAKE. It is a fate which many people undergo, even in this life, sir, with the firm conviction that they are enjoying it. And if you try to persuade them otherwise, they think you 'a very strange person.'

HAYLEY. But how do you *know* these things, Mr. Blake?

BLAKE. I know them as all the poets and prophets of eternity know when the word of the Lord comes to them.

HAYLEY. And what do you mean by 'the word of the Lord,' Mr. Blake?

BLAKE. All the images of eternity which the life of the senses seeks to obliterate.

HAYLEY. But the word of the *Lord*, you say. How, even if you hear, can you be sure of it?

BLAKE. I can be much more sure of it than I can be of a man's word, which I hear plainly with my outward ear. *That* I often have reason to doubt; but when the word of the Lord comes to one, doubt is impossible. Are you not sure when you feel indignation—when you experience pity, or love? What makes a man more sure than courage that he has not to fear death? Or is he, who with his whole heart forgives an injury, ever guilty of wrong-doing?

HAYLEY. No, Mr. Blake; in that sense, what you say is very true. But when you spoke of the prophets——

BLAKE. I spoke then as the prophets spoke, having the same ground for my conviction—no more and no less. Isaiah was able to declare the word of the Lord because the word of the Lord was in him; and for no other reason. And Christ was able to declare himself divine because the divinity of God was in Him. And you and I are divine for the same reason; that we appear less so is because of the life of the senses which separates us from Him.

HAYLEY. My dear Blake, I believe you to be a sincerely religious man; but I fear your religion would rather frighten—rather shock most people.

BLAKE. It is better to have a religion that shocks people, than one that only sends them to sleep. And where, pray, do you find more people asleep of a morning than in church during sermon time?

HAYLEY. Very true; but then, I so seldom go——

BLAKE. Medical science refutes everything it knows nothing about. Science is the Devil's way for trying to put truth out of countenance and to substitute falsehood. A man who depends on science is a fool.

HAYLEY. But Newton, my dear sir, Newton—the subject of one of your pictures—Newton was a great scientist.

BLAKE. Newton would have had no science had he depended on it. All that he discovered was by imagination. But, in order to convince blockheads, he had to put it mathematically—otherwise they would not have believed him. Newton never talks mathematics to me: he knows better. If he did, I should paint him with his face to the wall.

HAYLEY. Really, Mr. Blake, you surprise me! With his face to the wall? That would be a very curious portrait: the back of a man's head—most original!

BLAKE. Sometimes the back of a man's head tells more than his face—is the most truthful thing about him. Only yesterday Voltaire came and asked that he might sit to me.

HAYLEY. Voltaire? But Voltaire is dead, my dear sir!

BLAKE. The vegetable Voltaire is dead, sir; but his spectre—the most powerful part of him—is as much alive as ever it was. I found him sitting in the closet, sir.

HAYLEY. My dear Mr. Blake, how very awkward!

BLAKE. Not at all, sir. I got him out without any difficulty. He wanted to sit to me; I refused to do him such honour. 'Your face,' I said, 'does not please me.' At that he made a characteristically ribald remark, and presented me with a different part of his person. Then I perceived on the back of his head a large wart. That decided me; and I did his portrait—if you like to call it so—on the spot. It is there on the closet wall, if you care to go and look at it. And if you would like to have that in your library——

HAYLEY. No, no; I think not. Warts are not pleasant. Though, to be sure, Cromwell had warts, had he not? But Voltaire, I never heard that Voltaire——

BLAKE. Voltaire's wart was a spiritual one, and only shows in the world of the imagination. When I saw it, it had the complete face of Rousseau upon it; so if I give you the back of Voltaire's head, you will have Rousseau's face to admire as well. That is what makes it so truthful a portrait; for the two are emanations from the same spectre.

HAYLEY. Mr. Blake, if I did not know you so well—hearing you say such things, I should think you a very—well, a very strange person.

BLAKE. I am a strange person, sir, to anybody who believes in his own spectre more than he believes in God.

BLAKE. I do, sir, indeed! It is far more important. If you disturb my sleep by getting into my bed, that is nothing; but if you disturb my inspiration by looking at my work before it is done, it is the inspiration of eternity that suffers.

HAYLEY. Yes, yes, Mr. Blake; but if one does not look at the work until it is done, it cannot be altered—not so easily.

BLAKE. I do not intend altering it, Mr. Hayley. My visions come to me too clearly for that to be possible I do not begin to paint a vision till I see it. When I have seen it the vision does not admit of alteration

HAYLEY. But these are *portraits*, Mr Blake, or are supposed to be; and I do not find them very like their originals A portrait should be a portrait

BLAKE. If a spiritual form can be called a portrait. My paintings are the spiritual forms of men, whom you have not had the advantage of seeing as I have

HAYLEY Seeing? Ah, yes with you believing is seeing, is it not, Mr Blake?

BLAKE Can any man see without believing?

HAYLEY Perhaps not; it is only a question of which comes first—the sight or the belief in it

BLAKE Surely the belief, sir! Why, if I did not believe, I should see nothing, through not knowing what to see.

HAYLEY But I saw you, Mr Blake, before I had any *degree* of belief in you I saw you before I knew who you were

BLAKE Then you did not see me, sir; but only my spectre

HAYLEY. Spectres vanish you didn't

BLAKE. I should have vanished if your mind had not exercised itself, and caused me to remain and become real to you

HAYLEY Pray explain yourself

BLAKE Why, sir, was it not in the light of day that we first met? You believed it was day; had you not believed it was day, you could not have seen anything You saw something coming toward you you believed it to be a man I was that man. Had you not believed me to be a man, could you have discovered anything about me that was true?

HAYLEY. Why, no put that way, Mr Blake, of course not But—had I met you in the dark, I might have believed you to be a woman.

BLAKE Why then, sir, you would have perceived that part of me which is woman, but which ordinarily my male spectre causes to remain invisible. We are every one of us both male and female, Mr. Hayley, in the sight of eternity.

HAYLEY. Dear, dear! Mr. Blake; don't say such things! Someone might hear you. Medical science, my dear sir—medical science refutes any such——

THE MESSENGERS

AUGUST, 1803

At the window of a low cottage-chamber, looking out into a thatched porchway, the door to which stands open, sits William Blake busy at engraving. Still in the early forties, his face beginning to look aged, but his bodily vigour undiminished, you see him in the very height of his powers—those powers which are so troublesome to friends that in the worldly sense wish him well. It is one of these friends, who, after a tap at the door, now enters, and brings the industrious worker briskly to his feet. From the far corner of the room another has also risen. Mrs Blake, laying aside her work, drops a humble curtsey—the curtsey expected of inferior rank by a superior. Blake's bow, on the other hand, is much more nearly the nod of an equal. Greeted by name, Mr Hayley enters, and without waiting for invitation takes a seat. Handsome, stoutish, elderly, well, almost elegantly, dressed, he carries himself with an air of importance—his face, the face of a man who is pleased with himself; and the foolish kindness of that false estimate is conferred also on others. A vain, amiable, but not very trustworthy character, he adores the power of patronage which easy circumstances enable him to exercise. During the last year or two Blake, conveyed especially for that purpose from London to Felpham, has been its almost daily recipient; and during the process, each has become more conscious of an operation about which they take somewhat contrary views. Mr. Hayley has now come charged with something more than usually definite to say: and without preliminaries he broaches what is presently to become a complaint.

HAYLEY. I have been in the library, looking at the fresco portraits, Mr Blake.

BLAKE. I am sorry you have, sir; you should not have done so, with *my* consent, till they were finished.

HAYLEY. (*Correctively.*) My own library, Mr Blake.

BLAKE. Why, yes, sir, when I have it ready for you. But when you have a guest and offer him a bed, you don't get into it *with* him, do you, sir?

HAYLEY. A commission, Mr. Blake, is different from a bed—don't you think?

his period. He belongs to the pre-scientific stage, when men, in their effort to account for things as they were, framed for themselves, not hypotheses based on reason or observation, but gross mythological legends. Yet even here his technical efficiency as a husbandman involved that rudimentary study of natural occurrences which is the indispensable precursor of genuine science. Further, he is the first Greek to regard ethical questions as suitable for poetical treatment—that is, to give them a prominent place in the spoken and unspoken thoughts of men. The Homeric poems deal solely with incident and action; Hesiod helps men to *reflect* on the moral quality of their own lives. True, the ethical standard of his own feelings and convictions is not always of the highest. He is a dour man, somewhat embittered by the way the world has treated him, grumbling much over the shortcomings and sufferings of men, with a strain of calculating selfishness in him, and unappreciative of many sources of healthy enjoyment. His counsel about choosing a wife is given in a cold utilitarian style, almost such as one might use in considering the purchase of an ox, and rarely does he speak of women without some pessimistic allusions to the mischief they bring. In judging Hesiod for this—as he deserves to be judged—we must remember three extenuating factors. Firstly, it is probable that the social conditions amid which he lived were such as to discourage a cheerful and idealistic outlook. Secondly, his sourness is partly counterbalanced by healthier feelings: he shows, for instance, not only a good deal of homely simplicity, but also a friendly familiarity with animals. He understands, too, not simply that honesty is the best policy, but that moral value inheres in diligence and thrift as opposed to idleness, in fair dealing as opposed to dishonesty, and in generosity as opposed to closefistedness. The majesty of justice haunted him like a passion. In the third place, his religious outlook, though limited, was not so limited but that he could be convinced that the gods were on the side of right. One might not think so when one recalls some of his tales about them: his interest in mythology made consistent purity of belief impossible here, just as the religious conditions of the time denied him the belief in a life after death. But his confidence that the ultimate and unseen powers of the universe are on the side of the righteous man and opposed to the rogue, appearances notwithstanding, is quite clearly the presupposition of his comments on the world. Spiritually, he is indeed a child crying in the night; but the cry is not just one of blind fretfulness; it voices an incipient and forward-reaching trust in something far better than what can as yet be seen.

C. J. CADOUX.

Demodes, a stranger who was travelling with Hesiod, that she thereafter hanged herself, that it was the sons of Ganyktor who killed Hesiod, that they also killed Demodes, and were themselves sacrificed by a seer to the gods of hospitality! Eventually the citizens of Orchomenos transferred the poet's body thither by the direction of an oracle, and inscribed a suitable epitaph on his tomb. The transfer to Orchomenos probably took place because the Askraians had taken refuge there when their own village was sacked by the Thespians. The general fact that Hesiod was murdered and buried at Lokris was known to Thucydides also in the fifth century, and his ultimate interment at Orchomenos to Aristotle in the fourth. Besides the tomb at Orchomenos, however, another was shown at Naupaktos near the scene of his death.

The merit of our poet as an artist is well summed up by his Loeb-editor, the late Mr. H. G. Evelyn-White:

> Hesiod's charm, he says, lies in his child-like and sincere naïveté in his unaffected interest in and picturesque view of nature and all that happens in nature. These qualities, it is true, are those pre-eminently of the *Works and Days*: the literary virtues of the *Theogony* are of a more technical character, skill in ordering and disposing long lists of names, sure judgment in seasoning a monotonous subject with marvellous incidents or episodes, and no mean imagination in depicting the awful, as is shown in the description of Tartarus. . . . Hesiod's distinctive title to a high place in Greek literature lies in the very fact of his freedom from classic form and his grave and yet child-like, outlook upon his world.

Hesiod's popularity and influence in the ancient world were immense. As the long list of doubtful 'Hesiodic poems' attests, epic-writers for some centuries after his death paid him the sincerest form of flattery by imitating him and suppressing their own names. Several of them were probably Boiotians and so Hesiod's fellow-countrymen. The poets of each succeeding period of Greek literature show traces of his influence; the prose-writers frequently speak of him, and usually with veneration—some regarding him as more ancient even than Homer; the papyrus fragments now being discovered in Egypt show how extensively his works were read in the late Alexandrian and Roman imperial times. Especially was his memory cherished in the Muses' sanctuary on Mount Helikon. Several Roman poets reveal their indebtedness to him, while the dependence of Vergil's *Georgics* on the *Works and Days* is too well known to need further reference.

As regards Hesiod's significance for the deeper interests of life—for philosophy, ethics, and religion—his contribution, though circumscribed, is considerable. In the history of philosophy proper he has indeed no place. The earliest speculative cosmology of the Ionian thinkers began a century and a half after

alternative title, the *Ehoiai*. The meaning of this strange term is that it is a false plural formed from the noun consisting of the two Greek words ἢ οἵη, 'or such as was,' or 'or like'—which words opened the successive sections of the poem, the first one probably beginning something like this: 'But now, ye Muses, sing of the tribe of women, with whom immortal gods were joined in love, such as was (so-and-so) . . .' We have a partial explanation of the poem in the important place given to women, and particularly to maternal ancestry, in Lokrian society: the poet found it worth while to meet the demand of the Lokrian aristocracy and that of the noble families generally for a worthy account of their descent from the gods. The monotony of merely genealogical particulars was relieved by the detailed description of various legendary episodes. Such a poem naturally lent itself to subsequent enlargement, and a number of the lines assigned to it are suspected of being interpolations.

There were current in antiquity, under Hesiod's name, several other poems, some—perhaps all—of which were the work of poets who imitated him. The obliteration of the names of their real authors, and the ascription of them to Hesiod, is a testimony to his priority and immense influence in this department of epic poetry. The only one of these that is fully extant is the *Shield*—a poem of 480 lines, of which the first fifty-six (describing how Herakles was born) were taken bodily from the *Ehoiai*. The rest tells how Herakles fought against Kyknos and Ares; and this serves as a setting for a disproportionately long and elaborate description of the hero's shield—somewhat on the lines of the account of Achilles' shield in the *Iliad*. The poem is almost certainly the work, not of Hesiod, but of a late seventh-century poet.

In regard to the death of Hesiod, the already-quoted late treatise, the *Contest*, gives us, on the authority of earlier fifth and third century authors, some dramatic details, which are not necessarily fictitious. Hesiod, warned by the Delphic oracle to avoid the grove of Nemean Zeus, kept clear of the Peloponnesos, and came to Oinoe in Lokris, where he was entertained by Phegeus' two sons, Amphiphanes and Ganyktor. Unknown to Hesiod, this region was sacred to Nemean Zeus, and consequently after a time trouble ensued. It came out that Amphiphanes' and Ganyktor's sister had been seduced; suspecting Hesiod, they killed him and threw his body into the sea. It was, however, brought ashore by dolphins, and the people, recognising it, made lamentation and buried it at Naupaktos, and then searched for the assassins. These put off in a boat for Krete, but Zeus sank them with a thunderbolt before their voyage was half over. The third-century story was that the girl had really been seduced by

turns, in his closing section, to tell of the various goddesses who bore children to mortal men.

It will be apparent from this brief summary that, like the *Works and Days*, the *Theogony* is not very systematic in structure. The poem has been constructed somewhat unmethodically—probably in the course of several years. The vagueness of the theme—so unlike the dramatic unity of the older epics—and the looseness of the structure which that vagueness facilitated, have told very unfavourably on the poetic articulation of the *Theogony*. The poem is at best a pageant. That is not to say that it is lacking in artistic merit. It does pursue a roughly chronological plan; and in the execution of details it often displays much grandeur and beauty. The poet has so thoroughly mastered the art of writing graceful hexameters that he can reel you off a list of the names of the fifty daughters of Nereus in twenty lines without forfeiting the interest, charm, and music of his verse. But the chief importance of the poem lies in the immense contribution it made to Greek religious mythology. Based on popular tradition, and with no pretensions (other than the conventional appeal to the Muses) to any official authority, it was yet so objective, concise, complete, and *ad hoc* (as contrasted with Homer's occasional and scattered allusions to the gods) that it became almost a canonical document. Herodotus says of Homer and Hesiod: 'These are they who made a theogony for the Hellenes, and gave to the gods their titles and allotted their honours and arts, and designated their forms.' And of the two, Hesiod, for the reasons stated, had the greater vogue. But his teaching was not only more systematic than Homer's; it penetrated further back into the past, and it was less bright and healthy in its tone. The ethical coarseness of some of the stories evoked the indignant reproaches of later philosophers and Christians; and the effort was made in antiquity, and has been repeated in modern times, to interpret the narratives allegorically. But this is unwarranted. The poet, depending on the supposed inspiration granted him by the Muses, pours forth popular beliefs and the lavish creations of his own fancy, just as if they were real facts, unconscious of any such thing as the need for evidence. His complacency over this creative work was evidently shared by hearers and readers, as Herodotus' testimony makes plain.

There is one other poem—extant only in fragments—which may confidently be ascribed to Hesiod—the *Catalogue of Women*. It was indeed a sequel to the *Theogony*, the last two lines of which explicitly introduce it. The *Theogony* finished with the goddesses who bore children to men; the *Catalogue* told of human women who bore children to gods. The poem consisted of four books, the last if not the whole of which was sometimes known by the

might call a cosmogony rather than a theogony. It describes the origin of the vast primeval beings like Chaos, Earth, Heaven, Night, Strife, Ocean, and also of the semi-human or monstrous creatures (Gorgons, Pegasos, Chimaira, etc.) with whom Hellenic legend swarmed. The one dramatic episode here is the coarse story of how Kronos mutilated his father Heaven with a sickle, in revenge for the imprisonment of his children. Next comes the theogony proper, i.e., the account of the birth and rise of the present gods. Zeus escapes the jealous enmity of his father Kronos, and supplants him as supreme ruler The legend of Prometheus is retold Prometheus tricks Zeus into choosing the worthless half of a sacrifice, Zeus thereupon withholds fire from men. Prometheus steals it, and is punished by being chained to a rock and gnawed by an eagle, but Zeus further afflicts men by creating for them the beautiful female

But when he had fashioned the beauteous evil to be the price for the (stolen) good, he brought her forth where were the other gods and men--rejoicing as she was in her finery And wonder seized the immortal gods and mortal men, when they saw the ruinous trick unwithstandable for men. For from her comes the female race of women--a great trouble'--who live along with mortal men no helpers of baneful poverty, but only of plenty. And as bees in thatched hives feed the drones those partners in evil deeds--bees who are busy all day long until the sun goes down and lay the white combs, while the drones stay within the covered hives and reap the toil of others into their own bellies--so did high-thundering Zeus put women, those partners in grievous deeds to be an evil for mortal men And he sent another evil also as the price of the good whoever refuses to marry, fleeing from marriage and from women's mischievous works, would come to baneful old age in want of any one to tend his agedness, and even if he lives without lacking subsistence, yet when he is dead, it is distant relatives that divide his property And he again to whom the lot of marriage falls and who has a good wife suited to his mind, yet even for him evil unceasingly contends with good, and he who gets hurtful offspring lives with unabating grief in the spirit and heart within his breast and the evil is incurable Thus there is no means of deceiving or evading the mind of Zeus, for not even did kindly Prometheus son of Iapetos, escape his heavy wrath, but of necessity a mighty bond confined him, for all his shrewdness

After this we get the story of how Zeus and his Olympian gods were engaged in a terrible ten years' struggle with the Titans (Kronos and his brothers), and after finally overpowering them, penned them for ever in the abyss of Tartaros. Possibly this section was once a separate poem. The Titans' defeat introduces a full description of the under-world. We are then told how Zeus had to vanquish the terrific monster Typhœus, the child of the Earth and Tartaros. Thereafter he reigns supreme. A full list of the frequent amours and numerous offspring both of Zeus and of the other gods and goddesses is given. Finally the poet

of frost comes on, stitch together with ox's sinews skins of firstling goats to put over thy back and keep off the rain. And on thy head above have a shaped cap of felt, that it may not wet thine ears; for dawn is cold when the north-wind has fallen upon us, and at dawn a fertilizing mist from the starry sky is spread over earth—over the fields of happy men. Drawn from the ever-flowing rivers and lifted high above the earth by a storm of wind, towards evening sometimes it falls as rain, and sometimes it blows along when Thracian Boreas huddles the dense clouds. Finish thy work then and return home before he comes, lest a dark cloud from heaven wrap thee round, and make thy body damp, and drench thy clothes. Get out of its way; for this is the hardest month, wintry it is—hard for sheep and hard for men. Then let the cattle have half-rations, but thy man extra, for the helpful nights are long. Observe all this till the year be ended and thy days and nights are equal, until Earth, the mother of all, bears again her varied fruits.

The section on agriculture is followed by one on navigation, and this again by a group of miscellaneous counsels—such as the choice of a wife, the treatment of friends, and various semi-religious and semi-superstitious observances. The last sixty-three lines of the poem deal with 'days,' as distinct from 'works,' and specify which days in the month are lucky and which unlucky for various events and duties.

A number of indications lead us to believe that, later in life, Hesiod left Askra and settled further west. Pindar stated that he spent the rest of his days at Orchomenos, in northern Boiotia. The already-quoted *Contest of Homer and Hesiod* says that, after his success at Chalkis, Hesiod went to consult the oracle at Delphi, and was warned by it not to enter the grove of Nemeian Zeus, for it would be his death, and that he therefore settled at Oinoe in Lokris, near the mouth of the Gulf of Corinth. Another authority said he migrated to Naupaktos, near the same spot; and yet another that he was taught prophecy by the Akarnanians. The presence of Lokrian peculiarities in Hesiod's later work confirms what these reports suggest, that Hesiod—disgusted perhaps with the unhappy associations of Askra—left it and spent the closing years of his life in Lokris.

It was probably during his stay in Lokris that he composed his second great epic, the *Theogony*. Pausanias tells us that the Boiotians who guarded his memory at Helikon denied that he wrote more than *Works and Days*. But this scepticism is explicable by the supposition that they were ignorant of what he had written after leaving their neighbourhood. Modern scholarship, after long inclining towards diversity of authorship, is now more disposed to concur in the virtually unanimous belief of antiquity that the *Theogony* is Hesiod's work.

In its extant form the poem contains 1022 lines. After a long introduction about the Muses, there follows a section which we

Would that I did not live among the men of the fifth race, but had either died before or been born later! For now there lives a race of iron; they cease neither by day from toil and grief nor by night from destruction; and the gods will bestow on them grievous cares. . . . The father will not be at one with his children, nor children at all with their father, nor guest with host, nor comrade with comrade, nor will brother be dear to brother, as aforetime. But men will dishonour their speedily aging parents, and will chide them, speaking harsh words—wretches, knowing no reverence for the gods. Nor will they repay to their aged parents the cost of their upbringing; for them might is right. And one will sack another's city. No favour will be shewn to him who keeps his oath, or is upright or good; rather will men praise the evil doer and his insolence. Might will be right, and shame will cease to be. The rogue will wrong the better man, attacking him with crooked words, and will swear they are true. Envy ill-sounding, malicious and hateful-looking, will go along with all men in their misery. Then indeed will Shame and just Resentment—with their fair bodies wrapt in white robes—leave mankind and go from the wide-wayed earth to Olympos to the tribe of the Immortals. But painful sorrows will they leave to mortal men; nor will there be any help against evil.

The principle that might is right is next illustrated by a fable about a hawk and a nightingale. Then follow lengthily-worded counsels for Perses—and indirectly for nobles and judges—about justice, then for Perses and the public generally on the advantages of diligence and other virtues. Next comes a long section on method in agriculture, perhaps originally an independent poem. The description of winter runs as follows:

Avoid the month January—evil days, ox-flayers all—and the frosts, which are ruthless on the earth, when the north-wind has blown—the wind that blows across horse-nurturing Thrace on to the wide sea and stirs it up; and earth and woodland roar. On many a high-leafed oak and stout pine in mountain glades he falls and brings them down to the flowery earth; and then the whole vast wood shouts aloud; and the beasts shudder, and clap their tails beneath their hinder parts, even beasts whose hide is shaded with fur; even through them, shaggy-breasted though they be, he is cold enough to blow. He passes too through the ox's hide, nor does it hold him back. And he blows through the long-haired goat; but not through flocks of sheep does the force of the north-wind blow, since their fleeces are ample. But the old man it curves up like a wheel. And it blows not through the soft body of the maiden who stays by her dear mother within the house, not knowing as yet the works of golden Aphrodite. And having well-bathed her tender body and anointed herself with oil, she will lie down right within the house on a winter's day . . . Then the horned and hornless dwellers in the wood, wretchedly numb with cold, flee through the wooded glades; and this is the one concern of all their minds that, seeking shelter, they may get thick coverts and some hollow rock. . . . Then put thou on, as I bid thee, a soft woollen wrap and a tunic reaching to the feet as a covering for the body. . . . Clothe thyself in this that thy hair tremble not and bristle not upright on thy body: and around thy feet bind close-fitting boots made of the hide of a slaughtered ox, having lined them inside with felt. And when the season

When Hesiod's father died his sons divided the inheritance but Perses seized the larger lot for himself. Hesiod appealed to the local judges, probably the nobles (or 'kings,' as he calls them) of the neighbouring town of Thespiai; but Perses secured by bribery an unjust verdict in his own favour. Hesiod continued to farm his smaller lot industriously, earning his livelihood with the sweat of his brow; but Perses, despite his larger possessions, lived idly, lounging about the law courts and other public places, with the result that he reduced himself and his family to dire poverty. His efforts to recoup himself by further litigation instead of hard work were a failure. More than once he appealed to his elder brother for help, and for a time at least not without success. But, along with material relief, Hesiod imparted to the scapegrace much good advice, not unmixed with rebuke. It was on this sad episode that he based the most important and best known of his epics, *Works and Days*.

The particulars just recounted—which are all drawn from the poem—have been suspected by some of being an imaginative story; but the invention of such unwelcome details is in the last degree unlikely. Perses is frequently addressed by name in the poem, usually with some uncomplimentary reference to his folly, such as 'O very foolish Perses.' At the same time, the poem was intended for a wider circle of readers and covered a number of more general topics.

As it has come down to us, *Works and Days* contains 828 lines. The miscellaneous quality of its contents and the looseness of its literary structure have called forth theories as to the method and the stages of its composition. The prologue was absent from the copy seen by Pausanias in the second century A.D. in the temple of the Muses on Mount Helikon, but there seems no other reason for rejecting it. It is followed by reflections on the evils of strife, with special reference to the litigiousness of Perses. Then come two independent theories to account for man's troubles—first, the well-known story of Pandora, and, second, the legend of a series of world-ages, represented consecutively by the golden, silver, brazen, heroic, and iron races. The schematism of these world-ages is imperfect: there is no gradual decline, such as the metallic epithets suggest; after the golden race, all are appallingly evil, except the heroic, which furthermore awkwardly breaks up the neat series of metals. The description reveals, however, some historical insight. The age of the heroes who fought at Troy and Thebes rightly comes between the Bronze and Iron ages; for the culture depicted by Homer is mainly bronze-using, though iron also is coming to be known.

The pessimistic description of the iron race is worth quoting as a sample of the poet's style:

The incident is of interest in several ways. It illustrates both the local popular liking for music and poetry and the personal proficiency and reputation of the young Hesiod himself. Furthermore, later writers based upon it a story of a competition between Hesiod and Homer which, though almost entirely fictitious, is suggestive of some important facts. The story is told in a prose composition entitled *Concerning Homer and Hesiod and their Origin and Contest*, written during the reign of Hadrian (117-138 A.D.), but based on various older authorities. It tells how games were held at Chalkis by Ganyktor, son of the dead Amphidamas, how the judges were the leading Chalkidians with Paneides, Amphidamas' brother, how Homer and Hesiod competed—Hesiod endeavouring to take the wind out of Homer's sails by putting to him many difficult questions—and, finally, how the award was made The Chalkidians wished to give the prize to Homer;

but (says the author) the king (Paneides) crowned Hesiod, saying that it was only right that he who called men to farming and to peace should win, rather than he who dwelt on wars and slaughterings They say that Hesiod in this way won the victory and, receiving the bronze tripod, dedicated it to the Muses

The idea of a personal competition between Homer and Hesiod is of course legendary Yet this fanciful antagonism between them serves to represent pictorially a contrast real enough in point of fact Hesiod is given by the Muses a rod of laurel to hold while reciting this -and the very story of a poetic contest —reveals the fact that we are descending from the true Homeric stage, where the bard neither recited, nor competed, but sang his lay and accompanied himself on the lyre, to the later stage of recitation by competing poets or rhapsodes, who, without musical accompaniment, recited their own or their predecessors' poems, and held a laurel-branch as their professional insignia. Still more significantly does the statement of the reason for Hesiod's victory bring out the far-reaching change he effected in the subjects with which poetry was to deal The *Iliad* depicts incessant fighting, the *Odyssey* describes the adventures of an individual warrior, and culminates in a massacre The later 'Cyclic' poets dealt with similar topics The Boiotian epic, however, treated of less exciting themes—agriculture, astronomy, ethics, religious obligations, etc. The warlike Spartan king, Kleomenes, who revelled in the romance and excitement of the Homeric poems, looked down on Hesiod as 'the poet of helots'; but Hesiod's popularity sufficiently shows that there was, both in his own time and later, a public that appreciated other things than bloodshed as fit subjects for poetic treatment.

Happy is he whom the Muses love: sweet speech flows from his mouth. For if a man has grief in his freshly-troubled breast and be in dread through distress of heart, and a singer—a servant of the Muses—chants the glories of men of old or the happy gods who hold Olympos, speedily does he forget his worries and remembers his cares no more; for the goddesses' gifts soon turn him away from them.

The type of poetry Hesiod produced was the short hexameter epic. Its indebtedness to the earlier Homeric epics is clearly seen in the metre. Later on, the subjects with which Hesiod accustomed poets to deal demanded the production of fresh metres, like elegiac and iambic; but Hesiod adhered to the hexameter. Again, though an Aiolian by birth, and writing amid and for Aiolic Boiotians, he wrote in the Ionic dialect of Homer. The merit and popularity of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* rendered this dialect a sort of stereotyped vehicle for all subsequent epics.

But while Hesiod is thus far Homer's pupil, he diverges widely from his master in the choice of subjects. The Homeric poems dealt with the idealised exploits and sufferings of heroic warriors of old, and that so successfully as almost to exhaust the possibilities of further first-rate work in this field. Later poets who attempted to continue the Homeric type produced mostly work of mediocre quality. Hesiod and his Boiotian successors applied Homer's instrument, not only to mythical genealogies and 'catalogues,' but to the less romantic studies and interests of personal, domestic, and contemporary life.

Hesiod's reputation as a poet was apparently acquired in early manhood, before his father's death. For in the *Works and Days*—written seemingly when he was still a young man—he refers to a poetical triumph he had achieved some time before. In undertaking to advise Perses in the event of his deciding to go to sea, Hesiod admits that he has no skill in regard to sea-faring.

For [he says] I have never sailed by ship over the broad sea, except when I went to Euboia from Aulis, where once the Akhaians, abiding a great storm, collected from sacred Hellas a great host for Troia, the land of fair women. There did I cross to Chalkis to the funeral games of wise Amphidamas, and the sons of the great hearted hero announced and set forth the many prizes. I tell you that there I won a victory with a poem and carried off a tripod with handles, which I dedicated to the Helikonian Muses, in the place where they first put me in the way of clear-voiced song. That much experience then I have had of many-pegged ships.

We seem to get another reminiscence of Hesiod's victory at Chalkis in his later poem, the *Theogony*. In singing the praises of the goddess Hekate, he says:

Good is she also whenever men compete in a contest; there too is the goddess present with them and helps them; and he who wins by force and strength, lightly carries off the fair prize and with joy brings glory to his parents.

of a Dutch uncle, we should infer that he was the elder. From his statement that he had never been to sea further than Euboia, we gather that both he and Perses were born after their father's settlement in Askra. Later writers indeed state explicitly that Hesiod was born there. The mother's name, according to late authorities, was 'Pykimede'; but their reliability is precarious. We do not know whether or not she was married to the poet's father before he left Kyme.

Hesiod's name was probably derived from two Greek words meaning 'auspicious way' or 'lucky road.' The name of his brother Perses has nothing to do with the Persians, as yet unknown; but a mythical demi-god named Perses is mentioned by Hesiod among the Titans' offspring, and he 'was distinguished among all for his wisdom.' But if Hesiod's parents named their second son 'Perses' hoping that he too would be wise, they were sadly disappointed.

Wisdom, indeed, in the sense of intellectual culture, was not a characteristic of the Aiolians, as compared with their Ionian neighbours. Strabo tells some ridiculous stories illustrating Kymaian foolishness. And in migrating from Kyme to Boiotia, Hesiod's father had not left Aiolic soil. The Boiotians were an agricultural people; their climate was damp and heavy, and they displayed little initiative in commerce, art, and philosophy. With regard to music, however, they were the foremost among their contemporaries, and the way in which they reacted to Hesiod's genius not only suggests that they were already possessed of a popular and indigenous poetry, but it has permanently connected their name with one important variety of Greek epic.

Mount Helikon was reputed to be a favourite haunt of the Muses, 'who,' says Hesiod, 'possess the great and sacred mount of Helikon, and dance on soft feet around the dark-blue well and the altar of Kronos' mighty son; and when they have bathed their tender bodies in Permessos or in the Horse's Well or in sacred Olmeios, they perform fair and lovely dances on topmost Helikon.'

> Once (he continues) they taught fair song to Hesiod as he was shepherding his lambs under sacred Helikon, and this word first did the goddesses say to me—the Olympian Muses, maidens of aegis-bearing Zeus: 'Rustic shepherds, base things of dishonour, mere bellies; we know how to speak many lies like to truths, but we know too how to utter truths when we will.' Thus spake the ready-voiced maidens of great Zeus; and they plucked and gave me a staff, a shoot of sturdy laurel, a marvellous thing; and they breathed into me a wondrous voice, that I might tell of the future and the past, and they bade me sing of the race of the happy ones that live for ever, but always first and last of themselves.

And again:

from or through Thessaly, and consisted of tribes belonging to the Aiolic section of the race. Their earliest conquest was the island of Lesbos; their second the city of Kyme on the mainland —formerly a Hittite settlement. Other places north and south were conquered: in particular, the valuable port of Smyrna was taken by colonists starting from Kyme. A few places still further south were occupied. The Aiolian colonists were followed by numerous bands drawn from many different stocks, but later designated by the common title 'Ionians.' Their colonies were mainly planted to the south of the Aiolians; but there was some overlapping and obliterating on the part of the newcomers. Chios and Smyrna, where the Aiolic and Ionic cultures mixed, were the localities associated by tradition with Homer. The Homeric epics, notwithstanding their occasional use of 'Aiolisms' and their faithfulness to the premigration-conditions of Greek geography, were composed in the Ionic dialect

Kyme, the largest Aiolian colony, was within fifteen miles of the northernmost city of Ionia, and in Hesiod's time she lost her own sub-colony, Smyrna, to the Ionians, but she herself remained Aiolic Kyme and Lesbos ranked as the metropolises of Aiolis, and were evidently places of importance At Kyme lived the father of Hesiod His name is not certainly known. Some fifth-century writers give it as 'Dios', but modern scholars suspect that this information rests on a misunderstanding of some words in which Hesiod calls his brother 'nobly-born' However that may be, the phrase reflects Hesiod's idea of his father's rank and virtue.

Hesiod says that his father was driven by the need of making a living to carry on trade at sea, and that a day came when 'he left Aiolid Kyme, and crossed the wide sea in a black ship, fleeing not from wealth and riches and prosperity, but from evil poverty, which Zeus gives to men, and he settled near Helikon in a wretched village, Askra.' Now we are told by the fourth-century historian, Ephoros, a native of Kyme, that Hesiod's father fled to Boiotia, not for trade, but because he had slain a kinsman. The two motives are not incompatible; and in regard to Ephoros' statement, one can only say that to blacken Hesiod's family was the last thing he desired to do, whereas Hesiod would have good reason to pass the incident by in silence

Askra was a small village on the northern slopes of the beautiful Mount Helikon, about twelve miles due west of the Boiotian capital Thebes, and not far from the town of Thespiai. Hesiod describes Askra as 'bad in winter, vexatious in summer, and never delightful.' Here his father acquired and farmed a piece of land, and brought up his two sons—Hesiod and Perses. From Hesiod's later habit of talking to his brother in the manner

HESIOD, A NEGLECTED PIONEER-POET

In studying history we sometimes come across a pair of characters, one of whom is of first-rate importance, while the other is rarely thought of except in connexion with his associate The result of this coupling is that the less imposing figure forfeits some attractiveness through the overwhelming interest taken in his neighbour We cannot often reverse the order of merit as established by convention, but often we have to go out of our way to do justice to the real greatness of one to whom chance has given a second-rate position

This situation is illustrated by the two Greek poets—Homer and Hesiod. Though not contemporaries, they are so closely linked in the thought of succeeding generations that one cannot mention Hesiod without bringing Homer also upon the scene The result has been to make Hesiod less conspicuous than he deserves. There is indeed no question as to which is the greater. The genius of Homer is of that gigantic sort which provides an inexhaustible fund of interest and joy despite all distances of time and taste, and which ensures him a place in any list, however brief, of the greatest poets. Hesiod does not soar into the empyrean as Homer does. Hence the modern world tends to ignore him. Nevertheless, his life possesses great interest for those who can look at him without being dazzled by the brilliance of his mighty rival.

The precise dates of Hesiod's life are unknown. His poems were certainly written later than the Homeric epics ; and opinion seems to converge on the earlier half of the eighth century B.C. as the probable epoch of his life and work

The history of the period, so far as the Hellenic peoples are concerned, is disconnected and obscure. The outstanding events between the Trojan War and the period of Hesiod were a series of migrations in European Greece and the consequent establishment of several important Greek colonies on the coast of Asia Minor. The Boiotians moved from Thessaly into Boiotia ; the Dorians and Aitolians left central Greece and seized nearly the whole of Peloponnesos. These disturbances drove many Greeks to seek new homes beyond the Ægean. The first group came

remedy this state of things is a graver dereliction of duty than we have hitherto realised.

The present evil of our city noises is generally admitted, but its cumulative effects may lead to future widespread permanent disability and the suffering and irritation which that disability entails.

W. S. Tucker.

help deaf people suffering from paracusis. Other authorities hold that in some cases improved hearing may occur because of the shaking up of the small chain of bones, which in certain types of deafness appear to get fixed. A few cases tested recently at one of our London hospitals have certainly exhibited improved hearing in cases of this type. It is within my own experience that a certain deaf aeroplane pilot was regarded as an expert in observing the bad running of his engine during flight, but because of defective hearing under normal conditions he failed to pass the recognised tests for acuity of hearing. Cases are known of paracutics who claim to hear better when playing the piano, and one rather convincing case is that of a lady who can hear the footsteps of her pet dog only when conditions are noisy; not even the most sturdy opponent of the belief in improved hearing for such persons can accuse the dog of stepping more heavily for the benefit of his deaf mistress.

But if the paracutic actually hears better in a disturbing noise he cannot pose as an advocate for noise, for this unnatural condition may be the cause of all his trouble. Boilermakers, riveters, aeroplane engine tuners, all gradually lose their hearing through this perpetual over-stimulation of the sense organs, and, although they are frequently found to exhibit paracusis and to carry on conversation without great effort in their own noisy surroundings in which the normal listener is completely deafened, they cannot claim to be other than defective, and they certainly suffer from complete disability under normal conditions.

It has been proved by Witmaack by a series of rather gruesome experiments on guinea-pigs that the sense organs are completely destroyed by prolonged exposure to loud noise, and that particularly does this occur for that perceptive organ registering the class of noise to which they are exposed. There is no reason to doubt that the human ear is similarly affected.

How far, then, do the London traffic noises permanently affect the individual exposed to them? At what stage does the ear mechanism and its nervous system get strained beyond recovery? The preliminary stages of deafness are seldom noticed by the average man, and one cannot help thinking that hearing should be examined to the same extent as vision, for which special clinics exist. If we could only examine for the whole gamut of sounds the ears of those exposed to the growing evil of noise, we might find subjects exhibiting defective organs of reception, suffering from tone deafness, losing some of the graduations of pitch and intensity. This failing would lead to a lack of appreciation of music and of the true character of all the sounds around us. If such be the effect, surely our failure to

impulsive sounds heard from the outside build up by reverberation into a steady hum in which these sounds become indiscriminate, but with a well-upholstered compartment the hum disappears. At the same time the separate impulsive sounds in the latter case can be more easily distinguished from one another, although weakened by sound absorption.

Our offices resound to all impulsive sounds produced either within or outside, and any improvement to be effected must be expensive. We can reduce the noise of the impulsive footstep sound by substituting a rubber floor for the usual hard floor, as is now the practice in some of the bigger banking establishments. Alternatively, we can drape the walls with curtains or cover the floor with carpets to cure reverberation. Again, we can adopt for our walls absorbent slabs of porous character, which entail considerable expense and involve a certain sacrifice of hygienic properties. Further, if it were possible, we would interpose between our hearing organs and the outside air some screen or absorbent which would relieve us, but we have no arrangement, such as we might have in our home wireless set, of tuning out or tuning in. The unwanted sound impulses too much resemble in character the impulsive sounds of speech, and elimination of the one necessarily banishes that of the other also.

In order, therefore, to pursue our daily avocations we must communicate to one another with this background of noise. It is like painting a picture with thin paint on a stippled canvas—our speech appears to lose definition, our articulation suffers extinction, and our words become unintelligible. Such would be the experience of a teacher in a noisy school, of a speaker at a board meeting with the open window exposed to the street, and most particularly of those who try to converse as they travel, whether on foot, in omnibus, or in underground train. This interference of the background of sound is known as 'masking,' and Knudsen by experiments in America has shown that speech energy for intelligible conversation must have from 1000 to 10,000 times the energy of the disturbing sound. This figure sounds rather appalling, but it must be pointed out that our range of speech energy output does normally vary through wide limits. The statement, however, does illustrate the difficulty of making our conversation sufficiently loud to compete with the racket of the passing motor omnibus.

The outstanding feature of motor traffic, as compared with horse traffic of earlier days, is the production of low-frequency sounds. The more modern the car engine, the more pronounced is this effect. The average motor lorry engine gives an exhaust note of about forty vibrations per second at its lowest, and this is just within audible range. The average touring-car engine

silence is replaced by the general indefinable din of traffic more distant.

For very loud sounds, like those experienced by a passenger in one of the civil aircraft, the accommodating apparatus is obviously set to minimum sensitivity. After two and a half hours' travel from London to Paris the passenger has suffered loss in acuity of hearing which persists after he has landed. He hears his own voice as a deaf man would hear it, and this deafness persists and is noticeable for at least half an hour, although it is not sufficient to prevent conversation.

Secchi in the course of his experiments with a living dog showed that not only was the ear of the dog capable of accommodation to loud sounds, but also that this process occurred equally well when the dog was unconscious under an anaesthetic. Evidence so far obtained seems to show that the human ear behaves in a similar manner. It would be interesting to know whether some variation in accommodating apparatus would account for the distinction between light and heavy sleepers, and whether those accustomed to noises throughout the night do not employ their reflex controls more effectively than those who must have quiet surroundings for sleep.

It is not the steady roar of London but its racking variations which impose the chief strain, although one would not wish to discount the former unnatural condition. As Professor Spooner says, constant loud noise, no matter how well accustomed we may grow to it, is definitely harmful. The nerves in the inner ear, not adequately protected by the accommodating mechanism, must suffer progressive fatigue.

This universal prevalence of noise obviously forces us to try to protect ourselves, but unfortunately our efforts generally cause us to take some action definitely non-hygienic. We close our windows to keep out noise, thus reducing ventilation; and we upholster our rooms to deaden reverberation, thus providing a home for dust and germs. A room easy to clean is hard to silence: our hospital wards will in general be our noisiest abodes.

It is now possible to measure the sound absorption coefficients of different materials, and to make an estimate with a certain amount of mathematical exactitude of the improvements caused by the use of different materials. For example, a bare wooden-walled railway compartment with one of its windows open would be about three times as noisy as a well-upholstered and carpeted first-class compartment with the same ventilation. If the window is closed, the improvement is still more evident in the upholstered compartment, assuming the sound to come through from the outside. Moreover, with the bare compartment the

cavity constricted by reflex action, thereby imposing a graduated tension on the diaphragm, and of course at the same time increasing the internal pressure. The pressure, evidence of the constriction of the middle ear cavity, can therefore give an indication of the tension of the diaphragm—the louder the sound the greater the internal pressure, and so also the greater the tension. It is also interesting to note that intermittent noises repeated twenty, thirty, up to seventy times per minute obtain responses of these reflex actions twenty, thirty and up to seventy times correspondingly, but from eighty and upwards such variations are not produced. This mechanical adjustment of the diaphragm provides a possible explanation of the ear's power to accommodate itself to very loud sounds, and will appeal to the physicist as employing a mechanical operation capable of explanation by well-known physical laws.

It may only, of course, be a partial effect, for it is well known that the nerves which function in the inner ear—that seat of the organ of reception—will, if over-stimulated, suffer from fatigue and cease to transmit impressions.

Now let us see what is the bearing of this upon the behaviour of the ear exposed to the noise of London traffic. It must be borne in mind that the noises to which we are normally exposed are not continuous, but increase and decrease with a more or less impulsive character. The ear, with its wonderful capacity of recording impressions, can deal with sounds corresponding to all displacements from 1 to 10,000,000 in magnitude. It can function with the hum of a mosquito or with the intense roar of a Trinity House siren. And so the ear, equipped with its accommodating mechanism, whatever that may be, will be continually adjusting itself to the varied outputs of the London traffic. Only when the intermittency of sound merges into more continuous noise can the accommodating mechanism seek rest. In the case of a dog's ear this would require a frequency of loud sounds exceeding eighty per minute. No figure can as yet be quoted for the human ear, but it is certain that a somewhat similar phenomenon is exhibited, and that, beyond a certain frequency of loud recurrent noises, the accommodation muscles cease to act. Even, therefore, if the mechanical apparatus of the middle ear deals with only a portion of the work of protecting us against undue strain, its continued activity for the normal intermittency of London traffic sounds will account for some of the fatigue which adds to our exhaustion after a busy day in the City. Now we can understand Lamb's irritation with the unconnected unset sounds and can plead a greater irritation from a cause so manifestly greater. The hammer strokes at noon become the bursts of intense noise from the passing vehicle, and the background of

confirmation or otherwise which the advance of science will inevitably bring. There will, however, be some advantage in speculating on the action of the delicate mechanism of the ear and in pointing out its capacity to modify and analyse the sound which it receives. That drumskin, outer boundary of the middle ear, no thicker than a piece of tissue paper, is a veritable diaphragm acting as a telephone transmitter diaphragm would act, responding to the aerial vibrations in just such a way. The diaphragm is laden on its inner side with the anchorage of a chain of curiously shaped little bones, the other end of the chain terminating on another smaller diaphragm, partial boundary of the inner ear, within which such mysterious events take place. Does this loosely connected chain serve as the channel of sound to the inner ear? This again is a matter of controversy, but it is known that these small bones are kept in place by a series of muscles, capable of exerting force on the diaphragms at either end, undoubtedly affecting the tension under which the first diaphragm, the drumskin, is stretched. This is precisely one method by which a physicist would attempt to alter the sensitivity of that diaphragm to all disturbances outside. Or alternatively, the diaphragm might be tightened by variations of internal air pressure—another mode of achieving the same result.

The sensitivity of this diaphragm is constantly being altered by voluntary or involuntary means. The little cavity behind the diaphragm is connected to the outer air by a tube—the Eustachian tube, which opens into the roof of the mouth. When the tube is opened, which occurs in the act of swallowing, air pressures on both sides of the diaphragm are equalised, the diaphragm tension is released and is momentarily insensitive, so that we experience a temporary slight deafness. The moment the act of swallowing is completed the tube is closed, and in the act of closing compresses the air slightly, and the diaphragm is under slight tension and capable of normal listening. Again, when the individual employs a conscious effort in listening, the tension of the ear drum is increased by action of the small muscles operating the lever system of small bones. This action is voluntary. If the listener yawns, perhaps through fatigue in conscious listening and with a feeling of boredom, certain other muscles are called into play, and the system works in such a manner that the diaphragm is under much greater tension. Here the diaphragm is desensitised by tightening it, and we get that deafness as we yawn which is so commonly observed. Some interesting work has been done by Secchi, who operated on the ear of a dog. He discovered that when the ear was subjected to sounds of graduated intensities the muscles in the middle ear

accommodate itself to some glaring tropical light to which it may be continually exposed, so the ear, by exposure to continuous loud sounds, can desensitise itself to make them even tolerable although, when taken unawares, it finds itself completely unready to withstand an equal noise suddenly produced and as suddenly silenced. The din of a continuous heavy bombardment in the late war deadened our sense of hearing, but the sudden crack of an 18-pounder field-gun breaking through comparative silence proved to be more unnerving. It may be that the power of accommodation to these intense sound stimuli is attributable to physical causes, just as power of accommodation is exhibited to light stimuli by contraction of the pupil in the eye. Theories of hearing are so divergent that it is impossible as yet to speak authoritatively as to the exact process whereby the brain is defended from the strain of intense sounds. But that such defence exists is beyond question. How can a solution be afforded when so little is really known of the mechanism of the ear? Built into the skull, in close proximity to the brain, the secrets of the mechanism of the inner ear, that complicated snail-shell structure, are extremely well guarded. It has been well described by a celebrated French savant of the eighteenth century as '*le sanctuaire des sons*.' Experiments on the living ear are well-nigh impossible, and examination of the ear after death finds it in a condition wholly unlike that which might be expected when functioning as a living organ. A great deal of physiological work has been done on the ear after death. The value of this is well summed up by another French authority, Breschet. 'Le physiologiste qui l'étude est comparable au cocher dans un ville qui connait fort bien les places, les rues, les passages, les murailles et les maisons, mais ne sait pas qui les habite.'

That the ear should serve as an extremely beautiful piece of physical apparatus would seem to be clearly indicated. How else can one explain the marvellous complexity of the middle and the inner ear, so much mechanism to interpose between the sound disturbance entering the outer ear and those delicate nerve fibres which register the transmitted effect and pass it on to the brain?

This is not the place to describe in detail the ear's wonderful anatomy—nor need one enter into the pros and cons of the various theories of listening. Many embittered arguments have been exchanged by the protagonists of the different theories. The most important differences arise as to the function of the ear mechanism, one theory holding that here the sound is received and analysed, the opposing theory localising this discriminating power in the brain. The former theory is the more attractive to consider, and the truth of its assumptions must await that

NOISE AND HEARING

In the *Nineteenth Century and After* for last September Professor Spooner contributed an article on 'The Problem of Noise,' and drew up a very comprehensive list of nuisances with all of which we are only too familiar. It is the purpose of this article to deal with noise in relation to the individual, and to account for the irritation and fatigue which the listener experiences.

Lamb in his *Essays of Elia* has written a chapter on 'Ears' which makes good reading. After making certain comments derogatory to music, he relates having deadened the pain suffered when sitting through an Italian opera by rushing into the noisiest places of the crowded streets to solace himself with sounds which he was not obliged to follow. This somewhat novel use of traffic noise indicates not merely an abnormal temperament, but also throws some light on the conditions of traffic in those days, for it is hardly conceivable that, despite his strong antipathy for music, Lamb would express himself with positive relief to the distracting noises of our rattling and humming streets, noises which in his day he could characterise as 'honest common life sounds.'

But even if we cannot share his dislike to the measured malice of music, we can surely sympathise with him when he admits a constitutional susceptibility to noises. 'A carpenter's hammer, in a warm summer noon, will put me into more than midsummer madness'—such was Lamb's comment on what he describes as 'unconnected unset sounds.'

Why should the single insistent hammer have such devastating effects on our famous essayist, when he could undergo with equanimity, and even positive pleasure, a battery of hammers and sounds caused by the ironshod hoofs of horses on the paved streets of old London? There is undoubtedly a reason for this phenomenon, and perhaps modern science will help to solve the problem.

Certain kinds of annoyance there are from which Nature can protect us, but even our natural defences cannot withstand the shock excitation of a sudden noise. For Nature has a scheme of defence for the ear as well as for the eye. Just as the eye can

admasters in some districts meet each other informally as one
ay. This movement is likely to extend. The headmasters of
he public schools in one area will meet periodically at one of
heir schools, or at some central meeting place, where they can
iscuss the problems which really face them without thoughts of
he Press and without the necessity of formal resolutions which
ave to be acceptable to schools of diverging interests. Finally,
when the independence of the independent schools is threatened,
a more formal association of the independent schools may arise.
Meanwhile I hope I shall live to see the foundation of an informal
gathering of the headmasters of public schools in the West of
England, who will work confidingly and helpfully, not only with
one another, but with the headmasters of the preparatory schools
in the same area.

N. WHATLEY.

which vitally concern them, but which are not suited for detailed discussion at the Conference with its present constitution? For there are many problems of this kind.

(1) The great problem of securing good teachers for preparatory schools has already been mentioned. There is no simple solution. The finance of preparatory school education will have to be thrashed out fearlessly and thoroughly.

(2) It is, as I have hinted, most desirable that the public schools should improve their system of registering entries, and that the preparatory schools should co-operate. More candour and co-operation is required in all directions if this problem is to be solved.

(3) There is the problem of public school entrance scholarships. The arrangements for these are as chaotic as were Oxford and Cambridge scholarship examinations at their worst, and they show even less consideration for the preparatory schools than the colleges used to show for the public schools.

(4) There is the problem of dealing with the Oxford and Cambridge colleges, not only in the matter of their scholarship examinations, but in their entrance examinations, which have recently taken on new terrors and would seem to be arranged without any co-operation between colleges, and with little consideration for the problems of the schools which supply candidates. The formal passing of resolutions at the Conference will have no effect on Oxford and Cambridge colleges. Private negotiations carried out by a small and harmonious body might be effective.

(5) Lastly, there are many problems in the public schools themselves which do not concern the general body of secondary schools. The problem, to take one instance, of the financial system of boarding-houses is one which concerns nearly every public school, and with regard to which many schools, at any rate, are not satisfied with existing arrangements.

Problems such as these do not lend themselves to decision by resolution at a large meeting. It is not even desirable that all schools should solve them in the same way. But when many headmasters are faced with similar problems it must be a gain for them to be able to exchange experiences. There are cases (scholarships, for instance, and registration) where nothing can be done without some combination, and there are other obvious cases where unity is strength. Probably these problems will at first be discussed in an informal way. Schools whose headmasters belong to the committee of the Conference may well find that the meetings of that committee give them the opportunity for informal discussion which they require. But other schools will tend to construct informal committees of their own. Already the

likely to be made. To abolish the Conference would involve considerable legal difficulties, even if the Conference wanted to abolish itself, which it certainly does not. If the Conference were starting afresh it would probably limit its membership to a much smaller number of schools, but to reduce it to a smaller number is a difficult matter. It could only be done by not re-electing to membership the successors of certain present members. The committee would never take this bold step without an instruction from the Conference, and the Conference is not likely to give such an instruction. Though it would be logical, it would not be English. There is no chance of restricting the membership of the Conference so long as the idea prevails that membership gives a school a certain status, and that loss of membership would involve a loss of status. If, in the future, this can ever be done, it will be necessary to discover a more exact criterion of qualification for membership. There is only one such criterion. It would be necessary to insist that to qualify for membership a school must, in addition to what is required of it already, be free from all outside financial assistance, either from the State or local authorities. The restriction of membership to independent schools would halve the present membership of the Conference. A few schools would be left out which do meet the special problems of the public schools; a few might be included which do not meet these problems. But this is the only cut-and-dried test which could be applied, and as time goes on the independent schools may need more and more to hang together. Until then the Conference will go on much as it is. There are indications that the annual meeting may for some of its business divide up into two separate bodies, the grant-aided schools holding one meeting, while the independent schools hold another. But this would be fatal to the social side of the annual meeting. Whether it happens or not, the Conference will probably, bit by bit, continue to lose prestige, for from the educational point of view it is an unreal Conference.

The chief objection to abolishing the Conference (other than the legal difficulties) has always been that even if the Conference were abolished, something of the sort would have to be started in its place. That is true. But, though something of the sort would be started, it would be a much smaller body of the kind suggested above. Even if the Conference is not abolished it will, unless it is radically altered, still be necessary to start such a body. But the time is not yet ripe for this. The need will only be recognised when the present great boom in public school education receives a set-back, and the unendowed, independent schools have to face serious financial difficulties. How in the meantime are these schools to confer about the many problems

they are the real problem. Schools would not have much difficulty about deciding when to teach the Old Testament and when the New if headmasters had under them a considerable body of assistant-masters who found themselves able to teach this subject with confidence and enthusiasm. It is very unfortunate that the staffs of most public schools lack teachers of this type in any number This educational problem, like almost all others, comes back to the personality of the teacher The Committee recognised this, and considered the 'two qualifications of a teacher to be first, that he should profess and call himself a Christian, and secondly, that he should be prepared to equip himself for his task by a reasonable course of study, such as is given by the Board of Education, the Biblical Vacation term, and the Divinity Lectures Committee' No one will dispute that it is most desirable that teachers of divinity should equip themselves in this way But are they really going to do it? How many of the headmasters who voted for the acceptance of this report really intend to put pressure on their assistant-masters to take the course recommended? Most headmasters teach divinity themselves Some are qualified to do this, others are not. Will those who lack this qualification, but voted for the acceptance of the report, have qualified themselves before the next meeting of the Conference by attending vacation courses in this subject? I may be wrong, but I suspect that very few will do this. Is it surprising that headmasters are sometimes accused of being humbugs?

These criticisms have been aimed at the annual meeting of the Conference In fairness it ought now to be added that the effective work of the Conference is mainly carried out by its committee This committee is excellently chosen, and its members are almost invariably men of the highest ability They meet regularly through the year, unhampered by excessive numbers or the presence of the Press They act as the watch-dogs of the Conference Individual headmasters can go to them with their legal or other difficulties they carry out the instructions of the Conference, whenever these are sufficiently explicit to make any action possible, and they prepare the business for the following year. They are, no doubt, restricted in many ways by the fact that they represent such a variegated electorate. Considering this, they are an admirable and valuable institution. There are, too, a number of sub-committees which do excellent work in connexion with overseas settlements, the examination of boys for the various military colleges, and similar problems.

But what is to be the future of the Conference? The near future, at any rate, will be like the present. No big change is

recognising it. Secondly, in many cases the public schools have the most haphazard system of registering boys' names, and it is often extremely difficult for a parent to know whether his son's name has been definitely accepted for a school or not. The parent takes the obvious course of entering his son for several schools. This adds to the confusion. It is unlikely that the public schools would agree to adopt a uniform method of registration, but the present chaos could certainly be made less chaotic. That is just the sort of point which the Headmasters' Conference ought to deal with, and on which it ought to confer with the Association of Preparatory Schools. Thirdly—and this I think is most important of all—the preparatory school headmasters, with few exceptions, are unable to offer to their assistant-masters sufficient attractions to make good men undertake the work of teaching in these schools. Most educational problems are really concerned with the personality of the teacher, though at the Conference we are always trying to avoid that issue and to discuss curricula and syllabus and examinations. During the discussion on the common entrance examination the weakness of much preparatory school teaching was several times mentioned, but no suggestion was made for a remedy, nor are the resolutions which were passed likely to provide one. The Conference would be doing much more useful work if in private, and in consultation with the preparatory schools, it would make a serious effort to solve this really serious problem. If it is not solved, the type of education provided by the private preparatory schools in preparing boys for the public schools is bound to break down. No alteration in the common entrance examination could prevent this, and to abolish the examination would be fatal at a time when every incentive is needed to encourage a high standard of work in the preparatory schools.

Then there was a discussion on the report of the Committee on Religious Instruction. I do not wish to criticise this in many ways admirable report, but there are two points in it which illustrate what has been said above. The report begins by emphasising the fact that the great 'difference of type, character and internal arrangements of schools make it useless to draw up a detailed syllabus.' When pressed to produce a syllabus for next year members of the Committee repeated this argument. It is obviously impossible to draw up a syllabus which could be carried out in all secondary schools of every type, but it would surely be possible to draw one up for the public schools in the narrower sense. Such a syllabus is probably not really wanted, but the discussion of it drew attention to the lack of uniformity in the Conference schools.

The other point concerns the teachers of divinity. Surely

The Press is admitted to that part of the business of the Conference which is described as public business. This has not always been the case, and it seems to be a great mistake. It is true that if all the proceedings were private the Conference would not be able to keep itself in the public eye, and the Association would come more and more to be regarded as the body which officially represented secondary schools. But would this so greatly matter? The reports of the Conference which appear in the Press are inevitably incomplete, and often give a wrong impression. In the provincial papers they usually appear under sensational headlines which appeal to the popular tendency to regard headmasters, like mothers-in-law and policemen, as proper subjects for humour. Even the serious, but critical, correspondence which annually appears in *The Times* after the Conference has met does not add to the reputation of the Conference, and is usually based on a complete misunderstanding of what has been said. It would surely be better for a statement to be issued to the Press at the end of the meeting. This was once the practice. The Press did not give any prominence to it, but that was surely much healthier than the prominence which is at present given to any remark at the Conference which can be turned into a sensational headline.

I have described some of the failings of the Conference as it now is. These may be illustrated from the two items of business in the recent Conference which attracted most attention in the Press. One of them was the discussion on the common entrance examination. This discussion acquired a certain piquancy from the prominence which the subject had lately received in the Press. The reporters sat up and took notice: here and now this problem would at last be solved. But it was not solved. After various discussions about the wording of the motions and riders and amendments, certain resolutions were passed to which nobody could possibly take exception, and which are unlikely to be of much help to any preparatory schoolmaster, or to lead to any alteration in the procedure of any of the public schools whose headmasters voted on them. The common entrance examination has its faults. The recent discussion in the Press showed that the arrangements for passing boys from preparatory into public schools are not generally regarded as satisfactory. But every headmaster must know, in his heart of hearts, that the common entrance examination is not the root cause of the trouble, which lies much deeper. First, there is the undeniable fact that, at present, more boys wish to enter most of the schools than there is room for. Some system of selection must be used, and whatever the system is, those who are refused will be dissatisfied. This fact was pointed out, but the discussion went on without

But there is nothing to be said for holding a serious educational conference at a time which is the worst in the whole year for travelling, is often the worst for weather, and is one of the three occasions in the year when a headmaster is exhausted both in mind and body and cannot have had any opportunity to study in advance the business of the Conference. Most of us sit there puffing our pipes, tired but comfortable, and only too thankful that there are a few protagonists who do the talking, their energies unaffected by the strain of a long term, and their enthusiasm for discussing educational problems undimmed by the near approach of Christmas. An alteration of the time of the annual meeting would add to its value as a serious educational conference. But it would not remove all grounds for criticism. Other causes have taken from the Conference a good deal of its former prestige and usefulness.

The Conference had its origin in a small informal meeting of headmasters held in 1869, before the day of educational associations. Its possibilities for usefulness were soon evident, and it was joined one by one by the headmasters of those schools which, in spite of logic and letters to the Press, are still popularly known as the public schools. It met primarily to discuss the domestic problems of those schools. No one has ever succeeded in defining this type of school very clearly, and the Conference has never had any very exact criterion of membership. Certain general instructions are given to the committee of the Conference, and the committee elect. The Conference grew, and as it grew schools of a rather different type were included. Close association with Oxford and Cambridge has always been regarded as the chief qualification, and since 1869 a number of schools of various types have begun to send a fair number of boys as scholars and exhibitioners to the old universities. The headmasters of some of these were in time admitted to the Conference, though they are not public schools in the popularly accepted sense.

In 1891 a new society of headmasters was founded—the Incorporated Association of Headmasters, open to the headmasters of all public secondary schools. This Association grew and prospered. It is now five times as large as the Conference, and is the natural body to discuss general questions connected with secondary education. All members of the Conference are now qualified for membership of the Association, and the great majority belong to it.

It might have been expected that the development of the Association would lead either to the complete amalgamation of the two bodies or to the restriction of membership of the Conference to the headmasters of those schools which have to handle certain peculiar problems (the public schools in the

THE FUTURE OF THE HEADMASTERS' CONFERENCE

The request that I should write an article on this subject suggests the existence of a suspicion that the Conference does not at present perform all that might be expected of it. I must confess that I share that suspicion. Whether it is seemly for a junior member of the Conference to voice such a suspicion in public is a point about which I feel more doubtful. But at any rate it can do no harm.

As a social event the annual meeting of the Conference is delightful. It is usually held at one of the large public schools in pleasant surroundings and amid bounteous hospitality. There is always an excellent dinner, and the evening is spent happily in renewing old acquaintanceships and making new ones. Everyone is in a good temper. The newcomer is welcomed; he meets the great men of the profession. He can learn something of the ideas of men not only of larger experience, but of different experience in a great variety of schools. Unfortunately this social function, for which some of the members have to come a very long way, is, though delightful, very brief. The whole Conference, including meetings, only lasts for twenty-four hours. Nor can this period very well be extended so long as the Conference persists in its curious determination to hold its meeting in the very short period between the end of the Michaelmas Term and Christmas Day. There are usually some headmasters who cannot get to the Conference at all because their schools have not yet broken up. Others cannot arrive in time for the proceedings on the opening afternoon; others leave before the concluding proceedings on the following morning. Hardly any have time to explore at all thoroughly the school they have come so far to see. No one seems to know why the meeting is held at this curious season. Unkind critics say that the members wish to get to Switzerland as quickly as possible. But headmasters do not go to Switzerland at this time in great numbers. They prefer to spend their holidays away from their pupils.

Even so, there may be something to be said for a social function at that time of year. The Christmas spirit is in the air.

[illegible] power of [illegible] millions was greater than that of the [illegible] millions of Europeans, and much greater than that of a thousand million Asiatics.[1]

The septennial "slump" expected by students of trade cycles in 1928 did not take place, and American industrialists appear to anticipate a continuance of their present prosperity. A note of misgiving is, however, sometimes to be heard. Continued prosperity is to be achieved only by a strenuous speeding-up of the methods of production and distribution and an ever fiercer competition in domestic and world markets.

The author of *American Prosperity*, after likening post-war Europe to a hungry man who has tightened his belt to the first hole, writes of his own country:

> Meanwhile America has loosened the belt. Her problem therefore, so far as it affects a majority of the people really lies in filling the maw to fit the belt, and not in drawing in the belt to fit a shrinking waistline. American industry, in other words, has the odd problem of feeding those who are not hungry, of clothing those who are already warmly clad. Her problem may therefore seem to be a 'high grade worry' indeed; but actually it is a very serious matter. The factory system, which is built to produce millions, depends upon those millions for profits. A relatively small decrease in production, it should be clear to all, measures, not the difference between excess profits and lag profits, but the entire difference between profit and loss. It is a difficult problem we are facing—unique in history

ELEANOR S. SYMES.

[1] *The Times*, November 21, 1928.

Such figures, even if exaggerated, are a spot upon the dazzling sun of American prosperity. And there are others. The coal industry, though temporarily stimulated by the British coal strike, has long been depressed, and the reports of investigators reveal a profoundly unsatisfactory state of affairs. Sir Leo Chiozza Money wrote in 1926:

> The Report of the United States Coal Commission issued in 1925 was a revelation of continuing waste and disorder, resulting in grave social distress. . . . Many of the mine-owners have failed to exhibit the enlightened self-interest which has appeared in much of American industry in recent years. There are so many mine-owners in America that their unco-ordinated struggle to find a market results in the superfluous working of hundreds of mines, with consequent under-employment for an unnecessarily large mining population, and serious waste of capital and coal.

Agriculture, which employs nearly one-third of the whole population of America, has long suffered from over-production and falling prices. Mr. Hoover, addressing the United States Chamber of Commerce in 1926 under the heading 'Element of Disorganisation in some Industries,' stated that the agricultural industry in many important branches had not kept pace in increasing standards of living with the workers and managers of other businesses. Agriculture remained their most difficult economic problem.

Despite certain weak points, however, the growth, the magnitude, and the prosperity of American industrialism are amazing. During the ten years ending in 1927 the value of manufactured products increased by 149 per cent., and the amount paid in wages—to only 25 per cent. more workers—by 175 per cent. The recent slight fall in wages has been accompanied by a considerably greater fall in prices, so that the purchasing power of the people continues to grow. Savings bank deposits increased from $8,548,000,000 to $23,134,000,000, and the number of depositors from 11,000,000 to 44,000,000, between 1913 and 1925. The membership of building and loan societies more than trebled during the same period.

Dr. Alberto Pirelli, president of the International Chamber of Commerce, addressing the board of directors of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, said that

> The United States now contained 6 per cent. of the world's population, but 80 per cent. of the automobiles, 60 per cent. of the telephones and telegraphs, and 33 per cent. of the railways, and the country consumed 35 per cent. of the electric power produced in the world. Its exports had increased by one billion dollars in five years, and in volume by 40 per cent.
>
> With 6 per cent. of the world's area, the United States produced 70 per cent. of the oil, 60 per cent. of the wheat and cotton, 50 per cent. of the copper and pig iron, and 40 per cent. of the lead and coal. The pur-

subjects usually dealt with between unions and employers should work for stabilisation and increased production. They demanded, as a preliminary condition, full recognition of the unions and an equitable division of any increase in profits. The 'experiment' worked so admirably that a similar course has been followed by five other large railways, including the Canadian National Railway System.

Machinery for conciliation and arbitration in the United States is much less complete and authoritative than it is in Great Britain. Settlements are frequently made by agreement between employers and unions, and sometimes also, in 'open shops,' under the auspices of works councils. The latter are, however, limited and local, and are apt to break down in cases of extreme tension. Most of the forty-eight States have made statutory provision for intervention in industrial disputes, but except in New York and Massachusetts this has fallen into abeyance. Action by the Federal Government, except where expressly authorised, as by the Railway Act of 1926, is held by the States to be an unconstitutional infringement of their rights. Conversely, action on the part of individual States may be vetoed by the Federal Government as interference with the rights of the American citizen.

This conflict of constitutional authorities impedes also the enactment and the enforcement of other industrial legislation, so that in all such matters as Factory Acts, and inspection, pensions, and the hours and conditions of labour of men, women and children, there are the widest differences among the different States. Forty-two have some form of workmen's compensation; three provide old age pensions; six forbid the employment of children under sixteen in factories, and seven under fifteen. There is no national provision of poor relief, sick pay, or unemployment insurance.

Investigations into American industrialism are much hampered by the lack of trustworthy and clearly presented statistics. Hourly wage rates, for instance, are quoted, usually as an evidence of prosperity in a given industry, without information as to the number of hours per day, days per week, or weeks per year that are normally worked. There are no official statistics of unemployment, but the president of the International Association of Machinists stated at their annual conference in 1926 that there were 3,000,000 unemployed and 2,000,000 intermittently employed industrial workers in the United States. Other authorities give the number of normally unemployed in the building industries as over 25 per cent. Clothing workers are said to be out of work for 31 per cent. and boot and shoe workers for 35 per cent. of the year.

respect and recognition of the rights of both employers and employees. . . . Supplementing the recognition of these simple rights must come understanding, co-operation, and the manifestation of a mutuality of interest in the management and conduct of industry.

In pursuance of this policy American trade unions have extended their activities into new fields, and now concern themselves with the manifold problems of production and distribution. This is done by small local unions with regard to individual factories, and by the large organisations with regard to the whole craft or industry which they represent. They formulate suggestions. Some of the larger unions have their own research boards, which supply valuable reports to the managers of 'closed shops.' The unions strive by every means to increase production and lessen costs, always insisting, however, that the profits of industry must be shared with the workers, and that lower costs are not to be sought through reduction of wages.

These activities of the unions have naturally strengthened their claim and their desire for a responsible share in the organisation of industry, and have thus led to union-management co-operation. Nearly a quarter of American industry is now covered by schemes of union-management co-operation, and with the happiest results. The standards which they have created in particular instances tend to become general. The union leaders maintain that such co-operation should not be confined to the relations between management and men, but must be regarded as also concerning the owners and the public. There is evidence to show that this Utopian state of affairs is really being attained in some large industries.

Schemes of union-management co-operation vary greatly in constitution and powers. The Printers' International Joint Conference Council, for instance, is composed of representatives of the Printers' League of America and of the four chief printers' trade unions. Its object is 'to promote the spirit of co-operation, and to deal with the problems of the industry in a way to ensure the protection of the interests of all concerned.' The council forms a court of appeal on wages and other disputed points, and also deals with legislation, standardisation, methods, and machinery, giving due weight to the opinions and experience of the workmen.

'The Glenwood experiment,' another variety of union-management co-operation, was initiated in the Glenwood shops of the Baltimore and Ohio Railway at Pittsburgh by an agreement between the railway company and the railway employees' section of the American Federation of Labour. In 1923, after two years of industrial friction, the unions suggested the formation of a joint organisation which, whilst ignoring wages and other

of any intermediary between owners and workpeople in British factories.

Workmen's councils, like the works manager, are an outcome of the great commercial value attached by American industrialists to happy relations in the factory. By providing a means of contact, discussion, and collective bargaining they have proved highly successful in promoting good feeling, and consequently increased productivity. There were in 1926 913 such councils, involving 1,369,078 workers. They are chiefly to be found in non-union industries and in large establishments. They concern themselves chiefly with welfare, safety, grievances, and various forms of benefit. Questions of hours and wages are dealt with by union negotiation where unions exist, and are otherwise arbitrarily settled by the employer

By means of workmen's councils, of infinite variety in scope and organisation, sick pay, free holidays, pensions, life insurance, stock-holding by the workmen, and, to a small extent, profit-sharing have been arranged in individual factories. Such benefits, provided sometimes on a contributory basis, but usually by the employer alone, naturally make for harmonious relations, and compensate to some degree for the lack of 'social services' provided in less individualistic countries It must, however, be remembered that councils instituted and financed by the employer can be wound up at his discretion, and that benefits would probably cease in a time of trade depression. This weakness in schemes of employee representation is frequently pointed out by trade union leaders, who complain also that such schemes, while weakening and to some extent supplanting unions, cannot fulfil their functions, since the councils have no external support or independent funds. Opposition is, however, confined to cases where the union is not recognised Workmen's councils are approved by trade unionism so long as they exist side by side with the unions, and the improvement which they have effected is freely admitted.

American trade unionism, which has always held that high production accompanied by high wages is in the best interests of the workers, regards the employer as a potential ally rather than as an enemy. Its declared policy is: 'to collaborate with employers for the increase of production, whilst securing for labour a fair share of the results of that increase.' Of late years organised labour has adopted an increasingly conciliatory attitude towards capital. The sanctity of contracts is upheld; strikes are discouraged; stoppage of work pending the settlement of disputes is forbidden.

I am confident [says Mr. Green, president of the American Federation of Labour] that we can minimise industrial controversy through a proper

equalled in importance the factory demands for economy and continuous production schedules.' The attainment of equilibrium between the value of economical production and the probable cost of selling that production will be, he considers, one of the outstanding problems of the American business man during the next decade.

Industrial relations in the United States, whether between competing producers, between management and staff in individual factories, or between organised labour and capital, are very different from those that prevail in Great Britain. Among manufacturers competition and co-operation walk hand in hand. Trade rivals unite in groups for joint publicity and joint research, and the results of such research are usually disclosed freely to outsiders. 'Industry,' said Lord Melchett in his presidential address to the Institute of Fuel last November, 'benefits in America by a far franker interchange of views and information than is the case in this country.' What is known as 'swapping information' seems to be the common custom. One manufacturer will visit a rival making the same goods in the same town to inspect and discuss his books, plant, and processes. Each apparently recognises that he has more to gain than to lose by treating business as a game to be played with all cards on the table.

In the factory the works manager plays so important a part that Mr Hoover discerns a tendency for management to dominate ownership. This office was created in the early days of mass production to foster those personal relations which had existed between owner and workpeople in small private works, but could not be maintained by boards of directors, or even by a managing director, in large establishments. The works manager spends his whole time in the factory, and is responsible for plant, office equipment and methods, stores, sanitation, for the prevention of fires, accidents and waste—for everything except finance. He appoints and dismisses workmen, and is blamed for discontent among them. The first works managers were men of the same class as the employees. They mixed freely with them, and usually surrounded themselves with their own friends. They were without technical as opposed to general business ability.

The type of works manager is changing, and management has become a distinct profession. There are schools of management in which instruction is given in such subjects as factory cost accounting, wage payment plans, steam loss, store-keeping, and employee representation schemes. In large establishments there will probably be a special 'personal relations' manager. Works managers receive large salaries, with some form of bonus for conspicuous success. Their powers and status exceed those

cy of '[illegible]' [illegible] the purchaser of a [illegible] model is [illegible] to [illegible] before the purchase is completed, for a 1928 model, even though the earlier car may be absolutely new and in all essentials identical with the later one. Appeals to the love of novelty—always effective in such industries as clothing and house decoration—are being pressed home with great effect in every branch of industry. By means of the smallest possible superficial change the very newest type is pushed upon the public. So far has this procedure been carried in the case of motors that cars in good condition are frequently dumped upon building sites, broken up, and dug into the foundations of new houses.

Intensified salesmanship has unfortunately a tendency to defeat its own object, since there is inherent incompatibility between the requirements of large-scale production and those of large-scale distribution. The millions of uniform articles produced by continuous mass production can be unloaded only at a low price; but publicity and agency charges are so heavy, and increase so rapidly with every increase in the volume of goods to be thrust on the market, that the retail price is forced up to a point often many times greater than its manufactured cost.

Obsolescence strikes at the roots of mass production. The enormous demand created by this factor of salesmanship is naturally a demand for novelties, and therefore cannot be satisfied by the continuous large output of standardised articles, by which mass production reaches its best results. Obsolescence demands, on the contrary, small supplies of constantly varying commodities, since what is in fashion to-day will be out of fashion to-morrow. The manufacturer can only meet this kind of demand by frequent changes of plant and processes, and is moreover debarred from advantageous advance buying of raw material, since he is unable to forecast his requirements.

Mr. Paul M. Mazur, a partner in one of the leading private banks of New York, in his book on *American Prosperity*[4] deals fully and clearly with the antagonism between mass production and obsolescence. 'Mass production, on the one hand,' he writes, 'must live, and obsolescence, on the other, will live. It can be expected, therefore, that the conflict between them will continue, and everything will therefore depend upon intelligent compromise.' Until 1926 mass production was all-important, but now style and obsolescence are seen to be equally vital. Mr. Mazur contrasts 'Fordism' with the line taken by the General Motors Corporation, of which he says: 'Its sales policy has

[4] *American Prosperity: Its Causes and Consequences*, Paul M. Mazur. (Jonathan Cape: London, 1928.)

a new and rapidly growing system of co-operative or national publicity which is proving highly effective. The maker of tooth-paste no longer pushes his own wares. He joins a confederation of tooth-paste makers, who have sunk their natural rivalry in a joint campaign to persuade the public that tooth-paste of any brand is better worth buying than anything else.

Modern American methods of intensified salesmanship, however distasteful to the fastidious, appear to achieve their object, and are being pursued with characteristically American energy. '"We who have to bring in business, must get out before the beloved customer and shout, search, halloo, promise, concede, coax, be funny, coo, thump seek, knock, punch, and *get* the order. . . ." Thus a New York advertising agency announces its mission. Whatever one may think of the social effect, there is no question but that the technique is magnificent, the orders are secured; the sales curves rise' *

Instalment buying, another weapon of salesmanship, has reached extraordinary dimensions in the United States, where, as early as 1924, 16 per cent of retail trade was effected by this method. Instalment buying induces people to purchase what they cannot immediately pay for by extending credit for a particular purpose to those who cannot obtain general credit. Such credit is usually given for one year, and the amount of outstanding debt was recently estimated at about 5,000,000*l.* Most of this sum was owed for motors, of which about 75 per cent are bought by instalment purchase at prices about 12 per cent above cash cost. The risk of non-payment is usually divided among three parties—the dealer, the buyer, and one of the numerous guarantee firms which have sprung into being for this purpose.

Bad debt losses have hitherto been very small. The General Motors Acceptance Corporation between its foundation in 1915 and October 1926 bought consumers' obligations to the value of over $819,000,000 upon which the credit loss was only one-seventh of 1 per cent; but the period covered was one of exceptional prosperity. Instalment buying, when applied to long-lived commodities, may be regarded as a form of saving, but the system has spread to ephemeral purchases, such as clothes and furniture. In the event of prolonged industrial depression the vast indebtedness of so large a number of poor persons might obviously have disastrous results.

'Obsolescence' is rapidly becoming the most effective instrument of the American salesman. He is no longer satisfied with persuading the man who has no car to buy one, or the man who has one car to buy a second by instalment payments. By the

* *Ibid.*

to the [illegible] 'poor white' [illegible] and [illegible] of the material [illegible].

Distribution is [illegible] tending to displace production as the paramount problem of industrial America. Strenuous efforts are being made to increase exports, and associations of producers *for export purposes* have been exempted by recent legislation from the limitations imposed upon 'combines' by the Sherman Anti-Trust Acts. How largely America's huge output was, till quite lately, absorbed in the home market is shown by the disparity between the amount produced and the amount sent overseas. Only 6·5 per cent. of the 2,175,000 motors and only 2·2 per cent. of the boots and shoes produced in the first half of 1926 were exported, but since then the situation has greatly changed. The chairman of the General Motors Export Company, who has recently returned from a business tour in Europe, states that the export of cars has increased enormously during the last two years. He considers that America has only just begun to tap European markets, and that great developments are to be expected in the immediate future

A second result of America's growing need of markets is a great development of salesmanship In 1850 80 per cent of the adult working population were engaged in making and only 20 per cent in selling. By 1920 there were 50 per cent in each class, and the proportion of sellers is still increasing. Advertising absorbs millions of dollars, employs over 700,000 men, and fills from half to two-thirds of the pages of magazines and newspapers. House-to-house canvassing is said to be increasing by 20 per cent. every year. Harvard provides courses of lectures on salesmanship. (It is noteworthy that the British Board of Education has lately appointed a Committee on Education for Salesmanship. We may live to see Oxford follow Harvard's example.)

As supply increasingly tends to outstrip demand, and American producers are increasingly impelled to dragoon the public into wishing to buy what they wish to sell, modes of salesmanship become more highly organised, far-reaching, and amazing.

In the vivid and scathing pages of two American authors [1] we read of the smart young 'contact men' who at social functions turn conversation casually to some brand of face-cream or cigarettes; of the 'closing men' who follow hard upon their heels; of the 'sucker lists' of people who, suffering from certain diseases, are probable purchasers of certain remedies, or, being about to marry, have children, or die, will need furniture, cradles, or coffins. Frenzied efforts to make men 'flower conscious,' refrigerator, straw hat or tooth-paste 'conscious,' have produced

[1] *Your Money's Worth: A Study in the Waste of the Consumer's Dollar*, Stuart Chase and F. J. Schlink. (Jonathan Cape: London, 1927.)

Mass production is usually regarded as the salient feature of American industry, yet its operation covers only half of the workers. According to the Census of Manufacturers of 1923 there were in the United States 196,309 factories employing 8,778,308 workers. Half of these were employed in establishments of less than 1000 hands. In 1926 there were 300,000 small factories with an average of twenty employees. The advantages of mass production, when accompanied by high wages, are great and obvious. It gives large output, with low costs and consequently low prices. It secures to hundreds of thousands of unskilled workers a livelihood without arduous labour, and a volume of purchasing power which sustains the market for mass-produced commodities. Among its disadvantages must be reckoned the elimination of the skilled worker—a suppression of human intelligence which involves the waste of a peculiarly valuable element in industry

American economic and social conditions are peculiarly favourable to successful mass production. Cheap capital is essential. A huge and continuous supply of standardised articles calls for a huge and continuous demand from consumers with standardised tastes Both these requirements America has hitherto been able to provide Her 120,000,000 inhabitants still have, on the whole, the uniform and uncritical standards natural to a new civilisation ; but there is a rapidly growing demand for the variety and quality of goods furnished by the best workmanship of Western Europe.

In every country of the world, uniformity precedes individuality of taste. It remains to be seen whether the finishing industries in the U S, once individual taste has been created, will break away from the combines, owing to their need of greater freedom of movement than can be given within so large a framework [1]

Through mass production the American manufacturer sought to make supply equal demand. In many departments of industry he has over-shot the goal, and is now confronted with the more difficult problem of making demand equal supply. There is irrefutable evidence that coal mining is suffering severely, and agriculture considerably, from over-production. Hints of the same trouble reach us with regard to other big industries. In 1923, and in the early months of 1924 and 1925, iron and steel and the building trades were suffering from depression, attributed to over-production. The oil industry, despite the great increase in the consumption of its products, tells the same story. Since 1926 'slack business' has prevailed in the New England textile establishments to such an extent that many of them have migrated

[1] Report presented to the International Economic Conference at Geneva, 1927.

business [illegible] into vogue. The Bell Telephone Corporation, for instance, now issues a detailed budget for one year, with outline budgets for the next four.

Efforts towards the stabilisation of seasonal trades have proved highly successful. The building and railway construction industries were asked to spread their work over as long a period as possible, and the former soon discovered that it was feasible, by the provision of heating and weather protection, to carry on work continuously throughout the year. Railway corporations undertook to order their materials in smaller quantities and more frequently—an innovation which has had most satisfactory effects. The manager of the Bethlehem Steel Corporation states that whereas when the railways ordered their whole year's stock in six months he sometimes had 80,000 workmen in the busy season and only 30,000 in the slack season, the variation now is between 66,000 and 59,000. Like action in the shoe and clothing industries has produced like results.

Before his South American tour, in November 1928, Mr. Hoover propounded to the governors of the several States a scheme for the further stabilisation of work and wages through the creation of a fund which should provide public work at standard wage rates whenever a probable depression in any industry was anticipated by 'business forecasting.' This plan, which was well received by the governors and hailed enthusiastically by labour leaders, will presumably be carried into effect.

By standardisation and simplified practice the Commission expected to save $10,000,000,000 annually. Standardisation has been applied not only to materials, processes, equipment and specifications, but also to methods and organisation, to 'safety' devices, technical nomenclature and traffic regulations. By its application to every item in the factory a unit of performance has been created, whereby each workman's productivity is measured and his wage rate fixed. Simplified practice has produced an astonishing diminution in varieties of manufactured goods. In 1926 the industrial groups agreed to a long list of reductions in the types of the chief articles in common use, such as:

Type of Article.	Reduction of Kinds.			
Beds, springs, and mattresses	from	78	to	4
Hotel china ware	,,	700	,,	160
Rough and smooth faced bricks	,,	75	,,	2
Hot water storage tanks	,,	120	,,	14
Grocers' paper bags	,,	6080	,,	4700
Milk bottles and caps	,,	49	,,	4

adapt the quantity, and to some extent the quality, of available man-power to suit her requirements, and as labour—in the highly mechanised American factories—is overwhelmingly unskilled, it is very mobile. To transfer the trained craftsman from glass works to shoe factory is difficult, but a machine-minder in the one can easily become a machine-minder in the other.

Much of America's industrial prosperity must be attributed to such advantages. Much has been attributed to her individualistic national policy, which leaves Capital a very free hand in its relations with Labour, and much to her industrial methods in the fields of production and of distribution. The elimination of waste, stabilisation, standardisation, simplified practice, and the like, are frequently spoken of as if they were American discoveries and almost American monopolies. This is obviously absurd, though it is true that these processes have been far more highly organised and widely applied in the United States than with us.

Elimination of waste is one of the slogans of American industry; yet the wastage in raw materials, man-power, organisation and manufacture is very great—so great, indeed, that anything comparable in a British industry would lead to its speedy collapse. In a country with almost unlimited resources and in a hurry to grow rich, wastage of coal and timber has naturally been reckless. Mr Hoover's famous Commission for the Investigation of Waste in Industry examined and graded six industries, and found that their percentage of waste—due chiefly to lack of research and business forecasting—was as follows:

Metal trades	28	Boots and shoes	53
Textiles	49	Printing	57
Building	53	Clothing	64

A similar investigation by the Federated Engineering Societies produced similar results, with the added information that wastage due to defective management was greater than that due to defective labour. In the shoe industry, for instance, 35 per cent. of orders were cancelled through over-selling by manufacturers to retailers. Wastage in food industries through adulteration, bad transport, and deliberate destruction to prevent cheap selling 'could hardly be stated in figures.'

The Commission has achieved results that point a moral to British industrialists. Collaboration between railways and shipping produced a great reduction in rolling stock and a considerable reduction in the cost of carriage. 'Prophecy in

SOME ASPECTS OF AMERICAN INDUSTRIALISM

ı these difficult days the eyes of harassed British industrialists ·e focused upon the United States. Manufacturers, trade ıionists, sociologists, singly and in delegated groups, cross the tlantic to study the American situation on the spot. They turn full of travellers' tales—their eyes dazzled with the beatific sion of an industrial heaven on earth. They tell us of high ages and low prices, of the five-days working week, of the ectrified homes and motor cars of the workers, and of the ·upendous fortunes amassed by their employers; but their ·ports often fail to give due weight to physical, economic, and sychological conditions.

America has, roughly, three times the population and thirty-ɔur times the area of Great Britain, and within this area are ɔund greater climatic variations than between Sicily and Scot-ınd, as well as every variety of soil and of geological formation. ımerica's agricultural potentialities are very far from full ƨevelopment, and her forests still provide vast reserves of timber. he is abundantly endowed with almost every kind of mineral realth that modern industrial processes require; and this ıineral wealth, residing chiefly in 'top surfaces,' is easily acces-ɪble, as ours was 100 years ago.

The 120,000,000 inhabitants of the United States, enjoying unrestricted domestic free trade, while protected by tariffs against the rest of the world, provide a market unlike any other. It has been well said that America, as an industrial unit, might reasonably be compared with a 'United States of Europe,' or with the British Empire; both having internal free trade and tariff protection against other countries. America has cheap capital, low taxes, and an enormous convenient and cheap supply of electric power. Pennsylvania alone consumes more electricity than the whole of Great Britain. America is a young nation, filled with energy and the love of change and excitement. She has the benefit of British industrial history and experience, without being hampered by tradition and vested interests. Through restriction and regulation of immigration she is able to

usually no better off than his neighbour who squandered. Moreover, the virtue of thrift is stultified and eventually exterminated by the systematic sabotage of to-day, whether that be enforced from the cartel above or from the trade union below. Thrift, which is so universally praised and demanded by our orators, is in fact being steadily stamped out by the insidious necessity of restricting production for profit. It may be resurrected in a new and freer form by carefully and moderately financing consumption. The corresponding national virtue of *industry*, which is stultified, which must slowly but surely be destroyed, by the compulsory mooching that is unemployment, may still be rescued and freed if we can only solve satisfactorily the problem of organising leisure

Sooner or later these two problems will confront every member of the industrial community. But owing to Great Britain's peculiar geographical, commercial, and financial position, they are confronting her in a virulent form already. That, to my mind, is the lesson of South Wales But if anyone will point out to me where I am wrong—νίκη τοι οὐκ ἐχθρός ἂν ἀλλὰ φίλος κρατεῖ—it will be the victory, not of an enemy, but of a friend

A O. BARFIELD

[illegible]

to finance [illegible] deliberately and scientifically, instead of this [illegible] way through the Poor Law guardians and an annual deficit of [illegible] on the Unemployment Fund?

The alternative to organised leisure is unemployment. We have seen something of it, and are likely to see more. All regulations restricting hours of work are more or less unconscious, elementary attempts at organising leisure—elementary, because they have always been decided hitherto without reference to the immediately related factors of productivity and consumption. Henry Ford, on the other hand, continually sets us the example of a more controlled and deliberate organisation of leisure. He began the year 1929 by engaging 30,000 more employees in order to keep his machines working six days a week, while the men only work five. At the same time the phrase 'organising leisure' must be taken to include infinitely more than merely bringing about an equitable distribution of it. It includes everything that would lead to a human and spiritual use of the leisure achieved. In Rhondda, where the mere attainment of leisure is, alas, no longer a problem at all, experiments are already being made in this direction—though, of course, on a tiny scale. Thus, some of the unemployed miners whom I came across are beginning—thanks to the Society of Friends—to get for the first time some glimmering of what the word education means. Others are finding themselves (what little of themselves is left) in handicrafts. Subscriptions are badly needed to keep some of them a term or two at college.

I said earlier that there is an obligation on the outside world to think. This article is an attempt to fulfil my part of that obligation, so far as I am capable. The essential suggestion it makes is that the causes of this ugly problem may be regarded in two ways. On the one hand they may be seen as the last sicknesses of an old and excessively complex organisation; and, on the other, by shifting the eye a little way to one side, they can actually appear as the infant gropings of a new order of society, which has hardly yet begun. I suggest, further, that the problem only has hope of solution if men are found able to preserve a balance between these two points of view.

Those who are able to achieve this balance will also be able to grasp the moral issue without confusion. There are two virtues without which no nation or community can continue to exist—thrift and industry. On the one hand, then, we have the great basic virtue of *thrift*—perhaps the root of all virtues. And over against it the new problem of financing consumption. Between the two there is a surface antagonism indeed, but an actual affinity. For now, when all are at length reduced to the dole or the guardians, the miner who saved ten years back is

sumed. This is certainly not the case. It has reached an artificial saturation point; and this has been brought about by the fact that markets are no longer expanding almost automatically, as they had done since the beginning of the Industrial Revolution. The symptom of our having reached this artificial saturation point is the universal dearth of markets. The remedy—the only possible way of assisting consumption to *catch up*, as it were, with productivity, instead of lagging further and further behind it—is consciously to tackle the problem of *financing consumption*. I say consciously, because it will be no use unless the whole problem is seen in a clear light. The problem is the problem of financing consumption, not of financing it indirectly, through the financing of further production, but of financing it directly—now. The indirect method is itself ultimately based, as we have seen, on the expectation of *increased future consumption*, and this expectation, imperfectly understood, underlies nearly all modern economic theory. The point is that we have now to find a way of *fulfilling* these past expectations, and this we can only do by financing consumption—*i.e.*, by determining to think of wages, not merely as an item in costs (and therefore in future prices), as hitherto, but also as rewards in the present for the increased productivity of labour-saving machinery invented and made in the past. The point is to understand that to-morrow has come.

These, then, are the two problems—intimately related with one another, dovetailing, complementary—organising leisure and financing consumption. Who is going to say that either of them is easy to solve? Who is going to deny that they must be solved somehow if war, revolution, human degeneracy on a vast scale, are to be avoided? None of the remedies that are talked about to-day, such as subsidising research, developing by-products, 'rationalisation,' nationalisation, and so forth, really touch these problems. On the contrary; for they would create more leisure to be organised and would procreate more consumption to be financed. We have only to look round us. The alternative to financing consumption is restricting production—a device already employed in several important trades and industries, such as milk, cotton, steel. The obviously uneconomic nature of this remedy (in the Rhondda Valley there are actually unemployed miners who are short of coal!) when consumption is still far from saturation point is dimly realised, and the realisation has led in America to, first, clumsy, hectic attempts at financing consumption in the shape of the instalment-selling boom. There the whole thing is obviously unsound and unscientific, since it depends on a deeper and deeper mortgaging of the future. Have we enough originality and initiative to find a genuinely scientific method of accomplishing the same end? Can we bring ourselves

[illegible]
[illegible] may [illegible] producing a [illegible] at
a point [illegible] money for the construction
the machinery with which it will be manufactured. The
riod of industry, then, is the whole cycle that elapses between
is act and the purchase by a consumer of a box of matches.
hat I want to suggest is (1) that, since the Industrial Revolution, the nature and importance of this period of industry has never been grasped in real and living thought; (2) that this is cause (owing to the opening *up* of new countries, and for other reasons) markets have in point of fact continuously and automatically expanded; and (3) that this is why the phrase *financing consumption* sounds irresponsible and unthrifty, though in point of fact it is the opposite.

Schematically we might think of four successive periods—A, B, C, and D. In a system such as the existing one, where capital can only be raised for the purpose of *financing production*, the rhythm of the financing of industry is as follows. Goods are produced over period A for future consumption during period B. This consumption, however, is only made possible by the distribution among would-be consumers during this same period (B) of purchasing power. But the bulk of this purchasing power always takes the form of a reward (wages and salaries) for the production of *further* goods, which are expected in their turn to be consumed in period C. The amount of purchasing power distributed will therefore depend roughly on the *quantity* of goods and services expected to be consumed during period C. Now suppose the introduction of machinery to have caused an initial increase of productivity in the period B as compared with the previous period A. The increased quantity of goods which *could* be produced *would* be ready for consumption in period C; but the actual possibility of consuming them will depend on the amount of purchasing power available during this period C, and this in its turn will depend on the quantity of goods expected to be consumed during the next period, D. And yet on this same possibility of consuming in period C—or, to be precise, on the prevision of it—depends ultimately the question whether goods, which *could* be produced during B, are actually produced or not. Everything depends on to-morrow.

This is difficult; and that is the whole trouble. Abstract as it is, we cannot afford to ignore it; nor is its truth affected by the fact that actually the periods interweave and overlap in a myriad different ways, like the waves of a sea.

I repeat: Our industrial civilisation has reached an artificial saturation point. It has not reached a real one. For this could only be true if all the goods that physically can be produced by our machines and labour were being produced—and con-

in fact, with the general phenomenon of industrial civilisation itself. And the true *differentia* of industrial civilisation is, precisely, the use of labour-saving machinery. Not an everlasting, automatic expansion of markets, but the progressive use of labour-saving machinery. We see the white-faced unemployed miner in the Rhondda Valley, and close behind him we see—what? A certain state of industrial *saturation*. There is no other word for it. And it is to this state of saturation that we must attribute our unemployment problem, including (in spite of the peculiar circumstances which have brought it immediately to the front) that of the miners.

Now an economic system would be in a *true* state of 'saturation' only if it were producing either all that it was physically capable of producing, or as much as its members desired to consume. In such a system any unemployment that existed would clearly be permanent, while the introduction of every fresh piece of labour-saving machinery must necessarily increase it. The problem would therefore arise of *organising* this unemployment. But organised unemployment is leisure. It might take many forms, such, for example, as a substantial raising of the school-leaving age. The soul-destroying thing (unemployment) would thus become the soul-creating thing (leisure).

But can we say that our industrial civilisation has *really* reached such a state of saturation? The co-existence almost everywhere of under-consumption on the one hand with a hunt for markets on the other gives any such notion the lie. To-day it is known on all sides, and not in one country, but in nearly all, that industry could easily produce far, far more than it does. But production depends for its practical commercial possibility on markets, on expected demand—in short, on future *consumption*. If, then, an industrial civilisation which had reached its 'saturation point' would be faced by the problem of *organising leisure*, one which is prevented by a dearth of markets from moving in the direction of that saturation point is clearly faced by another problem—the problem of *financing consumption*.

These two functions are correlative. In a healthy state of the body economic the more you did of one the less you would need to do of the other. But in a starving, unhealthy condition like our present one both need doing at once, and quickly, simply in order to keep the patient alive.

There is nothing unnatural in the idea of financing consumption, though at first sight there may seem to be. I have pointed out that the use of machinery is the true *differentia* of an industrial civilisation. Its effects are twofold. Not only does it economise labour—which we have considered—but it also increases what I will call the *period* of industry. Financially

that economic and social theory have had to keep up with it as best they could. They may possibly be abreast of its development. They are certainly not ahead. Is it possible, then, that our existing body of economic and social theory, and still more our existing technique of adjustment, organization, finance, have hitherto unconsciously regarded this continuous growth, or expansion (notably an expansion of markets), as if it were a *differentia* of the system itself? Whereas in fact growth is only a temporary experience, and ought to be recognized as such long before the organism actually reaches the stage at which the growth ceases.

An example will make my meaning clearer. In the early days of the industrial era the introduction of labour-saving machinery led to rioting. The economists pointed out that labour-saving machinery does not really create unemployment; it only makes labour more productive. They did not think it necessary to add—probably for the same reason that a man cannot see his own eyes—that the truth of this contention is dependent on two alternative conditions—either that initial access to the bounty of Nature becomes more difficult (diminishing returns), or that the *total consumption per head of population is increased*. (A mere Malthusian increase in the *number* of the population cannot stave off unemployment, for there is no reason to suppose it altering the relative proportion of employable producers.)

The notion of diminishing returns can also be dismissed for the present from an industrial world, which supports at the same time an increasing population and an increasing body of unemployed; it can be dismissed from a world whose member nations are competing less for resources than for markets. It follows that, in such a world, the continued introduction of labour-saving machinery must produce *either* increased consumption per head of population *or* unemployment. Of course I include under the heading 'unemployment' such phenomena as partial employment and reduced hours of labour.

Having seen that some form of unemployment is the necessary outcome, where the quantity and quality of labour-saving machinery increases, while the total consumption of goods and services either decreases or remains the same, we are left asking, Is *this* unemployment, which we have actually got, the result of labour-saving machinery? And the answer is, undoubtedly, yes. Even if, as in the case of the mining areas, the connexion is not immediately seen, yet a very little thought will reveal the causal chain which links together our markets, the tendency of other nations to exploit their own coal, the elaborate machinery which enables them to raise it, the increased transport facilities which allow them to export it profitably, and so on. We are confronted,

all about Marx, assured me that if only some scheme were sta by which the men were allowed to work two or three days a w for the amount of the dole there would be an immediate respo Charity they do not want, though they are obliged to tak And yet one is often surprised by complete absence of bitter and a touching readiness to believe that something intellige being done by the big brains of the country. Now this s refusal to lose confidence in the outside world can arouse a heavy sense of responsibility.

That the condition of the distressed mining areas can longer be regarded as a temporary phenomenon is now almo commonplace. Any remedy that could be described as 'econo in the ordinary sense of the word would have to take one of forms: it must involve either a general resumption of wo the district or a wholesale transference of miners and families to other districts To take the first. A general reope of the closed mines presupposes the 'capture' or 'recapture markets from other coal-producing nations. Suppose that some miracle of commercial adroitness this were accomplis Every one of those nations has its own unemployment prol waiting to show a grisly head upon the slightest encouragem and the problem is merely shifted to another part of the civi world, with an increased risk of war for travelling expe There remains transference. Now a transferred miner mus either inside Great Britain or outside it But if inside, the already a queue of a million and a quarter in front of the la exchanges. If outside, his chances are enclosed in a stea narrowing circle of immigration 'quotas.' Which way is h turn?

The miner who, finding himself in a situation as hopele this, is politely informed that it is permanent is surely ent to ask the outside world at any rate to think, and to think ra harder than usual, even if it involves revising some first princi

And this it is extremely likely to do. For suppose the man of some big concern to be confronted with a seemingly perma *impasse* of this kind What kind of cause would he look for fi Almost certainly he would try to lay his hand on some pa his system which had been evolved to meet one set of condi and was breaking down under the impact of another cha set. The permanence of the mines problem—and of the employment figure in general—makes it no longer academ ask if this may not be the case to-day with our industrial civ tion as a whole.

The first thing that strikes us about this industrial civilis is its youth. It has been *growing* ever since we have know ever since it was born. Moreover, it has grown fast—so

THE LESSON OF SOUTH WALES

It is impossible to spend a week in the Rhondda Valley without being made to think. Those who are engaged in trying to administer relief and those who are in receipt of it resemble one another in this, that the *general* problem is never far from their lips. Economics is, so to speak, in the air. Indeed, bad as the conditions are—even though one may hear of case after case in which the individual has only seven or eight shillings a week after the rent is paid—still, one may dare to say that extremity of destitution is *not* the striking factor in the Valley. It is terrible; but there are as bad and worse cases to be found in many a London slum. What hangs over the Rhondda Valley like a thick cloud, bringing with it the subdued excitement associated with abnormal weather, is the magnitude and permanence of the problem.

One lends a hand distributing parcels and is told quite frankly by the people in charge that they are hardly even touching the problem. One thinks of the Lord Mayor's Fund, and then immediately of the time when it will be exhausted. One thinks of industrial transference, and remembers the Prime Minister's anxious admission as to its inadequacy. Or one talks with case after case of men who have already gone elsewhere (with a guarantee in their pockets), stayed for a few days, and then come back home out of work again. But there is still emigration—even if Australia has put her foot down already; and at any rate, all these efforts together must make some impression on the problem. So a man may think, staving off pessimism, till he calls at the cottages and sees in nearly every one of them three or four children, all drawing nearer with each tick of the clock to the employable age! And then at last he is *obliged* to take a longer view. What on earth, he asks himself in consternation, is to become of these children, of their characters and whole lives, as they gradually reach to manhood and find everlastingly no place for their hands but the trouser pocket?

Many characters have gone already. Self-respecting men have lost all self-respect under the pressure of two, three, even eight, years' compulsory mooching. One miner, a Socialist who knew

are not lacking signs, however, that this wave may have spent much of its momentum, and that authority, which comes from God, may take another form in which the Divine source and the Divine purpose will be more clearly recognised than is the case to-day. To those who do not forget the witness of history in judging the present and estimating the future, the popular conception of the position of the laity in the administration of the Church is fraught with the same danger that has found expression in two words, both anathema to-day, 'priest-craft' and 'prelacy.' No administration, whatever form it may take—whether it be an autocratic episcopate, or a board of bishops, or a democratic assembly—can be freed from the danger of becoming one-sided, and consequently unjust No amount of good intentions in the Church Assembly, or among diocesan bishops in council, or anywhere else, can compensate for differential administration. Patronage reform, desirable as it may be in some directions, can be purchased at too heavy a price Church reformers, therefore, will do well to ask themselves this pertinent question · How far is it wise to break up the present system, which has upon it the stamp of experience, in order to substitute in its place something which may be only a transitory political theory ?

George H Frodsham
(*Bishop*)

and women, are all so skilled at keeping information from an inquisitive public, nor are all men able to keep secrets from their wives, and it is never easy to command silence on the part of her whom James Payn once described as the 'still small voice that is never still.'

There are certain clergymen, as every patron knows, who have no scruple in applying for any benefice that may chance to be vacant. There are others, and they are usually the best men, who never apply for preferment in any circumstances. These men are, as a rule, well known to bishops, although there may be need for special inquiries as to their fitness for specific posts. Such inquiries can be made by private patrons and by most official patrons with discretion, but the position of a clergyman who is discussed by a body such as a diocesan patronage board is very different. It is not surprising that a clergyman should feel resentment when he learns that his character has been discussed by a mixed committee of clergy and laymen, or that, having carefully considered a patron's offer and decided to accept it, he learns that he has been 'turned down' by the bishop, without reason being given. Whatever cynical or jocular persons may say to the contrary, the best and most devout clergy regard a change of cure in a religious fashion. It will be a sad day for the Church if this idea is dethroned.

IV

The question which forces itself upon thoughtful men will be this: Is drastic patronage reform needed at all? By a process of compensation, well known in the history of this country, the present system of patronage has adapted itself to the varying needs and interests of the Church. That process is now in progress, and, though the process may appear slow in the eyes of some ardent reformers, there is truth in the old adage 'More haste, less speed.' Certainly nothing can compensate for disregard of the civil and spiritual rights of the clergy, even though there may be some necessity for enlarging the powers of the bishop, for restraining inconsiderate patrons, and for protecting parishioners from having priests foisted upon them who are out of sympathy with their legitimate convictions. Much more can be done in the way of reform by encouraging friendly conversations between the patrons, bishops, clergy and parishioners—all those whose interests are concerned—than by laying down rigid rules of procedure, and by providing for differences which would rarely arise if the interested parties conferred together beforehand, duly considering the causes for which patronage exists.

A wave of democracy is passing over the world. What is not democratic is regarded as political heresy in this country. There

patronage. Should diocesan patronage boards gradually absorb the bulk of patronage in a diocese, as was confidently anticipated at first would be the case, the administrative work would increase to an extent forbidding to most laymen elected to the boards by diocesan conferences. It would make very grave inroads upon the time of busy parish priests. This fact alone will tend to throw the responsibility of patronage upon a comparatively few members of the respective boards, and not necessarily upon those best fitted to exercise it. It might easily develop into a system necessitating the employment of a paid official, as is the custom in the case of business boards, who in point of administration usually confirm the selection made by the official.

Apart from these administrative difficulties, which are much more grave than is generally realised, there are other serious objections to diocesan patronage boards The responsible work of patronage demands imperatively that the patron must make himself acquainted with the character and antecedents of any man whom he presents to the bishop for institution to the cure of souls, and for induction into the temporal rights of a benefice. The fact that this duty may have been overlooked by individual patrons in the past does not make it less important. The individual members of any body, acting corporately, are not exempt from the duty. The more clearly the distinction between the spiritual character of the ministerial commission and the civil rights of the clergy is realised, the more imperative the duty of inquiry becomes. This duty has never been shirked by any board of patronage attended by the writer of this article. On the contrary, it has led to inquiries being made of the most intimate character, not only with regard to clergy—their antecedents, ability, financial credit, appearance, and manner of life—but with regard to their families, and particularly their respective wives. The various members of the board frankly give their opinions (of course 'within the four walls'), and they pursue further inquiries in the case of clergy they may not happen to know The quarters in which these inquiries are made, and the deductions made from them by the persons consulted, are often curious—as anyone with experience of English country parishes can well imagine. The cumulative information—it is difficult to avoid using the word gossip—is then solemnly discussed. The wisest believe the least. The most conscientious are inclined to say no more than they are obliged. The bishop, who naturally knows the most, finds himself, when he is in the chair, in an embarrassing position. He cannot speak to a board so loosely constituted with the same open confidence that he can speak even to a private patron, while a refusal to speak may have a misleading effect. Moreover, although the members of a board are honourable men

The [illegible] suggests that any enlargement of episcopal discretionary powers should provide for three things:

(1) A refusal to institute to be given in writing with the grounds specified to both patron and presentee;

(2) A space of thirty-one days to be allowed for appeal by either patron or presentee;

(3) The hearing of the appeal by the archbishop in a public court on the lines of the provision in the Benefices Act.

Probably a bishop would gain a far more satisfactory enlargement of his powers were these provisions adopted than it is proposed to afford him under the Benefices (Patronage) Measure. Similarly the clergy would receive greater protection by making it obligatory for the patron to consult with the bishop and the parishioners before exercising his office than by providing remedies *post facto*. Similarly, it is only just that no definite steps towards presentation should be taken by the bishop, patron or parishioners, without the full knowledge and consent of the priest concerned. This is no imaginary contingency. The writer of this article learned for the first time in Australia many years ago from the public Press that he had been 'considered' on one occasion for a benefice, on another when he was first offered a bishopric.

III

Ardent reformers have pressed upon the Church Assembly one form of corporate patronage as the supreme pattern of excellence. Diocesan boards of patronage are comparatively rare in England, but they have been in existence in the self-governing Dominions for over half a century. They were instituted in both Ireland and Wales after disestablishment. It is a little too early to assess with any accuracy the experience of the Welsh Church, and the writer has no knowledge of the Irish Church. He can speak, however, from long and intimate Australian experience of many varieties of boards of patronage, and he has come to the definite conclusion that they are the least satisfactory form of patronage that he has ever known. As councils of advice to the bishop they may serve a useful purpose. They may even administer with tolerable efficiency a small amount of patronage. They are quite unfitted to deal with the huge volume of patronage which constitutes not the least difficulty in the path of ardent patronage reformers.

The number of benefices in an English diocese like London, or Lichfield, or Bath and Wells, is not generally realised at present, because the work of administration is spread over a large number of official and non-official patrons. Moreover, lengthy incumbencies have ceased to be general in England. This new fact alone will double soon, if it has not done so already, the work of

The editor of the *Truro Diocesan Gazette*, to whom the above comparison is due, comments upon it as follows:

> The differences between the Measure and the Act will probably amaze our readers. But they are not surprising. We fear that they are the consequences of a policy of depriving the clergy of rights which in the long run it is as much to the advantage of the laity as of themselves that they should retain. In the Patronage Measure the Bishop is entirely uncontrolled, except that he may have to hear what the Patronage Board says, in reaching his decision, which may take the form of ' No ' on a post-card. If the patron appeals the procedure is entirely under the regulation of the archbishops. There seems to be no reason why an archbishop should not settle the matter by writing a letter from his armchair without even hearing the patron—much less the clerk.
>
> For if the patron's position is precarious, think what that of the clerk presented is. He has no recognition. All he need know is that he has been nominated to a benefice. What, and of whom, enquiries are made, what is said about him, what the bishop's reasons for refusal are; what tale is carried to the archbishops if the patron appeals, he has no right to any knowledge of these matters. He may be the helpless victim of malice or of prejudice. For what opportunities this secrecy gives, and what possibilities such a system presents of breaking the heart of a sensitive man. There are many priests who would never consent to a nomination which might lead to such an experience; and they not the worst men in the Church.

The obvious reply to the criticism quoted above will be that the Benefices Act, 1898, gives far too little administrative discretion to the bishop. The patron need consult neither the bishop nor the parish, and he may present a clerk who, for various reasons, is unsuited to the particular parish, if not to every parish. The Measure is framed to meet this real episcopal difficulty by enlarging the powers of the bishop. It is, however, one thing to enlarge the powers of a bishop, in order to prevent foisting upon an unwilling parish an unsuitable priest. It is quite another thing to sweep away all the checks upon arbitrary authority, representing as these checks do the experience of centuries. The large majority of bishops are not likely to act arbitrarily. None the less, since no class is immune from the failings of humanity, some method for restraining alike arbitrary patrons and arbitrary bishops should be found. The legalisation of episcopal autocracy is no remedy for the sporadic indiscretions of patrons. It is no more insulting to put checks upon a bishop or a patron than it is to put auditors in a bank. Almost without exception, in the long experience of the writer of this article, patronage difficulties never arise where there is friendly consultation *beforehand* between all the parties concerned.

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[illegible] of [illegible] this case is an extreme one so far as rights are concerned, but it is quoted as an example of the growing sense of responsibility and goodwill on the part of ecclesiastical patrons. It may be advisable to define much more carefully in legal terms the disabilities of patrons, but it should be recognized at the same time that the 'common complaint' against patrons is usually based upon special cases. It is folly to attempt to rectify individual failures by general prohibitions. No fallacy is more common than that of arguing from the particular to the general. There is also an ecclesiastical application both to the legal tag 'hard cases make bad law' and to the medical warning that a remedy may be worse than a disease. Granted, therefore, that a few patrons have not the wisdom to consult either the parishioners or the bishop, this weakness could be obviated by a very short clause in a Measure making it obligatory for a patron before making a presentation to do so. In order to effect the same end the Benefices (Patronage) Measure provides remedies which put burdensome and lengthy legal restrictions upon all patrons alike, although it is axiomatic that a law is intended to curb the unruly, not to hamper the actions of the law-abiding.

If the Benefices (Patronage) Measure, in its attempts to satisfy the aspirations of parishioners, is inept so far as both parishioners and patrons are concerned, it is positively destructive of the civil and ecclesiastical rights of the clergy. This can be speedily seen from a comparison between the provisions of the proposed measure and the Benefices Act, 1898. In the *Measure* the bishop is required simply to 'inform the patron of his decision' that a clerk is 'not suited for the duties of the particular benefice concerned.' In the *Act* it is provided that (*a*) the refusal shall be in writing, (*b*) the grounds of it shall be given, and (*c*) this written statement shall be delivered to the presentee as well as to the patron. In the matter of appeal the *Measure* allows an appeal to the archbishop (*a*) by the patron only, (*b*) within fourteen days. The archbishop's determination of the matter shall be 'final and conclusive and not subject to further appeal to any court.' No appeal is provided where the patron is a diocesan board of patronage or, presumably, the bishop. 'The archbishops shall have power to regulate procedure upon appeals.' The *Act*, on the other hand, provides a right of appeal (*a*) to either patron or presentee, (*b*) within a month, (*c*) to a court consisting of the archbishop and a judge of the Supreme Court, the bishop being a party to the proceedings. The judge shall decide questions of law and find as to any fact of disqualification alleged. This court is a court of record held in public and the legal rules of evidence prevail.

benefice concerned,' and 'inform the patron of his decision.' If the bishop's decision is unfavourable, then, unless the patron appeals to the archbishop, the procedure apparently begins again.

Compare with this elaborate method an actual presentation made by one patron in the North of England during the past few months. The incumbent informed the patron of his intention to vacate his benefice two months later. The patron the same day wrote to the secretary of the parochial council, asking that the council should appoint five representatives, including the two churchwardens, to consult with him (the patron) upon 'the important question of the next presentation, and other parochial affairs.' The patron at the same time consulted with the bishop of the diocese upon the suitability of certain men he thought of appointing. A conference between the patron and the parochial representatives took place after an interval of ten days. During this period the bishop gave his views upon the men suggested by the patron. As a result the offer of presentation was made to the priest whom the patron knew to be approved by the bishop and the parish. The priest was advised by the patron to meet the two wardens, and to consult the bishop, before giving his decision After another ten days, during which the advice was followed, the offer of presentation was accepted. In less than a month all the legal preliminaries had been concluded, and well within three months of the actual avoidance of the benefice the new vicar was instituted and inducted

As a matter of fact, patrons are more and more showing their readiness to accept advice, and their desire to administer properly a trust that is becoming more and more difficult This is particularly noticeable in Crown patronage. It is suggestive that the Benefices (Patronage) Measure as at present drafted is that all the provisions for regulating the relationship between the patron, the parish, and the bishop are void in the case of Crown patronage, unless in certain cases His Majesty orders otherwise by an Order in Council This is quite right. The prerogatives of the Crown must be defended. But, it is suggested, the rights of other patrons should be similarly defended. It is one thing to request from a patron that parishioners should be consulted; it is another thing to demand a restriction of the rights of patrons, which are also trusts. Recently a weekly newspaper, distinguished neither for modesty nor invariable accuracy, sallied forth to whip a certain patron, whose name had figured in a divorce case, because he had presented a clerk to the bishop for the cure of souls. As a matter of fact, the particular patron, although he performed all the legal acts of patronage, had passed over to the bishop of the diocese the unrestricted choice of an incumbent, only reserving to himself legal formalities which he did not consider he could abandon in

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[illegible] private [illegible] regard pass ; and, if the whole truth must be told, the zeal displayed in the Church Assembly for reforming the clergy and increasing the powers of the laity is already having a repercussion upon the rights of patrons and the status of the clergy.

It is beyond dispute that there have been cases, particularly in the past, when the proper functions of the parishioner have been overlooked. The most frequent complaint against patrons is that they have acted arbitrarily, and a constant reiteration of this complaint from Life and Liberty platforms has led to a general expectation that when the Church obtained powers of self-government the parishioners would be given a determining voice in the selection of their own incumbent. In practice, the would-be reformers have found it difficult to give the parishioners any effective voice without interfering gravely with the rights of the patron, or indeed without putting the choice of a pastor practically into the hands of the parish—a method of appointment which most people agree to condemn. There are also other difficulties which the Church Assembly have very inadequately realised.

The Benefices (Patronage) Measure (C.A. 229), which is to be considered by the Church Assembly this month, is an attempt to satisfy the expectations of the parishioners 'without either injustice to the patron, or injury to the clergy.' It cannot be said honestly that the attempt is either brilliant or likely to improve existing conditions. If the Measure in its proposed form were passed into law, the procedure of presentation would be lengthened, elaborated, and muddled. It would be much more difficult for a patron to fill up a vacancy in any benefice quickly, although the prevention of a long interval between the departure of an old incumbent and the arrival of his successor is a contingency most earnestly desired in most parishes.

The procedure proposed in the Measure is as follows : Seven days after a vacancy has occurred in a benefice, or notice has been received by him that a vacancy will occur, the bishop shall notify the patron and the parochial council. Three months are then allowed for negotiations between the patron and parishioners as to the particular priest to be presented. If during that period no agreement has been reached, then, despite the failure, 'the patron shall submit to the bishop the name of the clerk whom he desires to present to the benefice.' The bishop shall then 'make such enquiries as he may deem expedient' with regard to the presentee. He may, if he desires it, and must if the 'patron or the parochial representatives so request,' consult the diocesan patronage board constituted under the Measure. The bishop shall decide whether the priest is 'suited for the duties of the particular

quarrel either with the matter or the spirit displayed by the Church Assembly Committee in their attitude towards the patronage system in the Church of England as a whole. They say:

> We do not recommend any drastic or fundamental change in the general distribution of patronage as it exists at the present day . . . The system . . . works on the whole well. Speaking generally therefore we desire to build upon the old foundations. We would accept the existing system as a basis in spite of all theoretical anomalies, modifying it only where experience has shown it to be defective. Such suggestions as we have made for the transfer of patronage from one class to another are for the most part of an enabling and not a compulsory character.

The defect in the Patronage Committee's report, as has been pointed out, is that the members of the Committee did not apply their own conclusions in their own 'recommendations', while the Church Assembly were led further astray by the so-called Life and Liberty Movement, which based its reforms on the theory of democratic control.

There is a cynical saying to the effect that the Church's administration, despite its ideals, has never been far ahead of the varying standards of the times. According to this estimate, the Church is not so much the leader as the recorder of the customs of society. This is a provocative statement, but those who condemn the exercise of church patronage 100 years ago might do worse than remember that both civil and ecclesiastical patronage were regarded in the eighteenth century as private property, or as the spoils of office. A perusal of private letters of the period reveals a surprising indifference to what would be considered now self-respect, both on the part of those who had, and those who sought, patronage. And yet the writers of these letters were not infrequently honourable and religious men enough, according to the standards of their day. To-day things are different. Political patronage is no longer regarded as a spoil of office. Other considerations beside those of merit may weigh sometimes, but nepotism has disappeared, and even a Prime Minister must be prepared to justify his selections. Similarly the administration of ecclesiastical patronage has changed. Patrons, whether official or non-official, whether acting corporately or individually, take a vast amount of trouble to find suitable recipients of their patronage.

It should not be forgotten, moreover, that the exercise of Church patronage tends to become more and more like hard work every year. The causes for this are not far to seek. The position of a country or a town vicar is not nearly so attractive as it used to be from social or worldly points of view; the numbers of the clergy are diminishing steadily, particularly of those who have

Great Head of the Church, and that it is by His commission the bishops send and ordain the priests. It is not less essential to safeguard, so far as any person or organization may be safeguarded, the administration of equal justice to laity and clergy alike. There have crept into the popular mind, with regard to the respective functions and rights of both estates in the realm, assumptions which may not be altogether wrong, but which will never become less wrong until it is realised more fully by all concerned that an ordained clergyman—whether he be a bishop, a priest or a deacon—has a commission (according to the doctrine of the Church of England) which comes to him, not from any congregation or assembly, but from the Head of the Church. He has also rights and liberties, which belong to him as a subject of His Majesty the King, out of which he cannot be contracted by any body or person, civil or spiritual. If, as has been finely said, 'it is a fundamental principle that the Church—that is, the bishops together with the clergy and the laity—must in the last resort, when its mind has been fully ascertained, retain its inalienable right, in loyalty to our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, to formulate its faith in Him and to arrange the expression of that holy faith in its forms of worship,' it is no less fundamental that every single citizen of this our realm of England must have equal rights and equal liberties, whether he be layman or clergyman.

So far as the exercise of patronage is concerned, there are four distinct functions to be considered from an administrative point of view—those of the patron, of the parishioner, of the bishop, and of the parish priest. And these functions must be considered in relationship to the size of the problem. In the second report of the Patronage Committee of the Church Assembly there are estimated to be 13,775 benefices in England, and the patronage is roughly estimated as being divided thus: The Crown and its Ministers, 900; universities and colleges, 850; archbishops and bishops, 3000; cathedral chapters, 760; incumbents of mother parishes, 1265; private patronage (including patronage trusts), 7000. The division may be made in another fashion. There are 6775 benefices in official patronage and 7000 in non-official patronage. A perusal of this interesting report should be made by all who desire to understand, not only something of the various groups of patrons, but also of the reforms suggested to the Church Assembly by the Committee. It should, however, be noted that the Church Assembly has so far only attempted to deal with the actual exercise of patronage, and it has departed in many important details from the recommendations of the Committee.

Very few who have had practical experience of the administration of patronage in the Church of England would feel inclined to

the Ecclesiastical Duties Measure. After a certain procedure of a more or less formal character, the Measure becomes a law of the realm. When a Measure has obtained the status of law, presumably it will be interpreted rigidly by the Courts in case of appeal. It may happen at any time in England that some acute judge will perceive a flaw in the method of legislation for the clergy alone. Such contingencies have occurred in Australia, but there all Church legislation, so far as the civil rights of an individual are concerned, must be interpreted by the general law of the State.

It would not be accurate to say that the clergy of the Church of England as a whole desire disestablishment. They are prepared to make many sacrifices for the continuance of a relationship between the Church and the State, which many believe is for the good of the nation. But the parochial clergy are feeling, more and more strongly, that they are in danger of being asked to pay too high a price for the Establishment. The initiation and the rapid growth of what is called the 'Halifax Movement' provides evidence in point. The general aims of this movement are to maintain:

1. The universal tradition of the Church Catholic that the cure of souls is committed to the clergy under the oversight of their bishops.

2. The immemorial practice of the Church of England whereby the various parishes have rights and liberties which it is the duty of their respective clergy to maintain.

3. The civil rights and liberties of the clergy, including free access to the courts of justice, together with all the abilities and disabilities at common law enjoyed by other English citizens.

4. The improvement of the work of Convocation and Church Assembly by careful examination of all Measures, by free criticism, by opposing hasty legislation and bureaucratic dangers, in such directions as may from time to time be necessary in the interests of the whole Church.

II

If patronage difficulties are to be reformed satisfactorily and justly, it is essential that reform should not be approached *ad captandum*. First of all the doctrine of the Church of England must be considered. Whatever claim may be advanced, on the one hand by the clergy for unqualified spiritual authority, and on the other hand by the laity for a voice in the appointment of their parish priest and control of his teaching, must be qualified by the basic facts that the cure of souls comes as a commission from the

the functions of the Church and Parliament. There is at the moment a clash of opinion between two parties, representatives of whom are to be found both in Parliament and Assembly. Neither party, however, desires a divorce between Church and State. Although a good many heated things are said about disloyalty to Parliament and rebellion, all recognise that the Church and the State can at any time cry off the present bargain loosely called the 'Establishment.' The most sensible thing to do would be to acknowledge that both sides have rights which need not be antagonistic but which must be recognised and allowed.

Quite naturally the clergy are the people most concerned both as regards their ecclesiastical status and their civil rights. The inclination to separate between the law when it relates to clergy and the law when it relates to ordinary citizens, although it has entered into a new phase with the passing of the Enabling Act, has its roots in the peculiar relationship which has grown up in England between the Church and the State. Special laws have been made by Parliament to deal with clerical conditions, and, during the nineteenth century particularly, there have grown up gradually laws which differentiate against the clergy in many civil matters. There was a time when the balance was otherwise. Then the status of a 'clerk' in the eye of the law was higher than it should be, and the term 'clergy' applied to a far wider extent than it does to-day. If the 'benefit of the clergy' was reckoned once to be a monstrous injustice to the laity—and the anomaly was not erased from the Statute-book until last century—the 'disabilities of the clergy' are in danger of being materially and unjustly increased, at the present time, in comparison with the rights of the laity.

If disestablishment were to come to-morrow, the State would not be free from the duty of protecting the civil rights of the clergy—rights involving not only questions of patronage and discipline, but the constitution of self-governing assemblies. Indeed, if the experience of the various Churches in the Dominions is any sort of guide, it is more than probable that the whole question of differentiation between the civil rights and liberties of the Church of England clergymen would demand immediate reconsideration by the Courts and by Parliament. Speaking generally, the position of the clergy in Australia is superior to that existing under present conditions in England. The Church Assembly, let it be said, may pass a Measure which seriously impinges upon the civil rights of the clergy in the administration of justice. After a cursory examination by the Ecclesiastical Committee, Parliament may pass the Measure at the end of a session in an attenuated House. This was actually the case with

CHURCH PATRONAGE REFORM

I

The Church Assembly cannot be accused of either indolence or lack of courage in seeking to reform the Church of England. At first the Houses of Parliament, and the Ecclesiastical Committee set up to examine legislation sent to Parliament by the Church Assembly, showed a complacent readiness to speed forward all such reforms. It was felt that the distinguished body of clergy and laymen, many of whom were members of one or other of the two Houses of Parliament, were the best judges of what was best for the Church. Moreover, a privilege, given with the idea of saving the time of the House of Commons, of presenting Assembly legislation late at night, when the attendance was thin and the members tired, produced a similar complacency in the members in charge of reforming Measures. These early successes were like gifts of the fairies to the youthful Assembly. Appearing at first like glittering gold, they are now not unlike withering leaves. At any rate, the path of reformers is no longer a primrose path. In the Assembly their oracular voices no longer reign supreme. In the parishes there is growing impatience at the ever-increasing volume of reforming Measures; while in Parliament the recent debates on the Prayer Book Measure have left an atmosphere of distinct uneasiness.

What the permanent relationship between the Church and the State will be depends upon many contingencies. Any apparent readiness to accept all Measures sent up to the Houses of Parliament by the Church Assembly appears to have disappeared for the time. Indeed, there have been sporadic attempts in the House of Commons to manage the administration of the Church—for instance, in the matter of patronage, in the supposed interest of parishioners alone, without any reference to the Church Assembly. These attempts need not be taken very seriously, except as straws indicating how blows the wind of public opinion. None the less, it appears pretty certain that the Enabling Act cannot remain long upon the Statute-book in its present form unless some clear understanding can be reached as to the respec-

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the law is [illegible]. They must exercise their Imperial sense in the [illegible] spirit. If they are to accept the Judicial Committee as the arbiter of their rights under their own constitutions, but such an acceptance would be a greater wisdom than insistence upon a narrow claim to local infallibility. They can hardly deny, though they may be short-sighted enough to resent, the advantage arising from greater learning and experience. To objections on the score of delay and expense the answer is that hard cases make bad law: it is no part of a statesman's duty to reject a measure beneficial to the whole community because now and then it may press hard upon individual subjects. One should not abandon a good rule in favour of an unfortunate exception. Ultimately it is with the Dominions that the issue must be, for the simple reason that if they refuse this jurisdiction there is no overriding power to enforce it. But so far as Great Britain is concerned, her contribution to the debate should be in favour of increased rather than diminished powers in the Judicial Committee, with perhaps this proviso: that in dealing with an appeal from a Dominion some one or more representatives of that Dominion should form part of the court which advises upon the appeal. It is perhaps but another imponderable thing, but in dealing with national susceptibilities imponderables weigh heavily. Such a gesture would remove the last carping or malevolent suggestion that an English court was dealing with an Imperial matter. It would establish to the world that the Sovereign is not merely the King of England, but King of the Dominions beyond the seas; and that in thus exercising an imperial prerogative he is acting in the interests of the Empire upon Imperial advice tendered by the ablest judicial minds which that Empire can produce.

I. G. Kelly.

things. But no man of sensibility who is used to the practice of the courts can fail to observe what, for want of a better name, may be called the *genius loci*. It is compounded of tradition, wisdom, good sense and intellectual acumen: through it, as through a sieve, facts and legal arguments alike must pass; it is the inherent spirit of the race localised and adapted to the temple of Themis. Some men are almost born with it; others only acquire it after years of long intimacy. It is of the spirit, not of the letter. And it is chiefly prevalent in the lawyer's attitude to those very questions of principle which the Judicial Committee reserve as proper for the exercise of the prerogative entrusted to them. Of its essence are the detachment and the sense of natural justice which, in smaller communities, hot upon the scent of some local or ephemeral object, may be thrust aside or forgotten. The citizen of the Empire has many characteristics and institutions of the Mother Country which he has brought with him across the seas; and among them this judicial spirit is an inheritance which he should chiefly exercise with fidelity and conserve with pride.

Finally, at the risk of giving offence, let the fourth claim be made frankly. It is that the Judicial Committee is, in the nature of things, an abler, more learned, and more experienced judicial body than any single part of the Empire can hope to create. Forty millions of people, with frequent and important disputes at law, a large class of professional lawyers and a numerous judiciary, may fairly claim that no state consisting of five or six millions, chiefly agricultural, with a professional class numerically tiny, can expect to produce a Supreme Court equal to their own. When to that court is added the pick of the judiciary of the Dominions, who, as Privy Councillors, sit upon the Committee, lending the full weight of their local knowledge and experience to the scale, it is not too much to say that any country in the world might count itself fortunate in such an overseer of its legal institutions and rights. It is not enough to have laws if they are not good laws, nor courts if they are not the best that wit and experience can select. If the Australian or Canadian or South African is proud of his legal system, he may boast of it with some assurance when, in the last resort, it is supervised by a tribunal of unchallenged standing. He has the accumulated legal wisdom of the Empire at his command. He has the security for the future which can only arise from the exercise of detached, impartial and sagacious judgment upon the questions of the present.

If, in their deliberations, the delegates of the Dominions are striving to maintain a useful unity, they can hardly resist the urgency of these claims. Unity of the principle and the spirit of

principles. It is in part a code made by the sovereign power and in part customs made by the courts and sanctioned by that power, customs which, in the greater part of the Dominions, are the rules of English Common Law. It is only in the former class that divergence can properly arise, through legislation which either makes new legal principles or alters those which, by the Common Law, are now extant. And even where such divergence has been created by Acts of Parliament, some residuum of unity, and that of considerable importance, is still left, because the question then is not the substance but the interpretation of the law. The dispute will be not as to what the statute says, for that is plain, but upon what principle the words are to be construed. And when once a matter of legal principle is involved, we are upon ground where unity is still possible, where the history and the long experience of the courts of England is the only key to the problem, though the problem itself be framed in phrases unfamiliar to that history and experience. Given this unity of principle, a lawyer in, let us say, Canada may with confidence advise a client who does business with Australia upon the meaning of a statute which affects his trade in that country. The words are the words of a Dominion, but the voice is the voice of the Imperial law.

The second advantage of the overriding prerogative tribunal is the possession of a jurisdiction outside and above the constitutions under which the Dominion courts have their existence. More than once during and shortly after the war the pressure of the Executive in Great Britain weighed heavily upon the courts, which at length, true to their traditions, reasserted their authority. The existence of a detached and Imperial prerogative, acting upon judicial advice, is no mean safeguard to the citizens of Dominions subject to Governments as yet new and sometimes a little intoxicated with the heady wine of independence. The Judicial Committee is a perfect tribunal for deciding the constitutional rights of a subject against the claims of the Executive. In non-unitary states such a tribunal is almost a necessity in cases where the central power is at issue with one of the component Governments. The partial reservation of this constitutional jurisdiction in the case of the Australian Commonwealth is regrettable, and it may be that, if and when the advantages of an Imperial focus are appreciated, the Australian courts will freely, as they have power to do, give their certificate entitling such cases to be brought to the Judicial Committee.

Thirdly, and closely allied to both the preceding claims, there is something to be said in favour of the spirit of British Law and Justice, even where the legal system in use has no relation to our own. Here, it is true, we enter the region of imponderable

in one direction or another, to be made in existing conditions? 'A disposition to maintain,' said Burke, 'with the capacity to improve, is my ideal of a statesman'—so defining the essence of conservatism for all time. The Sovereign's prerogative of justice, which he possesses as firmly in the Dominions as he does at St. James's, has a pedigree both immemorial and honourable. It is no mere useless decoration, no idle ceremonial for the enhancement of the royal dignity. If it is examined with care, it will be found to possess at least four characteristics which give it Imperial value; value, that is, not merely to Great Britain, but to the Dominions subject to the British Crown

If there is any advantage in unity of institutions of any kind, unity of law should hold a high place *Pax Britannica* itself is hardly more important than *Lex Britannica*, if, amid so much diversity of law, practice and local requirements, any unity of law is possible Merchants who trade, manufacturers who supply, in Dominions other than their own would have much to encourage them in the knowledge that the law of business and dealing to which they were themselves accustomed obtained also in the country of their enterprise It is an advantage akin to the advantage of a common language And it must be admitted that this unity is not to be completely attained; it neither exists at present, nor, in so widely scattered an Empire, is it possible that it should ever exist in the future Leaving out of account the prescriptive rights of alien systems of law, such as the Roman-Dutch, the Hindu and Mohammedan, local needs will give birth to local statutes and local customs But so far as the laws are identical (and they are in large measure so), and even in some cases where they are not, the existence of a central unifying jurisdiction is beyond calculation valuable The English Common Law, the only system which the world has known worthy to stand beside the Roman, is an inheritance entitled to preservation for its own sake, but much more on the ground that it is the law common to the greater part of an Empire The principles which we have built up around such subjects as negligence, trusteeship, and the rules of evidence are worth keeping pure, even when they dwell in another hemisphere than ours If the supervision exercised by the Judicial Committee helps to maintain a uniform principle in such cases as these, have citizens of the Empire nothing to be grateful for?

But even where the letter of the law is different, there is still a measure in which the common principles may be applied. Law is produced from two sources, and two only: positive enactments by the legislature in the form of statutes and orders created to meet the needs of the place and the hour; and precedents created by the courts interpreting ancient and established legal

[illegible]

There is a [illegible] body of persons who are not averse from the abolition of this prerogative of appeal altogether. It is, we are told, but a survival and an anachronism; it is not consistent with self-determination and pride of race; its continuance only chafes the sensibility of the peoples with which we desire to remain in fraternal association. From the practical point of view it is productive of delay in the settlement of cases which it is in the interest of the subject to have settled in one way or another on a short shrift. It is expensive, and imposes upon a litigant of modest means the danger that a wealthy opponent may, by the mere threat of taking his case to this final court, force him to settle as an alternative to bankruptcy. Moreover, if it is the fixed determination of any Dominion that the jurisdiction of the Judicial Committee over its cases should be (as Lord Haldane puts it) 'less and less' rather than 'more and more,' by what Imperial rescript is it proposed to enforce that jurisdiction? Is it not only to court the humiliation which Ireland has already thrust upon the predominant partner? The course of history to-day (it is said) is towards greater laxity rather than increased stringency of the partnership bond. Insistence upon this central jurisdiction is reactionary, a hopeless effort to stem the flowing tide.

There is some weight in these arguments. But if Great Britain has any longer a duty in relation to the self-governing parts of the Empire, it is towards cohesion rather than disruption that it tends. In the deliberations of Imperial delegates the English case should be directed to the support of the Empire of which we are the centre; we must see that no argument of substance in favour of unity is omitted from consideration; our representatives must challenge and examine, firmly, though without rancour, any arguments to the contrary. Nothing could be feebler or more undignified than to drift supinely upon the flowing tide merely because it is a tide. In fact, however, shrewd observers with special knowledge of the facts have been heard to say that this tide is already on the turn. The Imperial Conference of 1926 was the low-water mark of the ebb towards independence. There is a spirit afoot which is tending to closer unity. It may be that the last word which needs to be said in favour of principles and theories of self-determination has been uttered, and the practical advantages of solid coherence are forcing themselves to the front, to the position which they have always held in the minds of sagacious men.

What, then, are the arguments in support of this central jurisdiction? For it would be folly to ingeminate unity if there were no substantial benefit in it, from mere pride in the existence of an ancient institution. And what, if any, are the modifications,

State; but the Committee which advised him upon this fo
the prerogative was defined and treated as an English cour

its report, for all that it may be termed a report, was a judgment: t
they could speak about it more frankly and more fully when they reco
that it was in no way a prerogative, that it was in no way perso
the Sovereign, and that it was simply a Court.[1]

This concession is something, though it be based upon inaccu
but the fact remains that had such an indignity been offer
the Parliament at Westminster to the meanest police-cour
Dominion, its populace would have been aflame. The E
have worn the Imperial purple too long to show anger or r
ment at claims to independence by the nations which they
founded or made their subjects. But it is not too much
that a population of forty millions, bearing the chief burd
the confederacy, should be *primus inter pares*, or at least en
to the same rights as its smaller brethren; that a court, i
it be, with Imperial duties should not be flouted becaus
largely made up of British lawyers under the accepted Con
tion of the Empire The interests of unity are still more o
side of the Dominions than the Mother Country. It is righ
proper that we should hear eulogies of distant lands fro
mouths of statesmen who would nevertheless rather sw
crossing within sight of the Athenæum than dwell on a mou
of gold in the Antipodes But there should be some limit
sycophancy with which they are expected to flatter the sus
bilities of the younger powers, if only in order that the b
may be held true in the confederacy to which they all belo

In the case of Ireland the position is especially difficult o
to the still recent savagery of the rebellion It will be
before the bitterness of that countryside is appeased, and
Irishman of sensibility on this side of the Irish Sea is aw
the tacit resentment of Englishmen, however courteously
repressed in his presence It is all-important to allow
bitterness and that resentment the time which will assuage
For that reason, no doubt, little is said in public of such ca
Lynham v. *Butler* But it is unlikely that streets will run
blood as a result of anything that is written in these sober p
and if the trouble is to be kept within bounds, if it is not to
into the bitterness of international controversy, those who
thought on such matters should lay their plans. We shoul
affront the claimants with too peremptory a refusal of
demands, but neither should we give way in a panic. To
would be to let the Empire go by default. What is it that w
asked for; and how much further may the Imperial power r
without losing its Imperial unity?

[1] *Journal of the Parliaments of the Empire*, April 1926, p. 40[illegible]

But the most important innovation is no doubt the limitation of the prerogative in accordance with the desire of the Dominions themselves. If they so desire, His Majesty's authority in law is gone. In any event, since some go further than others in this respect, the unity of principle is at an end; henceforth in exercising the prerogative the decision will be taken not upon what the Committee may consider best in relation to the monarchical function or the conditions of Imperial unity, but chiefly in accordance with the desires of the state from which the petition has been presented. Thus there is now not one prerogative principle, but many; not a single jurisdiction, but several, some (as in the case of Canada) frequently applied, others (as in respect of South Africa) existing but faintly, holding rather the name than any substance of authority.

But even this stinted and threadbare majesty proves too heavy for the proud shoulders of some younger nations. Acting upon the modified and self-denying ordinance of the new order, the Judicial Committee in 1926 gave leave to appeal from the Free State courts in a case * under the Irish Land Acts. The retort was instant and effective. A Bill was introduced in Dáil and Senate declaring that the law in respect of the subject of this case was as it had been declared in the Supreme Court of the Irish Free State, and not otherwise. It was carried without a division. Such criticism as there was directed itself but feebly to a protest against retrospective legislation and some members would have preferred that the gesture (which was all that the Bill was intended to be) should take the stronger form of an amendment to the Constitution giving power to the Irish Free State to limit the matters which might be made the subject of appeals to the Privy Council. There were not wanting counsels of perfection urging that in no circumstances should such an appeal be competent at all. But in neither House at any time was a single voice raised to urge that the action of the Judicial Committee in granting leave to appeal was either right or desirable. Thus even the moderate interpretation of their own powers by that Committee is the subject of dispute and pregnant with the threat of dissension, nor is there room for the faintest doubt that their action in the copyright case and the appeal of the civil servants will be met with the same defiant and effective resistance, by the refusal to execute judgments, if no other means are open.

A system which can subject the most dignified judicial body in the world to affronts of this kind can only be described as intolerable. In fairness to the members of the Irish Parliament it must be said that no word of disrespect to the Monarchy was heard: the Sovereign is recognised as the head of the Irish Free

* *Lynham* v. *Butler*, [1925] 2 Irish Rep. 82, 231

stitutional questions, but relating to matters of fact. Thus the rule against giving leave to appeal from the Supreme Court of Canada is strictly observed where no great constitutional question or question of law emerges.

In the case of South Africa, which is a unitary state, the practice has become very strict. We are not at all disposed to advise the Sovereign unless there is some exceptional question, such as the magnitude of the question of law involved, or it is a question of public interest in the Dominion, to give leave to appeal . . . It becomes with the Dominions more and more or less and less, as they please. We go upon the principles of autonomy on this question of exercising the discretion as to granting leave to appeal . . .

We now come to Ireland. From what I have said it is obvious that it is not expedient that we should lay down too rigidly to begin with what the principles are. It will grow with the unwritten Constitution . . . In the olden days the appeal to the House of Lords was as of right as it is from Northern Ireland to-day, but the appeal to the Privy Council is not as of right. It is an appeal to the King's discretion, and it is founded on a petition that he should exercise his discretion. Well, obviously what is a matter of discretion is a very different thing from what is a matter of right, and, accordingly, when you come from a new Dominion with full Dominion status like the Irish Free State, it is not by any means as of course, even to begin with, that leave to appeal will be given. On the contrary, the Sovereign may be advised to apply the general principle of restriction to which I have alluded. That being so, we will have to look into these petitions one by one, and we shall bear in mind that the status of the new Irish Dominion is a status which, although it has been likened to a number of the Dominions in the Treaty Act and in the Treaty, is not strictly analogous to any one of them. For instance, it is not analogous to non-unitary Dominions. Southern Ireland is a unitary Dominion and is analogous, therefore, to unitary Dominions like South Africa more than it is to non-unitary Dominions like Australia and Canada, that is from the point of view of justice only, because you will observe I have said no words to suggest that there is not a complete analogy established by the terms of the Constitution between Ireland and Canada for other purposes.

In this summary there is an absence of the ground of appeal described in *Prince* v. *Gagnon* as 'matters affecting property of considerable amount,' though perhaps Lord Haldane may have considered such matters were also matters 'of wide public interest.' The omission, however, gives some colour to the suggestion, ventilated by certain members of the Irish Parliament, that disputes which concern only citizens of and property within a Dominion are disputes which should reach finality in the Supreme Court of that Dominion; and that the prerogative of the King is not concerned therewith. This idea is tantamount to a limitation of the prerogative to public questions; it deprives the citizen of his right as a subject to petition his Sovereign for justice; it removes even many questions of law from the purview of the central authority.

n has been a violation of the natural principles of justice so demonstratively manifest as to convince their Lordships, first, that the result ent of such opposite to the result which their Lordships would thems have reached, and, secondly, that the same opposite result would e been reached by the local tribunal also if the alleged defect or ction had been avoided.[4]

But these principles, simple in exposition and universal in lication, have become subject to new influences arising from political ideas. The recognition of the Dominion status as existing, if ill-defined, condition belonging to a part of the ish Empire has both restricted the field within which the rogative is to be exercised and extended the considerations ch will move their Lordships' minds in deciding whether it ild in fact be exercised. Having won a war nominally for the ht of democracy and self-determination, it became difficult withhold the advantages which purport to belong to these se principles from the nations who had assisted in their mph. Generalities had to be expanded and definitions tled down. And so in 1923 the late Lord Haldane, dealing an Irish petition in the case of *Hull v. McKenna*,[5] gave his ion on the whole matter as follows:

need not observe that the growth of the Empire and the growth cularly of the Dominions has led to very substantial restriction of the se of the prerogative by the Sovereign on the advice of the Judicial mittee. It is obviously proper that the Dominions should more and dispose of their own cases, and in criminal cases it has been laid down ctly that it is only in most exceptional cases that the Sovereign is ed to intervene. In other cases the practice which has grown up, or unwritten usage which has grown up, is that the Judicial Committee look closely into the nature of the case, and if, in their Lordships' on, the question is one that can be best determined on the spot, then Sovereign is not, as a rule, advised to intervene . . . unless the case e involving some great principle or is of some very wide public interest. also necessary to keep a certain discretion, because, when you are ng with the Dominions, you find that they differ very much. For nce in states that are not unitary states, that is to say, states within selves, questions may arise between the central government and the which, when an appeal is admitted, gives (*sic*) rise very readily to tions which are apparently very small, but which may involve serious deration, and there leave to appeal is given rather freely. In Canada are a number of cases in which leave to appeal is granted, because da is not a unitary state, and because it is the desire of Canada itself the Sovereign should retain the power of exercising his prerogative; that does not apply to internal disputes not concerned with con-

[4] *Arnold v. The King-Emperor*, L. R. [1914] A. C. 644.

[5] Reported in [1923] W. N. 134 and 67 *Solicitors' Journal*, 807. The text quoted is taken from a report of Mr. Kevin O'Higgins' speech in the Dáil uary 27, 1926, as printed in the *Journal of the Parliaments of the Empire*, 1926, at p. 403.

State of Quebec and the State of Ontario, either called for some overriding tribunal to give its final decision.[4]

As an example of letting not the right hand know what the left hand doth, this procedure on the part of the British Government (if it be correctly reported) is, we may hope, peculiar. But acts necessary to put an end to a state of carnage should not perhaps be judged with the same strictness as measures taken in times of peace; and if the Ministers of the Crown desired to placate the resentment of the English as well as satisfy the pride of the Irish, some secret equivocation was to be expected, however little to be praised. At any rate, the concession has had the upshot which follows most Laodicean policy. The crisis has come—perhaps the more exacerbated by delay.

The question as to the reservation of certain cases to the Dominion courts, without even a right to petition for the exercise of the prerogative, is one thing: the principle upon which the discretion, where it is admitted, is to be exercised is another. Here again there appears to be divergence of feeling which shows itself, as usual, in Ireland, where the ice is thinnest. In a long series of cases the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council has worked out a theory upon which it will base its advice to His Majesty to accept or to reject these petitions for leave to appeal. In 1882 the view of the Committee was expressed, in relation to a petition on appeal from the Supreme Court of Canada, in terms which were clear and precise:

> Their Lordships are not prepared to advise Her Majesty to exercise her prerogative by admitting an appeal to Her Majesty in Council from the Supreme Court of the Dominion, save where the case is of gravity involving matters of public interest or some important question of law, or affecting property of considerable amount, or where the case is otherwise of some public importance or of a very substantial character . . . they are of opinion that they ought not to advise Her Majesty to exercise her prerogative by admitting an appeal in a case depending on a disputed matter of fact.[5]

In criminal matters the practice has been equally well defined:

> This Committee is not a Court of Criminal Appeal. It may in general be stated that its practice is to the following effect. It is not guided by its own doubts of the appellant's innocence or suspicion of his guilt. It will not interfere with the course of criminal law unless there has been such an interference with the elementary rights of an accused as has placed him outside the pale of regular law, or unless, within that pale,

[4] Speech of the late Mr. Kevin O'Higgins (Minister for Justice) in the Dáil, January 27, 1926 (*Journal of the Parliaments of the Empire*, April 1926, p. 402). Mr. O'Higgins, if correctly reported, seems to have overlooked the fact that the Crown has renounced the right of deciding constitutional questions between the states of the Australian Commonwealth: see the Commonwealth of Australia Constitution Act, 1900, s. 74.

[5] *Prince v. Gagnon*, L. R. 8 A. C. 103.

[illegible]

justice [illegible] of his subjects at discretion. They may by petition invoke the exercise of that discretion, and if the King is so advised by the Judicial Committee of his Privy Council, he may grant it and hear an appeal, making such order thereon as seems right. The Sovereign is still the Supreme Tribunal. The Commonwealth of Australia exercises the special right to pass laws limiting the matters in which such appeal may be brought, subject to the consent of the Governor-General, and the Union of South Africa has a similar privilege.[1] To the Irish Free State no such legislative power was reserved, and Article 66 of the Constitution merely provides that

> the decision of the Supreme Court shall in all cases be final and conclusive, and shall not be capable of being reviewed by any other Court, Tribunal or Authority whatsoever
>
> Provided that nothing in this Constitution shall impair the right of any person to petition His Majesty for special leave to appeal from the Supreme Court to His Majesty in Council or the right of His Majesty to grant such leave

The position of Ireland is similar to that of Canada, save that in Canada there is, in some cases, a right to appeal to the King in Council as an alternative to the appeal to the Supreme Court. Although, however, this is the letter of the law, it has been claimed by an Irish Minister for Justice that there is an unwritten convention that the practice shall be otherwise. That claim, incidentally, is founded on a conversation which throws a sinister light upon the manner in which the apparent triumphs of diplomatic negotiation are sometimes achieved. Speaking of the discussions, between the Irish Provisional Government and the British Government, which led up to the Irish Free State Act of 1922, the late Mr. Kevin O'Higgins alleged that he received the most formal assurances that all the British Government sought by the proviso was the barest reservation of His Majesty's prerogative.

> In discussions which took place at that time with certain British Ministers including the Lord Chancellor of the day, there were very definite understandings and definite assurances given that the preservation of the prerogative would be very much more a theory than a fact and a practice, that in so far as the practice was concerned it would be the practice observed in the case of South Africa rather than in the case of certain other Dominions, members of the British Commonwealth of Nations. And this distinction was drawn, that the Irish Free State would be a unitary State, like South Africa, and not at all resembling Canada and Australia, where matters of law arising as between, say, the

[1] The Commonwealth of Australia Constitution Act, 1900, s. 74; South Africa Act, 1909, s. 106.

THE DOMINIONS AND THE JUDICIAL COMMITTEE

AT the Imperial Conference of 1926 one of the questions which occupied the attention of the delegates was the right of Dominion citizens to lay petitions to the King for leave to appeal to the Privy Council from the courts of their own states. The matter was, perhaps wisely, shelved, the Irish delegates reserving their right to raise it again at the next Conference, and peace reigned for the moment. But though the will of an assembly may adjourn, the insistence of facts may still revive, an issue which is hot in the minds of a large number of people. In the month of November the Judicial Committee gave leave to appeal from the Supreme Court of the Irish Free State against a decision that there was no copyright in Ireland between the coming into force of the Free State Treaty in 1922 and the passing of that state's own Industrial and Commercial Property Protection Act, 1927. A few days later the Committee reversed a decision of the Irish Supreme Court by advising His Majesty that certain claims made on behalf of transferred civil servants in Ireland were valid. In the former case the Irish Government has been content for the moment to say that it does not consent to the action taken. In the latter, the Irish Minister of Finance has bluntly stated that the Government will pay no one a penny more than the judgment of the Irish Supreme Court has sanctioned. It would appear that the happy expedient of shutting one's eyes in the face of unpleasant facts is about to prove inefficacious once again. Forms of words are collapsing under strain; tacit understandings are giving way to strident disagreement. Men who take a pride in an Imperial system built up at such cost in lives and energy, and holding so honourable a position in the history of the world, will be forced to consider the facts and what is to be done in face of them.

What is the constitutional position between Great Britain and her Dominions? The Supreme Courts of Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, India and the Irish Free State are supreme: no appeal lies therefrom as of right to any other court of law. But there resides in their common Sovereign a prerogative of

I think it scarcely necessary for me to say, in view of the traditional attitude of the Indian princes, that neither Great Britain nor British India need anticipate any obstruction from us. We are merely anxious to get our rights, as we believe them to be, frankly admitted. It may be that where we and our people have suffered grave injury in the past we shall ask for a revision of arrangements obviously inequitable. But neither we nor our people are living in past centuries. We have not the slightest desire to revert to a condition in which each State counted itself as a unit isolated not merely from the rest of India but also from its sister States. We shall be prepared to co-operate in every reasonable direction with Great Britain and British India in all those steps which economic and administrative advance alike require. Nor is there any disposition on our part to refuse the responsibilities which can justly be laid upon our shoulders. We recognise that in these days our administration must be efficient and well conducted. We further recognise that in the event of an administrative breakdown the Crown is entitled under the treaty position to interpose its authority. But we also believe that the same treaty position should be recognised as placing upon our shoulders and upon the shoulders of our people the primary responsibility for the peace, progress, and development of our States.

While we are willing to co-operate in every way with Great Britain and with British India in their joint endeavours to make India a great and prosperous country, we firmly maintain that our treaty relationship is with the British Crown. We believe that the most satisfactory manner of conducting these relations is to institute a machinery, such as can readily be devised, separate from, if linked to, the machinery which governs British India. We consider that most of the troubles from which we are now suffering arise from the fact that the Crown's agent for managing the day-to-day relations between the Crown and ourselves has been the Government of British India, which is increasingly British Indian in its outlook and is bound to be even more British Indian to-morrow than it is to-day. And while we have not the slightest desire to see India split, as Ireland is split, into two countries, we believe that it will only be found possible to deal with conditions which vary so much as those of British India and of the Indian States by the institution of some federal machinery, linked together at the top by the Viceroy, representing the Crown—the party to every one of our treaties—which shall secure not only co-operation in matters of common concern between the two sides of India, but shall also ensure that each side of India shall enjoy the rights to which it is in truth entitled.

BHUPINDER SINGH.

never been a meeting of the Chamber of Princes in which we have had freedom to formulate our own agenda, but the present Viceroy, Lord Irwin, by accepting the resolution of my colleague His Highness the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir, has now enabled us to assume some of the responsibility for the daily work card of the chamber. We have, however, taken full advantage of the fact that the meetings of the Chamber of Princes bring to Delhi every year some fifty or sixty ruling princes; and at the cost of a certain amount of duplication we have set up an unofficial and parallel organisation which enables us to discuss freely in our own informal meetings those kinds of questions which we had originally hoped to discuss in the chamber. As a result of several years' discussion we found ourselves in a position, early in 1927, to approach Lord Irwin with a request that His Majesty's Government should institute an inquiry into the position of the Indian States. We further despatched two of our Ministers to England to obtain a preliminary opinion from leading counsel here on the legal aspect of the relations between the Indian States and the Crown. We got the inquiry for which we had been asking, although both the terms of reference and the numbers of the personnel were far more restricted than we had originally asked. Nevertheless we welcomed the opportunity which the appointment of the Indian States Committee assured to us, and we set up a special organisation to prepare the joint case which the Chamber of Princes had committed to the charge of the Standing Committee in such a way as would best, as we thought, facilitate the progress of the inquiry. Finally, as I think most people know, we instructed a number of eminent counsel to advise us on the whole case. After an impartial investigation, our counsel advised us that we were right in the interpretation which we had ourselves for long placed upon our relations with the Crown. They advised us that the relationship of the Indian States is with the British Crown and not with any Government of British India; that it is contractual in nature, importing definite legal rights and definite obligations on either side. They advised us that the rights of the Crown over the States were limited as definitely as the claims of the States upon the Crown; that there was a definite objective criterion by which the question as to whether the Government of India was or was not justified in interfering in the internal affairs of the States could be determined. It is on the strength of this opinion that we have made a statement of our case, supported by voluminous evidence from a very large number of States, to the Committee presided over by Sir Harcourt Butler, in order to establish that the present system by which our political relations with the Crown are conducted is faulty and needs revision.

[illegible]

Indian States. We had [illegible] what we wanted in writing; and since what we wanted then we still want now, it may be useful to [illegible]. We desired, in the first place, some machinery which would enable the Indian States to take their share in the formulation of any policies which affect the whole of India—in other words, British India and the States alike. In the second place, we desired some machinery which would give us a voice in the administration of the day-to-day relations between the States and the Crown. In the third place, we wanted a system of entirely impartial arbitration which would give an authoritative decision on questions where the Government of India and the States did not see eye to eye. Unfortunately, while the Montagu-Chelmsford Report endorsed to a very large extent our own view of the position, and even gave a qualified approbation to the reforms which we were seeking, we did not succeed in obtaining any one of them in the form which we desired. Our first request took shape merely as the present Chamber of Princes, which, like the old German Diet, is little more than a formal meeting of magnates. Our second request did not materialise at all, for the Standing Committee of the Chamber of Princes, which is supposed to be a substitute for the advisory committee for which we asked, is practically concerned only with the formulation of agenda for the Chamber. Our third request has been carried out in the emasculated form of a Government of India resolution which permits the appointment at that Government's discretion of boards of arbitration, the findings of which the Viceroy is free to accept or reject as may seem good to his advisers.

We could not help being struck by the contrast between the small result attending our own efforts and the liberal delegation of powers to British India which followed the publication of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report. From our own standpoint the position since 1919 has been worse than ever, since the new legislative bodies of British India have been endowed with powers which enable them in fact to exercise a direct control over the destinies of the States. I need not pause upon this point in detail, but will only say that it was not by any wish of the States that India has become a highly protectionist country, and that it is British India, and not the Indian States, to whom the proceeds of the enhanced customs revenue are credited. We had, however, gained this one point—we were free to meet and discuss our common affairs without being under the suspicion that we were plotting sedition. Accordingly, between 1919 and the present day we Indian princes have put in a good deal of solid spade work in the shape of reducing both our dissatisfactions and our claims to concrete form. Up to the time of writing there has

caused hardship and loss to the States themselves. It is scarcely necessary to add that only a very small proportion of these agreements were voluntarily executed by the States. The power of the Government of India was so great, its resources so immensely superior to those of any one Indian State, that the pressure which could be applied was of an almost irresistible nature. But the net result was that, while British India advanced, the rights of the States suffered; and, it is painful to add, the interests of the people of the States were frequently sacrificed, particularly in the economic sphere, to the interests and to the advantage of the people of British India.

These statements may seem strong, and I am content that they should be taken as a mere expression of my own opinion until the public are able to peruse the original evidence, drawn from a large number of States, which the Standing Committee of the Chamber of Princes has submitted for the consideration of the Indian States Committee. The British nation can then judge for itself. The fact that the Indian States Committee has not yet reported naturally precludes me from entering into details at the present juncture. My object for the moment is only to make clear the position as it appeared to us, and to our immediate predecessors, something less than twenty years ago. Rectification was quite beyond our power. We had no means of getting together, to compare notes, or of speaking with a common voice. The old time-worn prohibition against our corresponding with each other, even in family matters, was strictly enforced. Such efforts as we did make to consult each other were always officially reprobated. It was not until the viceroyalty of Lord Hardinge, who brought to bear upon the problems of India an open mind and a long experience of European diplomacy, that a new day dawned for us.

Lord Hardinge not merely invited and won the confidence of the Indian princes, but in addition asked their advice from time to time upon all-India questions. He further relaxed the ban upon our meeting members of our own order, with the result that gradually we have been able to cultivate the habit of common deliberation. The great change which Lord Hardinge initiated was continued by Lord Chelmsford, in whose time the war effort of the princes served to dissipate the last remnants of that atavistic suspicion inherited from the days of the Company, that if the princes were allowed to correspond and to consult with each other they would only do so for the purpose of plotting against the British. In consequence, when Lord Chelmsford and Mr Montagu conducted their inquiry into the politics of British India, we found them ready to devote a portion—if a small portion—of their time to a consideration of the problems of the

[illegible] it was concerned [illegible] relations with the States. It is perfectly true that there was no marked distinction between the machinery which discharged both these duties; but the circumstances in which the Company held to power operated in such fashion as to ensure that there would be no confusion between them. The Company, as we have seen, minded its own business, and as a rule respected the terms of the treaties and engagements with the States. *Only when it scented a threat to its own power did it take action.* But when the Crown assumed the direct administration of India and proceeded to discharge the dual functions of the Company, a change was gradually introduced into the spirit of the treaty relationship. That branch of the administration which was directly concerned with the relations between the British power and the Indian States was now staffed by officers of the Crown. They were able, on many occasions, to take up a stronger line in regard to the States than had been possible in the case of officers of the Company. The suppression of the Mutiny —even though the Indian States were so largely instrumental in contributing to it—greatly increased the prestige of the British in India. Every British officer found himself in a strengthened position. Hence it was that the Crown's officers who dealt with the States were able to do so from a higher pedestal than had been possible for their predecessors. This tendency, which I believe would have operated powerfully in any circumstances, was greatly reinforced as the nineteenth century drew towards its close by what was happening in British India. For British India the Crown's servants were responsible to Parliament. Their business was to safeguard its interests, to augment its financial resources, to develop its communications, to banish the spectre of famine, and generally to turn an enormous unwieldy tract of country into a compactly governed model administrative charge. The development of modern means of communication made centralisation possible. The Government of India became stronger and stronger, larger and larger. Its departments became more and more specialised. Far-reaching policies were laid down which embraced in their benevolent scope not merely the great territories of British India, but also the territories of the States themselves. In framing these policies one end was kept steadily in view—the interests and the advancement of British India. Where these policies conflicted with the rights of the States, as secured by treaty and engagement, means were found in some way or other to circumvent any possible obstruction. In connexion with a large variety of subjects—among which may be mentioned railways, opium, excise, forests, and customs—the Government of India succeeded in obtaining from the States specific agreements which safeguarded the interests of British India, and *pro tanto*

executed have undergone material changes, and the literal fulfilment particular obligations which they impose has become impractica Practice has been based on the theory that Treaties must be read whole, and that they must be interpreted in the light of the relati established between the parties not only at the time when a partic Treaty was made, but subsequently. The result is that there has gr up around the treaties a body of case law which anyone who is anxiou appreciate the precise nature of existing relations must explore in Gov ment archives and in text books. The Princes, viewing the applicatio this case law to their individual relations with Government are uneas to its ultimate effect. They fear that usage and precedent may be e cising a levelling and corroding influence upon the Treaty rights of i vidual States.

The contrast between the past and the present is one wh requires some explanation, in view of the fact that when Crown assumed responsibility for the East India Compa treaties in 1858 Her Majesty Queen Victoria bound hersel respect as her own the rights and privileges of the princes. gracious declaration of policy has been repeated and indorsed successive monarchs, by successive Secretaries of State, and successive Viceroys. There can, I think, be no question but t it is the policy which even now is officially regarded as govern the relations between the Indian States and the Crown.

The position which is taken up by the Indian princes to can be expressed in a single sentence. We respectfully urge t this policy is not in practice observed, that our rights encroached upon in a variety of directions, and that the sp of the treaty relationship between ourselves and the Crow honoured in the breach, rather than in the observance, by Crown's agents in India. We do not ascribe this catastroph any bad faith; we regard it as the result of a process, as grad as it has been imperceptible, which has forced the rights of States into the background, and has subordinated them to interests of British India. This process, we believe, is in part result of a centralisation of administration, for which prev Indian history can provide no parallel, and is in part attribut to the fact that primarily the officials in charge of this central administration were thinking of their obligations towards side of India only—British India. We do not blame the offi —their conduct has been natural; we do not blame the pro —it is merely the effect of plain causes; we blame the sys which has permitted both, and must be changed if Royal ple are really to be observed. After the Mutiny, when the Cr assumed the direct government of British India as well as other responsibilities of the Company, it was, I think, ha realised that the Company was performing two entirely sepa functions. It was governing what is now called British India,

[illegible] in their natural course. We think [illegible] and [illegible] by our will, which [illegible] it is our own, we ever after support against the inclination of the people and their notions of right and justice.

The true basis of non-interference is a respect for the rights of all— for the rights of all, people as well as Princes. The treaties by which we are connected with Native States are, with rare exceptions, founded on their independence in internal affairs. In several instances the States are, with respect to external relations, dependent and under our protection but still independent in internal affairs. It is customary with the advocates of interference to twist our obligation of protection against enemies into a right to interfere in the internal affairs of protected States, a right, however, which our treaties generally do not give us otherwise than as the supporters of the legitimate sovereign against usurpation or dethronement, in the event of his not having merited the disaffection of his subjects.

On the other hand, the present attitude of the Government of India towards this question may be gathered from the following quotations extracted from Chapter X. of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report :

We became aware at the outset that although the policy which has been followed for more than a century towards the States has been amply vindicated by the trust and confidence which the Princes as a body repose in the British Government yet in some quarters uncertainty and uneasiness undoubtedly exist. Some Rulers are perturbed by a feeling that the measure of sovereignty and independence guaranteed to them by the British Government has not been accorded in full, and they are apprehensive lest in process of time their individual rights and privileges may be whittled away. We ascribe this feeling to two causes. In the first place, the expression 'Native States' is applied now and has been applied during the past century to a collection of about 700 rulerships which exhibit widely differing characteristics, which range from States with full autonomy over their internal affairs to States in which the Government exercises, through its agents, large powers of internal control, and even down to the owners of a few acres of land. Uniformity of terminology tends to obscure distinctions of status and practice appropriate in the case of the lesser Chiefs may be inadvertently applied to the greater ones also.

In the second place, we cannot disregard the fact that the general clause which occurs in many of the Treaties to the effect that the Chief shall remain absolute Ruler of his country has not in the past precluded and does not even now preclude 'interference with the administration by Government through the agency of its representatives at the Native Courts.' We need hardly say that such interference has not been employed in wanton disregard of Treaty obligations. During the earlier days of our intimate relations with the States British agents found themselves compelled, often against their will, to assume responsibility for the welfare of a people, to restore order from chaos, to prevent inhuman practices, and to guide the hands of a weak or incompetent Ruler as the only alternative to the termination of his rule.

Moreover we find that the position hitherto taken up by Government has been that the conditions under which some of the Treaties were

to Lord Dalhousie. It was indorsed in the fullest degree by administrators of the calibre of Munro and Metcalfe. Few things are more interesting, in view of the present situation, than to compare the attitude of the East India Company and of the present Government of India in regard to the difficult and delicate question of intervention in the internal affairs of the States. Then, as now, the authorities at headquarters had to face the problem of advanced and of conservative States. Then, as now, the tendency of the local representative of British authority was to promote so far as he was able the growth of Western institutions, of Western methods, and of Western efficiency. Then, as now, there was rarely wanting in the local circumstances of the States something which might be taken as justifying, at least in Western eyes, that exercise of authority natural to an enthusiastic British officer who sees things, as he believes, going otherwise than he would like them to go. But in the case of the Company's government such a tendency was repressed. It was regarded as being incompatible with the fundamental relations between the British power and the States. As Munro wrote in 1817:

> In our treaties with them (the Indian princes) we recognise them as independent sovereigns. When we send a Resident to their courts, instead of acting in the character of ambassador, he assumes the functions of a dictator, interferes in all their private concerns, countenances refractory subjects against them, and makes the most ostentatious exhibition of this exercise of authority. To secure to himself the support of our Government he urges some interest which, under the colour thrown upon it by him, is strenuously taken up by our Council, and the Government identifies itself with the Resident not only on the single point but on the whole tenor of his conduct. In nothing do we violate the feelings of the Native Princes so much as in the decisions in which we claim the privilege of pronouncing with regard to the succession to the Musnud.

Even more vigorous was the expression of Metcalfe's opinion in 1835, when, as acting Governor-General, he noted in his paper on the affairs of Jaipur:

> Another evil of interference is that it gives too much power to our Agents at foreign courts, and makes Princes and Ministers very much the slaves or subjects of their will. An interfering Agent is an abominable nuisance wherever he may be, and our agents are apt to take that turn. They like to be masters instead of mere negotiators. They imagine often, very erroneously, that they can do good by meddling in other people's affairs, and they are impatient in witnessing any disorder which they think may be remedied by our interference, forgetting that one step in this course will unavoidably be followed by others, which will most probably lead to the destruction of the independence of the State concerned.
>
> It must be admitted to be an evil of the non-interference policy that temporary and local disorder may occasionally ensue, and must be tolerated, if we mean to adhere strictly to that principle. But this is a consequence which we naturally dislike. We are not disposed to wait

[illegible]
[illegible] a fresh Imperial dynasty arose. Throughout Indian history the units which are now called for convenience the Indian States have persisted as the bricks out of which successive empires have been constructed. Occasionally a brick has been broken and a new one substituted. But on the whole these occasions were rare; and the essential elements of all the empires in India, from that of the Slave Kings to that of His Majesty King George V., have remained much the same.

The East India Company, when it was in a position to realise Lord Wellesley's conception of being 'paramount in effect if not declaredly,' behaved very much as its predecessors had done. In the course of acquiring its power it had on behalf of the Crown entered into treaties and obligations with the Indian States, and with their support, and the aid of their martial populations, it gradually acquired mastery. Comparatively early in its history it took the traditional step of throwing off its allegiance to the existing Imperial authority; and from the year 1773, when Warren Hastings repudiated tribute to the Moghul Empire, which was no longer able to afford even a shadowy protection or exert the semblance of force, the Company framed its policies as one of the independent powers competing for supremacy inside India. Even when its position became unchallengeable it did not depart seriously from the ancient traditions of empire-building. It ruled the territory which it had itself conquered through its own officials, but throughout the rest of India it was content with an acknowledgment of its supremacy, under certain conditions, by the Indian States, with whom it had entered into relations. Until the annexation of great blocks of territory like Oudh and the Punjab finally reversed the balance, the Company's empire was smaller in area than the country still ruled by the Indian States. Even to-day, if Burma be left out of account, States territory, though sparsely inhabited in comparison with British India, occupies nearly half the entire area of the peninsula proper. Doubtless the fact that the Company at one time ruled considerably less than half India was responsible in some measure for shaping its policy towards the Indian States. Its main concern, so far as I have been able to gather from despatches exchanged between England and India during the first half of the last century, was to avoid all possibility of trouble so far as the States were concerned. It did occasionally itself intervene in the internal affairs of the States, and did so with drastic effect. But it was very careful to impress upon the diplomatic agents who represented it at the courts of the Indian princes that it was their business to represent rather than to control or to interfere. This policy was outlined by Warren Hastings. It was rigorously insisted upon by Governors-General from the Marquis of Hastings

irresponsible comments based upon an entire misconception of our real attitude. We have been accused of holding our heads over-high, of desiring to assert our independence of the British connexion, even of manifesting signs of that anti-British feeling which is now unfortunately too common in many parts of India. I hope it is scarcely necessary for me to say that such accusations are utterly false. In the long run, deeds speak louder than words, and the record of the services which the princes of India have rendered to Great Britain is untarnished and untarnishable. If fate should decree that to-morrow the British Empire were involved in a fresh struggle for its existence, the Indian princes would range themselves, as they have ever ranged themselves in the past, unflinchingly upon the side of the Power to which they are bound by every consideration of knightly honour and chivalrous tradition.

But the very depth of the feeling which binds the princes of India to Britain impels them at the present moment to tell their great ally that all is not well. To our Indian ideas it is the part of the faithful friend to point out, as courteously as may be, the mistakes which he believes are being committed, rather than to suffer these mistakes to pass unheeded with the risk of ultimate disaster. This, if I may venture to say so, is the attitude of the Indian princes to-day. They believe that mistakes have been made, and are being made, by Britain in her treatment of them. They believe that these mistakes, if suffered to go uncorrected, will in the long run prove disastrous for both parties. In order to make clear this attitude I must sketch very briefly the growth of the present position.

It is, I think, very necessary to remember that the traditions of India do not include vast centralised empires administered from a single centre without intermediary authority. The great Indian Empires of the past have always been similar in their essentials. There has been at the centre of the Empire a strong military power, whose superiority in physical force has enabled it to keep a certain degree of peace, and to exact a certain amount of submission, throughout the length and breadth of the country. But this central Empire has invariably been content to rule, not merely through the agency of Viceroys and Governors subordinated to itself, but also through local dynasties of semi-independent rulers who have accorded it submission. So long as the central authority retained its superiority in physical force it was able to keep the other powers in some measure of subordination to itself, to exact tribute from them, and to compel them to place their armies at its disposal in case of need. But when the necessary measure of force was not available the Empire broke up, the local ruling houses asserted their independence, and so

THE INDIAN PRINCES AND THE BRITISH EMPIRE

One of the disadvantages of a far-flung realm like the British Empire is the comparatively slight knowledge possessed by the centre regarding the circumference. Speaking from the standpoint of the Indian princes, I have been particularly impressed by this fact. The Indian States' relations with the British Crown have lasted now for about a century and a quarter, and I do not think it would be unfair to say that there are comparatively few people in England, even in quarters which one would expect to be well informed, who have any real knowledge either of the Indian States or of the problems to which the rulers of those States are now endeavouring to direct Great Britain's attention. This is perhaps the more remarkable since the personal relations between the princes of India and successive British sovereigns have invariably been of the closest possible character. The Indian princes regard with pride the tie which binds them to the Sovereign; while from the time of Queen Victoria to the present day the Royal house of Britain has ever manifested the greatest interest in, and care for, the ruling princes of India. Moreover, it has been our proud privilege on at least two occasions, to render material assistance to the Empire at a time when our influence was of real importance. Nevertheless the fact remains that to-day there is much misconception in England, which is due entirely to lack of knowledge, concerning both the position in which the Indian princes now find themselves and their endeavours to secure a remedy.

We have done what we can to make our position known; and I am glad to find that during the last few months there are signs of an awakening interest in our case. I think that people in Britain have now begun to realise the existence of the States, although I believe they are still far from realising either the importance of the part which the States must play in any future polity of India, or indeed the ideas which animate that powerful section of the Indian princes for which the Standing Committee of the Princes' Chamber is authorised to speak. To take the latter point first, both I and my brother princes have been pained to encounter

different to that which obtained in the Great War in respect to the position of a neutral State. Art. 16 of the Covenant of the League renders all argument about the law of nations and the Declaration of London superfluous—*if it can be enforced*. Who is going to enforce Art. 16 against the United States if she chooses to trade with Russia and supply her with food and munitions of war, and money? Is it not perfectly clear that in any circumstances the United States will decline to accept a position of subordination to an article of a covenant to which she is not a party? It must therefore be expected that she will assert her right to the same freedom of action as she enjoyed in 1914, and will be prepared to maintain that right, if necessary, by force. The 'Big Navy' group in the United States sees this issue clearly and its implications are so terrible for the future peace of the world, and more particularly in their bearing on the relations between this country and the United States, that it is to be hoped most earnestly that nothing may be said or done on either side to prejudice the prospects of friendly agreement over issues fraught with such terrible consequences as can now be plainly visualised, if wise counsels should not prevail.

F. G. STONE

But the Argentine Republic, Bolivia, and Paraguay are all members of the League of Nations, and under Art. 16 of the Covenant Bolivia would 'be deemed to have committed an act of war against all other members of the League,' which would thereupon be required 'immediately to subject it to the severance of all trade or financial relations, the prohibition of all intercourse between their nationals and the nationals of the Covenant-breaking State, and the prevention of all financial, commercial, or personal intercourse between the nationals of the Covenant-breaking State and the nationals of any other State whether a member of the League or not.' Bolivia would therefore be immediately subjected to a complete boycott by Argentina, and the Council of the League would recommend to Argentina what 'effective military, naval or air force . . . she should contribute to the armed forces to be used to protect the covenants of the League.'

It would appear that the Treaty for the Renunciation of War, in order to become effective, requires another article on similar lines to Art. 16 of the Covenant of the League of Nations.

It should be borne in mind that the United States of America is not a member of the League of Nations, and has therefore an apparently free hand, being uncommitted to the application of any sanctions against a disturber of the peace.

To take a concrete case as an example. Suppose Russia threatened to attack Poland: all the States bordering on Poland, except Russia, are members of the League of Nations, and a further bond within the Covenant of the League has been established by the Locarno Agreement, between Belgium, France, Great Britain and Italy; between Germany and Belgium; Germany and France, Germany and Poland; and Germany and Czechoslovakia. By Art. 17 of the Covenant Russia would be invited to accept the obligations of membership in the League for the purpose of settling the dispute if Russia should refuse and proceed to make war on Poland, the provisions of Art. 16 of the Covenant become applicable and Russia would be held *ipso facto* to have committed an act of war against all other members of the League, which would thereupon sever all trade and financial relations with Russia, prohibit all intercourse between their nationals and Russian nationals, and prevent all financial, commercial or personal intercourse between Russian nationals and the nationals of *any other State whether a member of the League or not*.

It will be seen, therefore, that not only is America not free to maintain financial, commercial, or personal relations with Russia, but it is the agreed duty of every member of the League to prevent such intercourse. Thus a situation arises which is entirely

interests before the interests of general peace; and in doing so she must inevitably come into conflict with the Powers which are engaged in isolating a disturber of the peace by means of the sanctions provided under the Covenant of the League.

The question of the Navy Bill before the Senate at Washington was inseparably connected in the public mind with the Kellogg Pact for the Renunciation of War: the two Bills were rivals for precedence, and their provisions mutually reacted upon each other in influencing public opinion.

President Coolidge must be congratulated on his tactful handling of the Navy Bill question in his Message to Congress, although it may be doubted whether he carried his point with the 'Big Navy' group.

In his Armistice Day speech he told his audience that the Pact for the Renunciation of War was 'the most complete and will be the most effective instrument for peace that was ever devised.' Mr Kellogg speaking on the same day, said, in amplification of President Coolidge's remarks on this subject 'There are no collateral reservations or amendments made to the Treaty as finally agreed upon and *not even a moral obligation on the United States of America to apply sanctions to a Treaty-breaking State*'

Art. I. of the Treaty for the Renunciation of War runs as follows: 'The high contracting parties solemnly declare in the names of their respective peoples, that they condemn recourse to war for the solution of international controversies, and renounce it as an instrument of national policy in their relations with one another'

Art. II: 'The high contracting parties agree that the settlement or solution of all disputes or conflicts, of whatever nature or of whatever origin they may be, which may arise among them, shall never be sought except by pacific means'

Art. III deals with ratification and procedure

The preamble gives express recognition to the principle that if a State resorts to war in violation of the Treaty, the other contracting parties are automatically released from their obligations, under the Treaty, towards that State.

Thus, to take a concrete case by way of illustration Supposing Argentina, Bolivia, and Paraguay to be parties to the Treaty, and that it had been clearly proved that Bolivia had broken the Treaty by attacking Paraguay, Argentina would be at liberty to attack Bolivia and thus give direct support to Paraguay. But on the other hand, inasmuch as the Treaty imposes no obligations on its signatories to apply sanctions to a Treaty-breaking State, it would be equally permissible for Argentina to continue trading with Bolivia and to supply her with munitions of war—that is to say, so far as the Treaty is concerned.

and the [illegible] Mr. Baldwin adopted a strictly correct attitude in the manner of conveying his reply.

Beyond the establishment of personal contact between members of our House of Commons and of the American House of Representatives it is difficult to see what good could be achieved by the joint Committee, the constitution of which seems designed to exclude expert knowledge.

Far more important is Senator Borah's projected amendment to the Cruiser Construction Bill, in which he proposes a conference for the codification of maritime law Senator Borah believes that an antecedent restatement of maritime law in treaty form, signed and ratified by the principal naval Powers of the world, is urgently necessary if there is to be any hope for the success of the Naval Conference of 1931 he affirms that he has the approval, in a general form, of Mr Hoover, the President-elect, who will be ready when the time comes to negotiate in this sense This is going to the root of the matter with a vengeance, and it is just as well to face the situation boldly That there will be the most acute differences of opinion between the United States and ourselves is as certain as that there will be equally acute differences between two schools of thought—or shall we say policy ?—in this country. It was an ironical decree of fate which required Lord Grey, who was the godfather of the ill-omened Declaration of London, fashioned in the interests of Germany, to have to direct our maritime policy and dictate the principles on which our Prize Courts had to give their awards on the lines laid down in an instrument which had never received the sanction of law, and which in its execution paralysed the sea power of this country in dealing with enemy contraband of war It will be remembered that this ill-starred measure was incubated at the Hague, where our delegate was instructed by Lord Grey to adopt an attitude of almost servile readiness to meet German requirements. It was passed in the House of Commons, widely denounced in the country when its provisions were—thanks to Mr Gibson Bowles—fully understood, and finally rejected by the House of Lords.

It is believed that Senator Borah will take the Declaration of London as a starting point, but that it will soon be left far behind in the more advanced proposals which will be put forward by the United States. The controversy promises to be one which will require the most tactful and delicate handling if acute differences are to be prevented from fomenting bitterness and lasting distrust between this country and the United States.

The situation would, however, be robbed of its most serious dangers if America should reconsider her attitude towards membership of the League of Nations; so long as she remains outside the League, she is free to place her own commercial

admiral's remark with the substitution of the word 'harm' fo
'good.'

Mr. Fred Britten, in the House of Representatives, awaits th passage of the Bill in the Senate as a signal to introduce a appropriation Bill setting aside 10,000,000*l.* for the immediat laying down of the first batch of cruisers, and this contingenc was implicitly referred to in another portion of the President' Message to Congress, in which he averred that it would be neces sary during the present session of Congress to refrain from nev appropriations for immediate outlay, or, *if such are absolutel required*, to provide for them by new revenue; 'otherwise w shall reach the end of the year with the unthinkable result of a unbalanced budget.'

Thus, with a diplomatic simplicity which we cannot fail t admire, did President Coolidge undermine the position of th 'forwards' of the 'Big Navy' group in respect to the pendin debate in the Senate, and fortify, by an appeal to econom expediency, the stand which he took later on in his Messag against the suspicions unjustly harboured in some quarters tha America entertained militaristic or imperialistic designs. I would almost seem as if President Coolidge had a presentiment o what Sir William Robertson was saying on the same day i London at the opening of the Peace Conference under the auspice of the League of Nations Union. 'America, influenced b imperialistic tendencies, apparently means, whatever happens, t go on increasing her navy, and her official utterances on th question of armaments not infrequently bear a close resemblanc to the claims made by Germany before the tragedy of 1914 Sir William Robertson undoubtedly had in his mind the remark able Armistice Day speech of the President from which a brie quotation has been made

It seems advisable at this point to consider for a moment th unorthodox cablegram addressed to Mr. Baldwin by Mr. F A Britten on November 27 proposing that the Naval Affairs Com mittee of which he is chairman should meet in Canada some tim after March 3 with a committee of British members of Parliamen and form a joint committee to discuss the subject of equality o sea power between Great Britain and the United States in a classes of warships not affected by the Washington Arms Con ference. Mr. Baldwin replied through the recognised channels— *i.e.*, the Prime Minister's reply went through the Foreign Offic to the British Ambassador at Washington, who would of cours communicate with the State Department in the usual manner Mr. Britten has been severely criticised for what is regarded b many in America as a serious indiscretion, and it is fortunate, i the interests of friendly official relations between this countr

contraband of war; but when this entailed that, for safety's sake, the search should be carried out in harbour instead of at sea, America challenged the innovation, but did not succeed in sustaining her case. The right to capture and confiscate enemy property found in neutral ships on the high seas was constantly disputed. The exercise of our rights was submitted to with an ill grace and always under protest, but its legality was never admitted. The supremacy of the British Navy was the argument which really carried conviction.

But America is not disposed to allow this argument to carry the same weight on a future occasion. In his Armistice Day speech Mr. Coolidge assured American electors—and the world—that the American people had awakened 'to the drum beats of a new destiny.' This was a stirring prelude to his eloquent advocacy for a more powerful navy and support for the pending Navy Bill. This Bill, which passed the House of Representatives at the last session and was pending in the Senate, provides for the construction of one aircraft carrier and fifteen 10,000-ton cruisers armed with 8-inch guns, five to be laid down in each of the years 1929, 1930, and 1931.

In his address to Congress, however, on December 4, the President adopted a different tone from that which his Armistice Day speech had led the 'Big Navy' group to expect. 'The Bill before the Senate,' he said, '*with the elimination of the time clause*, should be passed. We have no intention of competing with any other country. This building programme is for necessary replacements and to meet our needs for defence.'

The Times correspondent at Washington reports that the phrase 'with the elimination of the time clause' was heard with disappointment by the 'Big Navy' group, with unconcealed pleasure by the opponents of the Cruiser Bill in its present form, and with surprise by everybody. The temper and the content of the President's Armistice Day speech had led Congress and the public generally to expect that, either directly or by implication, President Coolidge would favour a fixed, immediate, and considerable programme of naval construction. But he did nothing of the kind. Senator Hale, chairman of the Naval Affairs Committee of the Senate, is reported to have the intention to bring forward the Bill as it stands, as he does not believe that the Senate would support, or that the House of Representatives would agree to, any such modification as President Coolidge apparently desires. Nevertheless the opposition to the Bill will be strengthened, since, as one admiral rather plaintively put it to *The Times* correspondent, 'this seems to undo much of the good that was done by the Armistice Day speech.' Friends of the United States over here could cordially indorse the

Forces, 1914-18, by Rear-Admiral Consett: it is not possible that anyone who values the security of this country and of the British Empire, after reading this book, could view with indifference the doctrine of the 'freedom of the seas' which is being so industriously propagated by the League of Nations *Union* and other international organisations which place the interests of other countries at least on a par with, if not above, the security of their own country.

In 1856 we subscribed to the Declaration of Paris, Art II of which lays down that *The neutral flag covers enemy's merchandise with the exception of contraband of war*, and it was by virtue of this instrument that Germany, despite the blockade, was able to carry on her trade, during the earlier part of the war, in neutral ships. An attempt was made in March 1915 to cut off all commerce with Germany by applying the 'principle' of the law of blockade but departing from the 'letter' of the law. The justification for this departure from the letter of the law was furnished by Germany's declaration that the English Channel, the north and west coasts of France, and the waters round the British Isles were a 'war area'; and that all enemy ships found in that area would be destroyed and that neutral ships might be exposed to danger. The reply to Germany's declaration was the British 'Reprisals Order,' Arts. I. and II. of which were framed for the purpose of cutting off all commerce through German ports, and made no particular difference in the actual situation in respect to direct imports of contraband. But Arts. III. and IV. had the object of preventing commerce with Germany through neutral ports, and it was here that we came into sharp conflict with America, whose attitude was briefly stated as follows: 'The Government of the United States cannot recognise the validity of proceedings taken in H.M. Prize Court under restraints imposed by the municipal law of Great Britain in derogation of the rights of American citizens . . .', the United States 'cannot submit to the curtailment of its neutral rights by these measures, which are admittedly retaliatory, and therefore illegal.'

The reply of our Government to this was that, 'although these measures may have been provoked by the illegal conduct of the enemy, they do not, in reality, conflict with any general principle of international law, of humanity, or civilisation; they are enforced with consideration against neutral countries, and are therefore juridically sound and valid.'[1]

To sum up: The United States and other neutrals had to submit under the law of nations to the right of visit and search of a neutral merchant vessel for the purpose of verifying her nationality, examining her papers, and searching cargo for

[1] Cmd. 8234.

THE FREEDOM OF THE SEAS AND THE KELLOGG PACT

READERS of the article on 'The Freedom of the Seas,' by Admiral Taylor, which appeared in the January number of this *Review*, are already so well acquainted with the implications inherent in this well-worn phrase, and the different interpretations which have been given to it under the law of nations and under the Declaration of London, that it is unnecessary to go over the same ground again. It will suffice to recall that the only law which this country recognises is the 'law of nations,' the scope of which has been so admirably explained by Admiral Taylor: under this law the right of search for contraband of war carried in neutral bottoms is clearly provided for, and it is this 'right' which the United States of America contested during the Great War until they became belligerents themselves, but which they enforced in the most drastic manner after that date. It is recorded in Vol. III of the *Intimate Papers of Colonel House* that Mr. Colby, the official representative of the American Shipping Board appointed by President Wilson to the United States Mission over which Colonel House presided in Paris, urged *the commandeering of all neutral shipping for the remainder of the war*: Colonel House, however, considered that this would be a bad precedent for the United States to create, as at some future time it might recoil on the authors. The Declaration of London, which was never ratified by Great Britain, was, however, adopted by our Foreign Office, in principle, during the early part of the war in order to keep on friendly terms with the United States of America and other neutrals; it was superseded in June 1916 by the Maritime Rights Order, its decease being wittily commemorated in *Punch* by a tombstone with memorial tablet 'In Memory of the Declaration of London,' the only mourner in the picture being a Dachshund! Under the 'Declaration of London' policy Germany was supplied through neutral Powers with food and the raw material for munitions of war to an extent which made our so-called blockade an absolute farce. Anyone who wishes to realise the extent to which the war was prolonged by this policy is recommended to read *The Triumph of Unarmed*

purpose of this article, however, is not to reopen old sores, but to draw attention to one of the main obstacles in the way of a complete Anglo-German reconciliation, namely, the widespread and highly organised anti-British propaganda which is being conducted in Germany under the thinly-veiled patronage of high naval authorities.

It is charitable to assume that the promoters of this agitation are too intelligent to believe in their own propaganda. To some extent, no doubt, they are actuated by hatred of the country that was chiefly instrumental in bringing the former German navy to its inglorious end. Even here, however, their judgment would appear to be blinded by animosity, for there is a formidable mass of evidence to prove that the mutiny which preceded the surrender of the High Sea Fleet was the fault of those very officers who are now so eager to vindicate themselves by declaiming against England. Their stock argument is that the German bluejackets were seduced by treasonable propaganda subsidised by foreign gold. But German lower-deck spokesmen have a different tale to tell. In his recent book, *Die Tragödie der alten deutschen Marine*, Herr Emil Alboldt submits an imposing array of facts in support of his contention that the German bluejackets would never have dreamt of mutinying had their officers done their duty and practised self-denial. More will be heard of this very important volume, which was published only a few weeks since (Deutsche Verlagsgesellschaft für Politik und Geschichte m.b.h., Berlin). The author is an ex-warrant officer of the German navy, in which he served for more than twenty years. Because of his ardent patriotism and his veneration for his old service, his indictment of the conduct of German naval officers during the war, reinforced as it is with a mass of documentary evidence, deserves the closest attention. Space does not permit of the briefest notice of this book, but the hope may be expressed that it will enjoy a large circulation in Germany, where it should tend to counteract the effects of the pernicious propaganda that is being carried on by naval officers of the old *régime*, to the grave detriment of international harmony.

HECTOR C. BYWATER.

children to their death, but merely 'hoped' that their fate would deter many other people from making a voyage to or from England.

But Schwieger's apologist goes much further than this. Following a violent diatribe against the 'Anglo-Saxons,' he suggests, as a credible theory, that the British authorities deliberately arranged for the *Lusitania* to be sunk in the hope of compelling the United States to take up arms against Germany. After giving his own version of the circumstances in which the ship was destroyed, he proceeds as follows:

> Does not all this indicate that everything was done to invite a submarine attack, rather than to prevent it, and that nothing was more fervently desired than that the largest possible number of rich and influential Americans should lose their lives through a U-boat attack, so that this 'unparalleled atrocity' on the part of the 'Huns' should raise American popular indignation to boiling point and force the American Government to take action against the barbaric Germans? You think that such diabolical wickedness is impossible? Read English history and learn from it that when English interests are at stake nothing more is heard of the 'humanity' joke. They do things there on so grand a scale that one is sometimes tempted to admire the very magnitude of their unscrupulousness and brutality, just as one is awed by a mighty flood, a conflagration, an earthquake or a hurricane. The tragic annals of Ireland and India show clearly that the English conscience would assuredly not shrink from the deliberately planned drowning of a few hundred Americans if by so doing they might drive America into war with Germany. Who knows what was written in the secret instructions to the captain of the *Lusitania*? Perhaps the wireless warnings were intended, not to divert the ship from the submarine danger zone, but to lure her into it. The death roll of 1200 people was certainly heavy—who could foresee that the torpedo would strike where the munitions were stored!—but a few hundred people more or less mattered nothing. In Germany the hunger blockade was to destroy many more than this. And the more people that went down with the *Lusitania*, the more effectual would be the subsequent propaganda against Hunnish atrocities.

That a German naval officer, several years after the war, should degrade himself by writing in this strain is bad enough; that such poisonous rubbish should be broadcast in an authoritative form is still worse. It is perhaps futile to remind the German people that the 'hunger blockade,' which plays so prominent a part in all this anti-peace and pro-navy propaganda, was instituted by Germany against Great Britain long before this two-edged weapon was turned against Germany herself. For many months before a single cargo of foodstuffs consigned to Germany was held up by the British Navy German men-of-war had been sinking British food-ships. In fact, the subjugation of this country by the stoppage of its food supplies was, from the outset, the cardinal and avowed aim of Germany's naval operations. The

are ready to do this is beyond question. It is not their nature to cherish grievances. Nor is there any reason to suppose that the German people will continue to bear a grudge against us provided that their natural inclinations are not perverted by anti-British propaganda, as they were in pre-war days. In recent years, however, they have been deluged with books, pamphlets, and newspaper articles, all of which paint Britain's conduct during the war in the blackest colours. A great deal of this literature emanates from naval sources, and some of it, at least, is semi-official in origin. While glorifying the achievements of the old German fleet, it not only belittles the deeds of our own Navy, but represents Great Britain as having been guilty of every conceivable form of barbarity

One specimen of this brand of literature deserves particular notice by reason of its origin A book in two volumes, entitled *Auf See unbesiegt* (*Unconquered at Sea*), was published in 1922 and has had a very wide circulation. Edited by Vice-Admiral Eberhard von Mantey, it is a compilation of personal narratives by officers and men who took part in various naval operations of the war. Admiral Mantey, it may be noted, is the officer at the head of the 'Marine-Archiv,' or historical section, of the German Admiralty, in which capacity he is responsible for publication of the German official history of the war at sea His editorship of the *Auf See unbesiegt* volumes lends them, therefore, a quasi-official sanction The narratives are for the most part exceedingly well written, and as pen pictures of modern naval warfare they would be difficult to surpass They might, indeed, be read with interest and approbation by British readers, were it not for the gross aspersions they cast on British honour, chivalry, and humanity

For example, it is repeatedly suggested that our sailors were wont to fire into and sink helpless enemies in order to make sure of receiving prize money, further, that on many occasions our ships deliberately refrained from rescuing Germans who were drowning. Read and doubtless credited by hundreds of thousands of Germans, these wicked calumnies must be doing incalculable harm. That they should be disseminated from a responsible source almost passes belief One of the most amazing chapters in the book deals with the sinking of the *Lusitania* in May 1915 by Lieut.-Commander Schwieger in the *U* 20 It is written by Commander Friedrich Lützow, formerly staff officer attached to the submarine headquarters He is indiscreet enough to tell us that when Schwieger returned to Wilhelmshaven on May 13, 1915, after perpetrating the deed that shocked the civilised world, he met with a tremendous ovation; moreover, that Schwieger felt no remorse for having sent 1198 helpless men, women, and

[illegible] in the Reichstag during November last, and, although the decision to build the vessel was upheld, political observers are agreed that a Government defeat was only averted by the personal intervention of President Hindenburg.

Nearly all the speakers in the debate were hostile. Herr Haas, one of the Democrat spokesmen, characterised the demand for the ship as a relapse into the old form of militarism, by which was understood, not protection of the frontiers—for self-defence was the supreme duty of every nation—but a policy that regarded armaments as an end in themselves, instead of the necessary means to a political end. Before the war, he added, when Bismarck was no longer there to apply restraint, this militarism bred a naval policy 'which forced England on to the other side.' The few favourable speeches came from deputies who were officers of the old imperial navy. The issue hung in the balance until General Groener, the Minister of Defence, intimated that he must resign if the ship were rejected. As General Groener was selected by President Hindenburg and would be difficult to replace, the House bowed to the inevitable, but the course of the debate proved beyond doubt that the Reichstag is out of sympathy with and suspicious of the Government's naval policy.

Not a few foreign observers, otherwise well disposed towards Germany, share that suspicion. Knowing too well that German 'navalism' was one of the root causes of the war, they view with apprehension the increasing signs of its activity in post-war politics. No doubt the circumstances in which the imperial fleet underwent dissolution were such as to leave a deep-seated bitterness in the breast of every officer connected with that service. After having fought with bravery and devotion, their reward was to witness the tame surrender of their fleet to the enemy. Since many of them now hold positions in the Ministry of Defence, the legislature, and other public bodies, their collective influence on German polity is very considerable, and we shall do them no injustice if we conclude that it is almost invariably exerted in the interests of the Nationalist Party.

That they should be zealous to defend the reputation of their old service is but natural. Unfortunately, however, the propaganda directed to that end is strongly Anglophobe in character, and therefore calculated to have an injurious effect on Anglo-German relations. The vast majority of sensible people in both countries desire the restoration of that traditional friendship which, if it could be re-established on a firm footing, would constitute the strongest guarantee of peace in Europe. But before the two nations can resume friendly intercourse they must agree to forgive and forget. That the British people as a whole

weapons, of a new high velocity model, throw a projectile weighing 660 lb., they have a range of 17 miles, and can be fired three times a minute. The ship will also carry a strong anti-aircraft and torpedo armament. As will be seen, she really is a diminutive battleship, enormously superior in gun power and protection to the conventional type of 10,000-ton cruiser, which she could blow out of the water with impunity to herself. When four of these ships are ready for service the German fleet should be in a position, not merely to dominate the Baltic, but to make its weight felt in wider spheres, for the Diesel propelling plant of the new vessels will give them an exceptionally large radius of action, and, in view of their heavy armament, nothing less than a capital ship could deal with them

Twelve new destroyers have been completed recently. Although of 800 tons only, they are fast and well-armed boats, comparing favourably in speed and offensive power with contemporary foreign destroyers of much heavier tonnage In addition to new construction most of the old battleships, cruisers, and torpedo craft have been extensively repaired, though it is doubtful whether the results have justified the outlay In spite of the handicap of obsolete material the German fleet is engaged throughout the year in strenuous training For gunnery practice it has two target ships one of which is the old battleship *Zähringen*, the latter being elaborately equipped for wireless control As in the former navy, marked attention is paid to torpedo and mining exercises Within the limits of its material resources the post-war fleet is probably second to none in tactical efficiency With the twofold object of training personnel and restoring German prestige overseas, cruisers are regularly despatched on voyages round the world Indeed, proportionate to its strength, the German fleet undertakes more 'flag-showing' cruises than any other. Although the *Emden* was completed only three years ago, she is now circumnavigating the globe for the second time.

So much for the post-war development of German naval power Measured by the standard of tons and guns the new fleet may not be impressive. The marvel is however, that it should have sprung into existence at all Whether the reconstruction of the fleet is desired by the country at large, or whether it is simply the work of the Nationalist group, which wields in public affairs an influence out of proportion to its numerical strength, is a question not easy to decide The power of the Nationalist minority has never been revealed more clearly than in the recent controversy over the first 10,000-ton armoured ship In 1927 the Reichstag by a large majority struck out this ship from the navy estimates. In March of the following year, however, it was reintroduced, and this time accepted. A warm debate on the

[illegible] armament of a [illegible] armoured ship, representing more than 40 per cent. of the total cost of the vessel. It is not surprising that figures such as these should excite curiosity abroad.

Possibly the explanation lies in the superlative quality of the new material. As long as the number of their new ships is strictly limited, it is but natural that Germany's naval chiefs should seek to endow each unit with the utmost fighting efficiency. Ships of novel design and elaborate equipment must needs be very expensive, but in view of the Reichstag's complacency the question of cost is unimportant. Therefore, in the construction of the new armoured ships and cruisers, the most costly methods have been adopted. As these vessels are built of the highest grade steel, their frames and plates being, not riveted, but electrically welded, a considerable saving in weight is effected. The cruisers have steam turbines for high speed and internal-combustion engines for cruising purposes; the armoured vessels are to be propelled entirely by Diesel motors of a new pattern, evolved by the Navy Department after prolonged and costly experiments. Working under such favourable financial conditions, German naval designers have been able to produce truly remarkable ships.

The cruiser *Königsberg*, although displacing but 6000 tons, is strongly protected above and below the waterline; she has a speed of 32 knots, which makes her faster than our 'County' cruisers; at economical speed she can traverse a distance of 7500 miles without refuelling, and she mounts the formidable armament of nine 6-inch guns, four 3.4-inch anti-aircraft pieces, eighteen machine-guns, and twelve torpedo tubes, besides being fitted for laying mines. As all her big guns can be trained on either broadside, and are capable of very rapid fire, it is estimated that the *Königsberg* could discharge fifty-four 6-inch 100-pounder projectiles per minute at any range up to 11 miles. Ton for ton, she has as much, if not more, fighting value than any other cruiser afloat.

Even more arresting is the design of the four new armoured vessels, the so-called 'pocket battleships,' of which the first was laid down at Kiel in September last. Limited to 10,000 tons *normal* displacement—equivalent to about 9000 tons 'standard' displacement as specified by the Washington Treaty—this type has heavy armour protection over all vital parts. The hull is of shallow draught, and so minutely compartmented as to be capable of resisting several torpedoes or mines. Powerful Diesel motors, which take up exceptionally small head room and are protected from gunfire by a vaulted deck of stout armour, propel the ship at high speed, reported to be as much as 26 knots. On deck are mounted six 11-inch guns in armoured triple turrets. These

two years, the navy received only a pittance from the national funds, and there was serious talk of abolishing it altogether. All this time, however, the propaganda machine was hard at work, and by March 1921 the Reichstag was in a more generous mood. It was induced to vote large sums for the modernisation of old ships and for the laying down of a new cruiser, to bear the name of *Emden*. Since that date the naval budget has grown steadily. In the past four years it has averaged 10,500,000*l*., a very respectable sum for a country that is burdened with reparation debts alleged to be beyond its capacity.

The small cruiser *Emden* cost 1,500,000*l*., or 75 per cent as much as a pre-war battleship In 1925-26 the Reichstag authorised a complete building programme of four cruisers and twelve destroyers, and followed this up in 1928 by voting the construction of the first of four armoured ships, each to cost the enormous sum of 4,000,000*l*. It is significant that this action was taken at the acknowledged risk of provoking a political crisis of the first magnitude

Here are some remarkable facts and figures which have passed almost without comment, even in that section of the German Press which is most critical of Governmental extravagance or 'leanings towards the Right' In 1927 provision was made for a personnel of 4979 officers—commissioned, warrant, and petty—and 9935 men, an average of one officer for every two men Although the fleet in that year comprised less than a dozen battleships and cruisers the active list included twelve admirals of various grades, 147 captains and commanders, and only 518 officers of lower rank As an expert commentator remarked at the time, 'a fleet of the size of the German ought to require at most two admirals and twenty-two captains and commanders'—a very liberal estimate—'or less than one-sixth of the actual establishment'

In February 1928 the *Berliner Tageblatt*, alone amongst German newspapers subjected the navy estimates for that year to a searching analysis The results were astounding Germany was shown to be paying, roughly, about twice as much for her naval material as any other country The cost of her new 10,000-ton armoured vessels was only one-third less than that of the British battleship *Nelson*, of 35,000 tons Her new cruisers were costing 200*l* per ton exclusive of armament, and for a tiny torpedo-boat of 200 tons the bill amounted to 187,000*l* In the 1926 budget the new cruiser *Karlsruhe* was priced at 1,425,000*l*. Twelve months later the cost of the ship had risen to 2,025,000*l*., and no explanation was vouchsafed for this 40 per cent. increase in the original estimate. Finally, in the draft estimates of 1927 there was an item of 1,800,000*l*. for the

[illegible] Lothringen type [illegible], and [illegible] six light cruisers, twelve destroyers, and twelve torpedo-boats,' or an equal number of ships constructed to replace them as provided in Art. 190.' The building or acquisition of submarines of any type is forbidden. Warships constructed for replacement purposes must not be built in excess of the following displacements: armoured ships, 10,000 tons; light cruisers, 6000 tons; destroyers, 800 tons; torpedo-boats, 200 tons. Finally, it is decreed, except where a ship has been lost, units of the different classes shall only be replaced at the end of a period of twenty years in the case of battleships and cruisers, and fifteen years in the case of destroyers and torpedo-boats, counting from the launching of the ship.

Germany has scrupulously observed these rules up to now, but it is scarcely to be supposed that they will remain in force for ever. Some modification of the Versailles Treaty, which among other results would enable Germany to develop her naval power on a broader scale, is a contingency which it would be unwise to ignore. That her naval controllers are looking to the future rather than to the present is indicated by the organisation of the existing sea forces both in personnel and material. The small fleet now available is apparently viewed as a training school. The personnel establishment, with its abnormally high percentage of commissioned, warrant, and petty officers, is obviously designed as a nucleus which would be capable of large expansion at short notice. It differs fundamentally from the pre-war establishment, of which the lower-deck branch consisted almost entirely of three-year conscripts. Under Treaty rules German naval recruits must voluntarily enlist for a term of twelve years. The fleet is therefore manned by long-service ratings, and it is claimed that any seaman who serves for this period will be fully qualified for the most responsible warrant rank, thanks to the care taken in selecting recruits, the searching tests of mental and physical ability, and, above all, the thoroughness of the training system now in vogue.

Although there is no absolute proof that a man's political views determine his acceptance or rejection as a naval recruit, there is circumstantial evidence to this effect. It could hardly be otherwise, seeing that the old navy, notoriously a hotbed of ultra-monarchism, has supplied the new navy with all its senior officers.

Before proceeding to investigate the mainsprings of Germany's post-war naval policy it will be convenient to review the results so far achieved, remembering that, upon the official conclusion of peace, she had lost the whole of her effective material and retained only a few vessels which were totally obsolete. Thereafter, for

all civilised peoples, are the most susceptible to mass suggestion, and consequently the most easily swayed by organised propaganda. This was the agency by means of which the old imperial navy was created in the incredibly brief space of sixteen years—from 1898, the date of the first great building programme introduced by Tirpitz, to the outbreak of war; and the same agency is again being employed, under vastly less promising conditions, but still with extraordinary effect. In 1899 the ex-Kaiser Wilhelm pronounced his famous dictum: '*Bitter Not ist uns eine starke deutsche Flotte*.' Very soon the whole nation was chanting this phrase. Admiral von Tirpitz, who was Secretary of State for the Navy from 1897 to 1916, understood his countrymen too well and made unsparing use of the weapon of propaganda, as he has since frankly admitted. Only he and the rest of the imperial entourage knew the real objective of the naval preparations: the eventual overthrow of Great Britain and the exaltation of Germany to a position of world-wide supremacy. The German people, loyal, earnest, industrious, but docile to a fault, were easily hoodwinked. They were assured from a thousand sources, all inspired and all acting in unison, that a great fleet was needed for protection, not for aggression; that failing such a fleet the development of their national trade and prosperity would be resisted by jealous England, who tolerated no competition in the marts of the world and never hesitated forcibly to crush a rival if the latter were defenceless. Not the least of the sins of the former German *régime* was that it deliberately cultivated racial hatred for political ends. Englishmen who had sojourned in Germany were in no way surprised at the explosion of popular hatred which greeted their country's entry into the war. For years past the German people had been diligently taught to regard England as their unscrupulous and bitter enemy. This falsehood was instilled into them for no other purpose than to gain their support for the vaulting naval and imperialistic plans of their rulers. Even to-day it is difficult to write calmly of a conspiracy which was destined to plunge the world into mourning.

There would, indeed, be little excuse for dwelling upon the irrevocable past were it not too evident that the agencies that were instrumental in poisoning Anglo-German relations up to 1914 are again at work. No reasonable person in England questions the right of Germany to construct a new navy. As long as the Versailles Treaty regulations are observed, the new fleet must necessarily be small, and scarcely of a character to alarm the neighbours of the Reich, with the possible exception of Russia. These regulations are sufficiently drastic. It is stipulated that the naval forces in commission must not exceed six

THE REBIRTH OF GERMAN SEA POWER

At the end of October 1918 a mutiny broke out in several battleships of the German High Sea Fleet. Within a few days the entire navy was in open revolt. Workers' and soldiers' councils on the Russian model were formed at Kiel and Wilhelmshaven, and from both ports bluejacket parties were despatched in commandeered motor cars to carry the torch of revolution through the country. In more than one inland city brutal excesses were committed by these men. With machine-guns and rifles they threatened, and occasionally murdered, harmless citizens, plundered shops, and generally established a reign of terror wherever they appeared. Germany, no doubt, was over-ripe for revolution, but it is none the less certain that the defection of the navy precipitated the national *débâcle*. Popular feeling was well expressed by Professor Bark, of Kiel, who wrote a few months later:

> The conduct of the navy in the Fatherland's hour of greatest need fills me with speechless indignation. The navy stabbed the army in the back, and therewith brought upon us the terms of peace that we have now received. Never since the world began has there been a greater act of treason than that perpetrated by the German navy in November 1918. The enormity of this crime and its catastrophic consequences have erased from the mind of the whole German people every feeling of gratitude for the former services of the fleet.

So intense was the public's indignation with those whom it regarded as its principal betrayers that for long after the end of the war the sight of a naval uniform was apt to provoke a riot. The German navy no longer existed, and had anyone predicted its revival within the span of the present generation he would have been laughed to scorn.

That was ten years ago. What do we see to-day? A new German navy in the making, limited in strength as yet, but exhibiting every sign of vigorous life, and, *mirabile dictu*, nourished and watched over with affectionate care by an evident majority of the German people. How has this miracle been accomplished? To those unacquainted with the German temperament the answer, true though it be, may seem unconvincing. The Germans, of

the dole of idleness. Fourthly, we have normally food supplies on hand sufficient for six weeks, and the tendency, owing to conditions in the wheat market, is for these reserves to become smaller; and there are upwards of 40,000,000 mouths to fill each day.

ARCHIBALD HURD

In [illegible] there is urgent need for economy in all departments of [illegible], the politician is inevitably tempted to forget that there are some forms of economy which are the greatest extravagance. As Lord Cushendun, speaking as the British representative on the Council of the League of Nations, recently remarked, the Navy has already been 'cut to the bone.' Since the Armistice ships of 2,139,515 tons, excluding small auxiliary craft, have been scrapped, the personnel of the Fleet has been pruned time and again, and the dockyards and other naval establishments have been starved. We are spending 19,000,000*l.* a year on a police force which keeps the peace within the borders of this little island, while the expenditure on the Navy has been brought down to 57,300,000*l.* That sum, in association with the comparatively small amounts spent by the Dominions, cannot surely be regarded as an excessive charge for the first line of defence of the lives, liberties, and property of the 400,000,000 people of the British Empire. Mr. Lloyd George himself remarked in his opening address to the Conference of the Prime Ministers of the Empire that 'we cannot forget that the very life of the United Kingdom, as also of Australia and New Zealand, has been built up by sea power, and that sea power is necessarily the basis of the whole Empire's existence.' He defined sea power as the ability to use the sea, and added that it was the Royal Navy's job to act as a policeman and 'see that the merchant navy is unmolested in its free use of the sea.' In face of such a declaration, what can be said in excuse of the naval policy which is now being pursued? We have abandoned our traditional two Power standard in capital ships, and now year by year the cruiser forces, which are essential for the defence of our ocean-borne commerce, are steadily decreasing. It is not surprising in these circumstances that responsible naval authorities view the present condition of the Navy with increasing apprehension, particularly in view of the active measures which some other Powers are taking to add to their naval strength.

Four considerations may be observed. First, Lord Jellicoe, with his experience as Commander-in-Chief of the Grand Fleet and as First Sea Lord, has declared that seventy cruisers—twenty-five for duty with the battle fleets and the remainder for work on the trade routes—constitute the minimum requirement compatible with a reasonable degree of safety. Secondly, the Financial Secretary in Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's Government has admitted that the provision of cruisers depends primarily on the length of our trade routes (80,000 miles) and the value of our seaborne trade, and 'only to a limited extent on the numbers possessed by other countries.' Thirdly, one-third of the shipyard workers are unemployed, and the pay of industry is not greatly in excess of

policy to have a plan for two, three, or four years then to build hugger-mugger according to the accidents of the fight between economists and navalists or the chances of politics and newspaper discussion in the country. 'With the reserve of ships which we are going to build, it will be possible to make contracts on better terms, since the building firms will know the limits within which they are likely to receive orders. It is systematised naval defence as against chaotic, sporadic and spasmodic naval defence.'

Mr. Churchill explained the course which had been taken to examine the proposals of the Admiralty which Mr. Baldwin's former Administration had accepted, and he added that at length a programme was developed which constituted '*an immense diminution upon what the Government had inherited from the Government which had preceded it*.' He refrained from specifying how great that diminution was, but confessed that it was a programme which, as soon as he saw it presented, he felt was 'no more than any reasonable man would regard as necessary for a sober yet solid defence of our permanent naval position.' Referring to a question by Mr. Lloyd George as to the menace against which the Government were building, Mr. Churchill replied that the menace was 'a very simple and not a very blood-curdling one.' No foreign nation was menacing our safety; the German Fleet was at the bottom of Scapa Flow; the outlook of the world amongst the Great Powers was peaceful; and the chances of quarrel were more remote than he had ever known them. The view of the Government was that it was almost inconceivable that any of the great naval Powers would be drawn into conflict with one another. 'The menace,' Mr. Churchill added, 'is that the Fleet is wearing out; that is the only menace.'

Such is a brief record of the political manœuvres which have taken place since the cruiser menace was first exposed by Mr. Amery. Three of the cruisers in the five-year programme have been dropped, but, on the other hand, some smaller vessels, and therefore cheaper vessels, have been incorporated in the scheme; but, though useful in some conditions, they cannot do the work of cruisers. At the moment the vessels, the construction of which at Portsmouth and Devonport was approved by the House of Commons last spring, have not been laid down. The programme which was adopted in 1925, a far more modest programme than that sketched by Mr. Amery, has gone by the board, and we are face to face with a policy of naval defence at once 'chaotic, sporadic and spasmodic.' Year by year the policy of replacement is being pared down, apparently on the assumption that economy on the Navy can be indulged in without incurring the risks to which successive Boards of Admiralty have directed the attention of the Government without apparent result.

[illegible] A white paper was issued explaining in detail the five-year programme of naval construction upon which the Government had decided.

	1925–26.	1926–27.	1927–28.	1928–29.	1929–30.
Cruisers :					
Class 'A' (10,000 tons)	4	3	1	1	1
Class 'B' (8000 tons) .	—	1	2	2	2
Aircraft carriers .	—	—	—	—	1
Destroyers . .	—	—	9	9	9
Submarines, 'O' type .	—	6	6	6	5
Submarines, fleet type .	—	—	—	—	1
Gunboats	4	—	—	1	—
Motor-launches . .	—	4	—	—	—
Submarine depôt ships	—	1	—	1	—
Net-layer . .	—	—	—	—	1
Repair ship	—	1	—	—	—
Floating dock . .	1	—	—	—	—

Mr. Churchill told the House of Commons that, from the standpoint of finance, he had supported this programme, but he had asked that it should be begun in the next year (1926–27) instead of that year, 'so as to be an easement to the finance of the country.' On behalf of the Treasury he proposed that the programme should be delayed for one year, but that if the Admiralty could economise in other directions they should be free to accelerate. The Cabinet decided that the programme ought not to be delayed, but begun at once, and urged that the Admiralty should make economies which would offset the cost of acceleration.[1]

In this connexion the Chancellor of the Exchequer's speech of July 30 may be recalled, because it was specific in its declarations. He explained that he was satisfied that it would be much easier and much better to settle the naval policy of that Parliament by a series of programmes regulating building than by a series of struggles between the Admiralty and the Treasury year after year, with no plan, no policy, no consistent or coherent schemes of naval construction or of naval policy, or of financial policy arising therefrom. As an ex-First Lord he declared that 'there was great advantage in having a programme for a period of years as compared with annual building.' All his experience, he explained, had led him to believe that it was a far sounder naval

[1] The Admiralty's economies have exceeded all expectations. The naval expenditure has decreased from 92,505,000*l.* in the financial year 1920–21 to 57,300,000*l.* in the present financial year.

No better summary of the subsequent course of events can be given than was published in *Brassey's Naval and Shipping Annual*:

About the end of June 1925 it became evident that disagreement was manifesting itself within the Cabinet in regard to the resumption of warship construction. The Birkenhead Committee, appointed to investigate the Admiralty proposals, made slow progress, holding as many as twenty-five or thirty meetings, and objection was raised to the allocation of any more public funds to warship building until certain economies in expenditure had been carried out. The agitation was conducted vigorously in the Press, and by the middle of July the resignations of Mr Bridgeman and the Sea Lord were frequently spoken of. On Thursday, July 16, the Liberal Party had the choice of the Supply Vote in the House of Commons, and asked for the Navy Estimates to be taken, when Sir John Simon moved to reduce the Admiralty Office vote by 100*l*., to call attention to naval expenditure, actual and prospective, and to invite the Government to make a statement as to the principles upon which they considered that expenditure to be regulated. The debate served the purpose of revealing to the Government, before it came to consider finally the requirements put forward by the Admiralty and the report of the Birkenhead Committee, the considered opinions of all parties in the House of Commons.

The decision of the Government was announced by the Prime Minister in the House of Commons in the following July. He stated that the Government found it possible, in view of the peaceful outlook of the world and the absence of any naval antagonism between the Great Powers,* very largely to modify the proposals for new construction. They had decided that the requirements of Fleet replacement would be met if two cruisers were laid down in October 1925 and two more in February 1926, and by an annual construction thereafter of three cruisers during the normal life of the present Parliament. Some of these ships would conform to the existing 10,000-ton type, and the remainder would be of a smaller and less expensive type, which the Admiralty had designed, of approximately 8000 tons displacement. It was also decided that the annual construction of nine destroyers, beginning in the financial year 1927–28, and six submarines, beginning in the financial year 1926–27, would be required, with certain ancillary vessels.

The total cost of this programme was placed at 58,000,000*l*., of which 37,670,000*l*. was expected to fall on the Navy Votes from 1925–26 to 1929–30 inclusive. The cost in the first year would be only 527,170*l*., which the Admiralty had agreed to find by savings elsewhere, this being a part of the compromise effected when the programme was agreed to.

* These conditions existed also in 1924, when the original proposals were adopted.

[illegible] and courage, this country's naval strength was adequate to the ordeal which lay before it. Whatever opinion may be formed of Mr. Churchill as Chancellor of the Exchequer, it is well that his countrymen should never forget that when the crisis of 1914 came the Fleet was sufficient and efficient. He was the creator of the Naval Staff, and profited by the expert instrument which he himself had called into being.

When Mr. Churchill accepted office as Chancellor of the Exchequer there was ground for hoping that the task of rebuilding the war-worn Fleet would be pursued in accordance with the scheme which Mr. Baldwin and his colleagues had accepted a year or so before. Mr. Bridgeman became First Lord of the Admiralty, and it was soon apparent that the Government was weakening on the question of the Navy. They had no immediate responsibility so far as capital ships were concerned, as that problem had for the moment been solved by the Washington Conference. The Government was confronted only with the urgent necessity of replacing the ageing cruisers, destroyers and submarines. There is a tendency to forget the excessive strain which was put on the engines of war-vessels, and especially those of the cruiser force, during the period 1914-18, and also to forget that it is an obvious policy of wisdom to incorporate in new ships the lessons which the experiences of four and a half years of stern ordeal enforced. Moreover, the whole naval situation, especially as regards cruisers, had undergone a dramatic change, making it a matter of urgency that cruiser replacement should be undertaken without unnecessary delay—not on a North Sea standard of strength, but on an ocean basis. Ships are now needed with a large radius of action as well as high speed. That these considerations had appealed to Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's Cabinet when it decided to lay down five cruisers was apparent from the speeches of Mr. Ammon and other Ministers. The Prime Minister had let it be known that action was taken on the assumption that there would be no great war for ten years at least. The laying down of the five cruisers had consequently been no panic measure, but one of replacement in order to ensure our supplies from overseas.

When the Navy Estimates for 1925-26 were presented no provision was made for naval construction. In his official statement Mr. Bridgeman remarked that 'His Majesty's Government is at present proceeding with the investigation which the late Government declared its intention of making into this question as a whole, and proposals as regards new construction will be laid before Parliament at a later date when the inquiry has been completed.' The Earl of Birkenhead became the chairman of the Cabinet Committee of Inquiry.

which would during the next few years reach an age when they could no longer be relied upon as efficient. 'The proposed construction is, therefore, strictly consistent with the policy of ensuring, with the strictest regard to economy, the maintenance of the Navy, at the accepted standard of strength, and in a state of efficiency.' Mr. Ammon explained that of the forty-eight light cruisers then possessed by the British Empire ten were already, or had just become, over their efficient age, and practically all the remainder were built during the war for work in the North Sea, and eighteen of them had a small tonnage and low endurance only, and were therefore 'unsuitable for operations on the long ocean trade routes.' He claimed that one year's service must be taken as equivalent to two years' normal peace service, and urged that it was a matter of economy not to endeavour to patch up old vessels, because the expense was too great and the results unsatisfactory.

There is no gainsaying that Mr MacDonald, in defending the decision to lay down even five cruisers, stretched the loyalty of no small number of his supporters, but he refused to abandon the position which, as he explained, he had taken up after a personal, though hasty, investigation of the situation He declared emphatically that no increase of the Navy was contemplated, and that the new vessels would merely replace old ones Taunted with his lack of support of the pacifist case for disarmament and economy, he protested that no country could act in isolation, but only in concert with others 'Are we going to be told,' he asked, 'that the way we are going to carry out these pledges is to allow the Navy to disappear by wastage from the bottom?'

In due course the Unionist Party returned to office with Mr Winston Churchill as Chancellor of the Exchequer. His appointment was not unwelcome to those who realised that the Navy still remains this country's first line of defence. It was recalled that Mr. Churchill was First Lord of the Admiralty in the Asquith Government in the years immediately preceding the outbreak of war, and was insistent, in face of much opposition from back-benchers of the Liberal Party, on the necessity of maintaining a reasonable standard of naval strength. In face of protests especially violent on the part of the Socialists, and despite some misgivings on the part of some supporters of the Government, nervous of the financial implications of the Admiralty's demands, Mr. Churchill carried through a strong progressive naval policy, with the result that the strength of the Fleet in capital ships, cruisers, and auxiliary craft mounted up. When the war came he showed characteristic promptitude in ordering the Fleet to its war stations, even before war was formally declared. He was able to take this course in the knowledge that, owing in large

[illegible] part of the light cruiser replacement programme [illegible] next few years we shall provide a much more even distribution of work and expenditure and secure better tenders as well as meeting the immediate needs of the unemployment situation. What we had, therefore, proposed was to lay down immediately eight light cruisers of the type that, under the Washington Treaty, has become the standard type of all the Great Powers, vessels of 10,000 tons, armed with 8-inch guns. In addition to these, the special unemployment programme this year included three submarines and a submarine depôt ship, two destroyers and a destroyer depôt ship, two gunboats, a special ship for the Persian Gulf, an aircraft carrier and a mine-laying vessel.

It seemed as though the leaders of the Unionist Party, seized with a due appreciation of the facts, were determined to meet the situation manfully with due regard to the demands of economy, realising that naval weakness on the trade routes may mean starvation for upwards of 40,000,000 people in this country, and even involve the disintegration of the Empire, which Mr. Gladstone once described as 'incurably maritime.' The pledges then given represented no heroic measures. The limit of the proposals was the maintenance of less than half the number of cruisers which had been provided in pre-war days, with a reasonable number of smaller craft—destroyers and submarines.

When Mr. Baldwin's Government was replaced by the Administration presided over by Mr. Ramsay MacDonald a necessarily hurried survey of the position was made, with the result that whereas eight cruisers were to have been laid down in the financial year 1924-25 the number was reduced to five, and other cuts were made in the provision of small craft. The Opposition protested in no measured terms against this interference with the methodical scheme of replacement which the Unionist Government had determined upon. Since the First Lord was a member of the House of Lords, it fell to the lot of Mr Ammon, as Financial Secretary to the Admiralty, to explain the Government's policy in the House of Commons in March 1924, and he performed that task with courage and lucidity. He emphasised the fact that the five cruisers (instead of eight) which were to be laid down in ensuing months were part—only part—replacement of the 'County' cruisers which had already been scrapped, but were not replaced 'owing to the urgent need for economy.' 'The consequence is that for the last two or three years,' he explained, 'the number of cruisers available for the protection of our world-wide trade has been below requirements, which depend primarily on the length of our trade routes and the volume of our seaborne trade and only to a limited extent on the numbers possessed by other countries.' The time had, however, arrived, he continued, when this replacement construction could no longer be delayed in view of the large number of light cruisers

being further revised, but he himself declared subsequently that the five-year scheme which was afterwards adopted represented no more than a reasonable provision for the needs of the Empire, and undertook to finance it.

(4) Under the Navy Estimates for the past two years three of the six cruisers of this smaller programme have been dropped, so that last spring we were three short of the minimum which the Chancellor of the Exchequer had declared to be necessary.[1]

(5) The two cruisers for which Parliament voted money last spring have not yet been begun, and tenders for the construction of the destroyers and submarines have only recently been invited

(6) It is reported that a further reduction of the programme is contemplated.

The gravity of the position was first revealed by Mr. Baldwin in a speech at Plymouth on October 25, 1923 He stated that the Government had decided to lay down vessels to replace the 'County' class, and admitted that the replacement was 'many years overdue' In his election address he declared that 'a substantial proportion of the seventeen light cruisers required during the next few years will be laid down as soon as the designs are ready' In the following January—January 21, 1924—Mr Amery, speaking just before the General Election and with the authority of the Naval Staff, gave particulars of the situation

> Practically the whole of our present light cruisers (he stated) will be obsolete and worn out in the next twelve years To replace them and maintain our cruiser establishment at a strength sufficient to meet the requirements both of our fleets and of the protection of our commerce, we shall have to lay down in the course of the next ten years a total of some fifty-two cruisers in all—an average in other words, of five a year There will, moreover be a particularly heavy drop in the next six years, and to prevent a serious deficiency arising in 1929 and subsequent years we ought to lay down as many above the average as is reasonably possible in the next three years.

He pointed out that, apart from strategical considerations, there were very strong reasons of administrative efficiency and economy in favour of expediting to some extent the cruiser replacement programme. In 1927–28 and subsequent years it would be necessary to keep the yards well occupied with considerable replacements of destroyers, which, by then, would have become obsolete Moreover, from 1931 onwards this country would under the provisions of the Washington Treaty be faced with heavy expenditure in connexion with the replacement of capital ships.

[1] Provision has been made for the building of additional sloops, it being explained by the First Lord that at least twelve of these sloops can be built at the cost of a single cruiser.

BROKEN PLEDGES AND LOST CRUISERS

If we were not islanders, dependent for three-fourths of our food and most of our raw materials on overseas supplies, we might regard with cynical amusement the manœuvres in which politicians generally have engaged since they were reminded that the cruisers now in the Navy are wearing out and must be replaced.

For nearly ten years this problem has engaged the attention of a succession of responsible naval experts at the Admiralty, and, on their representations, one First Lord after another has emphasised the gravity of the position which was developing. Political influences, however, have time and again checked the measures recommended for replacing the obsolete cruisers, with the result that a position which was officially admitted to be 'serious' five years ago is now becoming desperate. Whereas we possessed as many as 115 effective cruisers in 1913, and found the number inadequate when the Great War opened, we shall have only about one-third that number, thoroughly efficient and suited to ocean work, when the Navy Estimates for the coming financial year are presented to Parliament. The trade routes are no shorter than they were; the stream of heavily laden merchant ships exposed to attack is no smaller, and year by year our dependence on overseas supplies continues to increase. Every week cargoes of food and raw materials weighing 26,000,000 tons enter our ports, and we must have them or we shall be undone.

The naval weakness of this country, especially in regard to cruisers, is becoming very grave. The course of events may be briefly summarised:

(1) When Mr. Amery was First Lord in 1924 he declared that it was necessary that we should lay down every year for several years ahead eight cruisers, as well as many small craft, to replace vessels which were wearing out.

(2) The Labour Government on coming into power reduced the programme, but Mr. Ramsay MacDonald himself defended the construction of five cruisers that year as essential.

(3) On Mr. Baldwin returning to office Mr. Winston Churchill, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, insisted upon the programme

used to create such a state of affairs around the British end of the tunnel that for a time it would be unapproachable by our forces, so that many men would pour through unopposed, and at length recapture would become impossible?

I know it is said that aircraft has already destroyed our island character. This may or may not be true; but because we suffer danger from aircraft, is there reason for making ourselves more unsafe by means of a tunnel? Aircraft at any rate diminishes the advantages and prospects of the tunnel. The impatient tourist or business man can already fly to Paris; and who knows that future development will not render the Paris-London railway journey altogether unattractive, whether by tunnel or by sea?

But I need not confine myself to asking these questions, for in 1924 they were answered in the most emphatic manner. On July 7 of that year Mr. Ramsay MacDonald announced in the House of Commons the unanimous decision of the Committee of Imperial Defence, given after a complete reconsideration of the whole matter. The result of the inquiry was—

> The Committee of Imperial Defence were unanimous that the advantages of the Channel Tunnel were not commensurate with the disadvantages from a defence point of view. Further, they took the view that all that has happened in the last five years in the way of naval, military and air development has tended, without exception, to render the Channel Tunnel a more dangerous experiment.

There is a change since 1924 in that cars on roads have inherited the earth, and sometimes a tunnel for them is proposed. The same objections apply, however, and there are practical difficulties of ventilation. Cars give off petrol fumes and carbon monoxide, and a twenty-mile drive in an unwholesome atmosphere is not attractive.

This article gives little more than the bones of the matter. For the fifth time in the last fifty years it seems that the suggestion of a Channel Tunnel is in danger of being seriously considered, and it is necessary to give a reminder that the project may be an Achilles heel, vital to our security. It is not one to be approved on hasty and unconsidered statements and assumptions; it is necessary to examine carefully all the criticisms which have been made against it and discover why the conclusions previously come to do not now apply, and why England need no longer remain 'bound in with the triumphant sea'—that sea

> Which serves it in the office of a wall,
> Or as a moat defensive to a house.

CARROL ROMER
(*Editor*).

necessary to 'destroy with finely-contrived works,' and did not execute the order at once. The tunnels were seized, the possession of the line was made good, and we all know the results.

There is a triple difficulty, therefore, in the way of 'pressing the button.' The courage and vision necessary in the executive officer, at a moment of surprise called upon to act on his own initiative, and perhaps called upon to drown many people travelling through the tunnel; the embarrassments in the way of a decision by the Cabinet; and the chance that a man who is *not* Nelson may put a blind eye to the telescope.

These are criticisms of the value of 'safety' devices in times of stress; but is it certain that any means of destroying or flooding the tunnel will be allowed to remain? It was pointed out in 1882 that the nervous tourist would quickly say that, in making the tunnel safe enough for war, it did not remain safe enough for him. That he was afraid of being drowned while he passed through the tunnel. Easy, then, to imagine a new and successful agitation to make the tunnel safe for passengers, and England is left a part of the Continent indeed.

Apart from devices for rendering the tunnel itself impassable there is the need of a permanent fortress at Dover. All were agreed in 1882—and I imagine all would be agreed to-day—that a permanent first-class fortress with a garrison of some thousands of men is necessary at the British end of the tunnel. In 1882 the statement of this necessity was the first in the Commission's report. Who, asked the critics, will guarantee such a fortress against surprise in a time of apparent peace? And if anyone is inclined to dispute the happening of surprise without sufficient hint of war, let him consult history. Surprise and treachery are the features of war. Is 1914 so soon forgotten that the possibility of ruthless treaty-breaking by modern nations can be denied?

Furthermore, who will guarantee that the necessary garrison of the fortress will be maintained? A war arises, the garrison is needed elsewhere, it is never brought again up to full strength—for 'do we need more in peace than when at war'?—and thus a position of false security is reached.

These are but selected criticisms from those that were made in 1882, but they are sufficient to enable me to ask how the aircraft, the submarines, the gas, and the long-range guns of modern war have altered the probl m?

Do not at least two of these four factors strengthen rather than weaken the military objections? Would not aircraft and gas make surprise and sudden attack easier? Would they not enable an enemy to put the British fortress and those in charge of the British end of the tunnel out of action? Could they not be

the certainty of destroying it at all times, while the military committee which sat on the question said that 'it would be presumptuous to place absolute reliance upon even the most comprehensive and complete arrangements which can be devised, with a view to rendering the tunnel "absolutely useless to the enemy" "in every imaginable contingency."'

But let it be assumed that the engineering difficulties do not exist, that all is ready from day to day and year to year; that electric contacts are perfect, explosives undamaged and charges of gas always available, there still remain the questions *Who is going to press the button? and when is he going to press it?* Now this is a formidable matter, for it must be imagined that this country is engaged in delicate negotiations, desirous of averting war if in any way possible, and anxious to do nothing which can be construed into an act of hostility. The situation will be changing from hour to hour, as it was in 1914, and meanwhile there will be trains rolling through the tunnel crowded with passengers returning to their homes because of the war cloud, and bearing, perhaps, enemy soldiers in disguise. To stop traffic may be construed as a determination to make war; and traffic must first be stopped, otherwise the tunnel will be blown up while it contains civilian passengers of many nations, and this would be an outrage. Who is going to take the responsibility of closing the tunnel or flooding it? The orders must surely be given by the Cabinet, and the Cabinet will be embarrassed by the consequences of the act. But suppose the order to destroy is given by the Cabinet and at the last minute, as it surely would be, is it certain that the order will be at once carried out? There is a famous historical instance which is pertinent to this question. It was related by Alfred Seymour:

A few days after the battle of Sedan I was at Brussels, and whilst there I had the opportunity of conversing with an aide-de-camp of Marshal MacMahon in the drawing-room of a mutual friend, who was with her family, a temporary refugee from France. I had just returned from Sedan, where I had visited the battlefields, and the conversation naturally turned upon the events of the war. The Marshal's strategic movement to the rear, after the early eventful battles, when his whereabouts was for three days unknown to the general public, was discussed, and the question was raised why he did not blow up the tunnels in the Vosges Mountains in his rear, and so delay at any rate the German advance, and their immediate occupation of Nancy and the adjoining country.

The reply was that the Marshal had given the order to blow them up immediately the retreat was decided upon, and an aide-de-camp was sent to deliver the order to the engineer whose duty it would have been to execute the order.

Unfortunately there occurred (what might possibly happen at Dover) a difference of opinion. The engineer thought it was not immediately

as the proposal is made. There is aircraft, there are submarines, there is gas, and there are very long range guns. Do these new factors affect the old arguments? What are these old arguments which were used in 1882 and were found good at later dates? They were summarised by the late Sir James Knowles, the founder of this Review, in these words written in 1882:

These consequences alone . . . are enough to condemn it—

(1) A certainty of increased military expenditure, even upon the showing of the promoters themselves, who admit that the tunnel must be defended by extra forts, guns, and troops always in a state of watchful readiness.

(2) A probability, almost, indeed, amounting to a certainty, of irresistible outcries for more and more armaments, arising out of Panics about invasion, which would undoubtedly recur with greater acuteness and greater frequency in proportion to the increased closeness of the links binding us to a Continent in arms

(3) The possibility of an irretrievable disaster from invasion. For whereas now such a catastrophe, if it occurred (and no serious person has ever denied its *possibility*), might be in time got over, and England be once more herself again within her 'silver streak,' then no successful invader would leave the soil until he had first stipulated for continued possession of the English end of the tunnel, and could thus for ever keep his foot within our open door

In compensation for such risks and liabilities, what do the company-promoters offer to the country?—increased comfort in the journey to Paris and the nearer approach, through increased commerce, of the universal brotherhood of mankind!'

As to the sea-sickness, Mr John Fowler has long ago proposed a preferable remedy for it in 'floating railway stations' and improved harbours.

As to the 'universal brotherhood' argument—is the immediate contiguity to each other of the Great Powers of Europe so obviously conducive to peace and goodwill that we should be in haste to join ourselves as closely as possible to them—to become one of that 'happy family' of mutually watchful tigers?

And are we still so sure as, say, in 1851 that men have only to bargain and haggle with each other to become firm friends—that unlimited buying and selling is the one short cut to the kingdom of heaven upon earth?

There appeared in 1882 a memorandum by Lord Wolseley, and his extremely able and convincing analysis of the whole matter examined it point by point and in detail. The observations of Lord Wolseley and of others revealed how difficult are the practical questions raised if safety is to be secured.

The initial and paramount consideration is to be able to destroy or to flood the tunnel at the proper moment. It is necessary to be sure that this can be done; but can certainty be obtained? The engineering difficulties of destruction or flooding are not to be neglected, and it is noteworthy that the engineers in 1882, who were prepared to construct the tunnel, made a guarded report on

a short (and often pleasant) voyage by boat?' Is it sure that an increase of tourist traffic and the trade in perishable goods will increase our wealth? Most perishable goods would be imports and most tourists would be exports, flying to a warmer and drier climate. Will the tunnel help in a blockade if our enemy is France or if he has captured Calais? And as for the relief of unemployment, how many men could be employed? Tunnel-making is not like road-making: on a road work can be executed all along the length, in a tunnel there are but two faces of limited area available for progress. But, before we give our considered opinion, it would be as well to listen to some of the criticisms which are likely to be made by the admiral or the general.

This project of a Channel Tunnel is no new thing. It was mooted long ago to the great Napoleon by M. Matthieu, and subsequently the idea was revived by various other French engineers, but it was not until the seventies of last century that it took really practical shape and form, so that at length in 1882 the proposal was subjected to searching criticism and rejected.

The tangible remains of the 1882 project are the ruined Channel Tunnel works, one end of which I remember seeing in June 1927 on the cliff west of Sangatte. At that time there was an immense brick-lined vertical shaft some 200 feet to sea level bored through the chalk near the edge of the cliff; there were the substantially built machine shops, which contained much rusty and derelict machinery and large quantities of good timber, and I remember that the grass of the chalk down on the day I was there was littered with old papers dated 1880, which were blowing out through a broken door in the drawing office. Uncompleted work stood in the lathes, and the effect was eerie, as if the place had been suddenly deserted in the midst of busy labour. The intangible remains are the reasonings of those who considered the project and rejected it.

In 1907 the proposal was again revived, and once more in 1913 a less important resuscitation came about—the proposal came to life again during the war; finally the Committee of Imperial Defence vetoed it in 1924.

The Nineteenth Century has taken an active part in the discussion on the earlier occasions, and the material upon which this article is based is to a great extent contained in the Review and its supplement published in 1883 and republished in 1907.

Four times at least, then, has this idea been put forward seriously and four times has it been found unacceptable. The matter is surely concluded unless new conditions have arisen which invalidate the old case for the defence.

The objections to the project are of course military, and military conditions have certainly changed since the main debate

NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER



No. DCXXIV—February 1929

A CHANNEL TUNNEL

The project of a Channel Tunnel again occupies public attention. It is one of those deceptive proposals which, at the first view, the man in the street easily approves. He is assured in the leading article in his daily paper that, with the tunnel, travellers will escape sea-sickness, travel will occupy less time, and hence there will be more tourists. The double handling of freight at Channel ports will be avoided. The cost of transport will be lowered and perishable articles will be transported more easily. The profit will be large and work will be provided for the unemployed. The leading article may perhaps add that against the project there is a general at the War Office or an admiral at the Admiralty who still maintains that 'the strip of blue water, etc.,' but that his objections are absurd in the face of aircraft and submarines; besides, the tunnel will relieve us of the anxieties of a blockade in a future war.

A little reflection raises some doubts of these advantages, confidently claimed. Is it sure that half an hour in a dark and stuffy tunnel, deep down under the sea, will be more comfortable than

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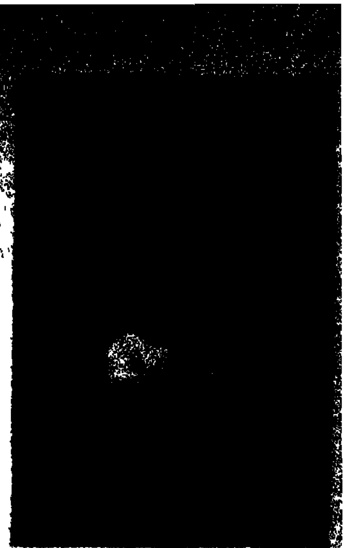
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KEEP

RADIATION

moreover, is rather obscure when he attempts to connect superstition, whatever he may mean by the word, with legal penalties. In any case, no one in Spain *gladly* allows prisoners to be confined either for short or long periods. There is no country in the world where condemned men and women are the objects of so much charitable succour as in mine, and this from quite remote times.

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Communications should be addressed to the Editor of the NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER, 10 & 12, *Orange Street, Leicester Square, W.C.* 2.

Letters as well as articles will be considered for publication, but letters should be confined to criticism or amplification of articles which have already appeared in the Review. No anonymous contribution is published.

CORRESPONDENCE

'CAPITAL PUNISHMENT.'

To the Editor of the NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER

SIR,—In the article entitled 'Capital Punishment' published in your December issue over the signature of Sir Reginald Craddock I find the following paragraph:

'In Spain capital punishment has not been abolished, but is said to be seldom enforced, a parricide in particular being punished with imprisonment in "chains in perpetuity till death."'

Sir Reginald Craddock continues to say on his own account that 'If the law in any country be in such contempt that either murderers are not arrested or, if tried, are generally acquitted, or are not sentenced to death, or are normally reprieved, even though capital punishment is nominally sanctioned by law, that country affords no basis for any conclusion one way or the other. But the man who gladly allows prisoners to be confined "in perpetuity in chains" but yet considers a painless death to be, on humanitarian grounds, unjustifiable is no humanitarian at all, but is merely the victim of superstition.'

I beg to say that if Sir Reginald Craddock had studied his subject properly, as he was morally bound to do before expressing an opinion, and much more before allowing himself to criticise a foreign country, he would have found out, firstly, that in Spain, where murders are, on the whole, rare, the guilty party is nearly always arrested, undiscovered crimes or authors of crimes being much less frequent than in other countries known to me; secondly, he would have also discovered that in Spain murderers are not generally acquitted, and that when they so deserve are sentenced to death and not *normally* reprieved, and particularly he would have known that the sentence 'in chains in perpetuity till death' has not been properly interpreted by him, although any Spaniard of average culture, and certainly any law student, would have told him that the penalty of '*cadena perpetua*' is merely an antiquated legal expression signifying 'life sentence,' for it is several generations since anyone in Spain was actually sentenced to wear chains, unless they were the only means to master violent prisoners. A man condemned in Spain to '*cadena perpetua*' is simply sent to a penal settlement, such as the '*presidios*' formerly existing in Morocco, and long since replaced by establishments in the Peninsula, where life is not at all intolerable to the inmates. To crown all, no sentence in Spain runs for more than thirty years by law, and is reduced as a reward for good conduct, not only after a certain lapse of time, but also on special occasions, such as the sovereign's marriage, the birth of a royal prince, and others. All this renders the case very different from that imagined by Sir Reginald Craddock, who,

A wonderful evening! What an experience—— 'Let me look at the gentleman's bumps.' 'Charles! Charles!'

(He chuckles; his face becomes quite happy: forgetting his troubles, forgetting himself, forgetting his huge self-deception in that matter of his own genius, he sits writing the diary which is destined to outlive all his other creations in art.)

LAURENCE HOUSMAN.

RITCHIE. You didn't try your friend the Comptroller of Stamps, I suppose?

HAYDON. He is not my friend. We had only corresponded. Till he came to me to-day and begged for this introduction, I had never seen him. No, Ritchie, him I did not ask!

RITCHIE. Since you deal even with moneylenders, I wonder why not.

HAYDON. I wonder that you suggest it!

RITCHIE. Because he would have paid for the introduction.

HAYDON. (*Magnificently.*) I don't sell my friends, Ritchie.

RITCHIE. (*Dryly.*) It comes cheaper than borrowing of them.

HAYDON. Do you doubt my repaying you?

RITCHIE. I don't doubt your *intention* of repaying me, Haydon.

HAYDON. If you did not believe in my genius, Ritchie: if I did not believe in it myself, as surely as I believe in God, the God who gave it to me, I would not ask you for a penny.

RITCHIE. You would not? No; I am sure of it.

HAYDON. Aye, as surely as the sun will rise to-morrow, so surely, some day, my sun will rise, and my name will be remembered as a creator of the Art!

RITCHIE. Well, Haydon, you are a man of faith. Faith is said to move mountains. You have moved me. I will see what I can do—— Good-night.

(*He gives* HAYDON *his hand, with good-will, but without either enthusiasm or conviction.* HAYDON, *too much moved to speak, presses it, and lets him go. Then, finding himself alone, he resumes, with fond credulity, that 'stature of a man which is an angel.'*)

HAYDON. Aye! And the world shall see what *I* can do. Listen to me, you forms, created, conceived, begotten emanations of my brain! This hand has made you eternal. Yet there you stand knowing nothing of it all. But the world shall know. God, wouldst Thou have allowed me to be born with such fire in me merely that it should fade out and die?

(*The man-servant enters.*)

SERVANT. Oh, I beg pardon, sir. Have all the gentlemen gone?

HAYDON. Yes, John; you may lock up. I will put out the lights.

(JOHN *takes a tray and goes.*)

Well, what time is it? (*Looks at clock.*) Ah! my diary! I must write up my diary, before I forget.

(*He sits and begins to get out writing materials.*)

HAYDON. Very good of you to say so.

RITCHIE. I think I also must be saying——

HAYDON. No, no, Ritchie; don't go! I want to speak to you for just one moment.

RITCHIE. Then I must say good-bye now, Wordsworth.

WORDSWORTH. Good-bye? You start on your travels—when?

RITCHIE. In three days.

(The voices of HAYDON *and* WORDSWORTH *are heard still as they disappear. Left alone,* RITCHIE *stands looking at one of the great pictures which cover the walls. But his look is gloomy: he shakes his head, he does not admire it.* HAYDON *returns.)*

HAYDON. Aye, look at it, Ritchie! There is fame waiting for me: fame—and fortune.

RITCHIE. The hope helps you, I suppose?

HAYDON. Aye; but without the certainty that one was creating art—art which will never die,—hope would be empty.

RITCHIE. You wanted to speak to me.

HAYDON. Ritchie, I'm in great temporary difficulty. Will you lend me——

RITCHIE. My dear Haydon, I've lent you all I can afford. I'm sorry. I am in debt myself.

HAYDON. I am not merely in debt. I shall be in the Fleet to-morrow, if I don't pay. *(He moves away.)* I won't press you. *(A pause.)*

RITCHIE. How much?

HAYDON. Thirty pounds odd.

RITCHIE. And then? Will that clear you?

HAYDON. In a month both my other great pictures will be finished.

RITCHIE. Yes—— You've done ten. How many have you sold?

HAYDON. Three. But I have had offers for all.

RITCHIE. What kind of offers?

HAYDON. Ridiculous offers, insulting offers—dishonest, calculating offers! These Jew moneylenders know that in ten years my work will be famous and sought after all the world over. Ritchie, I know what I'm talking about. My countrymen are slow to recognise genius; they always have been. But in the end they do. I shall live, Ritchie, I shall live! 'Benjamin Robert Haydon'; can you hear the sound of that name—and believe it is a name that will perish? And between me and the great destiny that awaits me for the establishing of that name—what stands? Just this miserable need of thirty pounds. God! Think of it!

moment's silence. Then, in a tone of wise philosophy, WORDSWORTH *speaks.*)

WORDSWORTH. Humanity! What a mystery! What incredible examples of it we do meet!

HAYDON. I'm very sorry, my dear Wordsworth, that I let him come at all. The fellow was impossible!

WORDSWORTH. No, no, no. I wasn't thinking of that self-crowned flea. Self? Is it his own doing? If a flea is under a king's crown at the moment of his coronation, I suppose the flea is crowned with him. That's the world as God made it! No; it was Charles I meant.

HAYDON. Charles can't suffer fools gladly.

WORDSWORTH. No, but he helps us to. It's a great gift, Haydon—a very spiritual gift. To-night he behaved abominably; but he's the best man I know.

RITCHIE. Charles is a saint.

HAYDON. Not a calendar saint, I'm afraid.

WORDSWORTH. No, of the new faith which has yet to come.

RITCHIE. And to what shall we pray, when we belong to it?

WORDSWORTH. We shall be the prayers.

RITCHIE. Praying—to ourselves?

WORDSWORTH. Aye, for others. People will always love Charles—always, as long as names are remembered. Will they love *me*?

RITCHIE. Do you think they will pray to him?

WORDSWORTH. No, as I said, he will himself be the prayer.

HAYDON. That's a curious thought, Wordsworth. You know, I'm not sure that you are a Christian. I heard you talking to Keats about Christianity. You shouldn't say things like that to a young man.

WORDSWORTH. Keats is not a young man if he is an immortal.

RITCHIE. What do you think of his poetry?

WORDSWORTH. I? Well, perhaps I am not to judge. Talent, great talent, but to what is he devoting it? An outworn creed. Will it live?

RITCHIE. Why not? Don't we still hanker after the outworn creeds, Wordsworth?—

'for glimpses that would make us less forlorn;
Have sight of Proteus rising from the sea,
Or hear old Triton blow his wreathèd horn.'

WORDSWORTH. Yes, yes. Well, if the net of poetry is as wide as that of St. Peter—clean, and unclean, we are all in it: not to be called common. Good-night, Haydon.

HAYDON. Good-night, Wordsworth; it has been a delight to see you again.

WORDSWORTH. The entertainment was perfect.

looking about him very suspiciously to make sure that the enemy has really cleared off.)

WORDSWORTH. Charles, you behaved abominably!

LAMB. S-s-someone had to. If I hadn't—you all would.

WORDSWORTH. Yes; but you know, Charles, you'd been drinking—too much.

LAMB. Wordy, dear, we'd all been drinking. But for that, we shouldn't have survived.

(HAYDON *re-enters.* LAMB *goes to the spirit stand, and helps himself.*)

HAYDON. Oh, really, really! Dear me! I do apologise to everybody!

LAMB. Why should you? God made him: you didn't.

HAYDON. He invited himself, and I let him come.

KEATS. Blind Providence!

HAYDON. Oh, but the man's beyond words!

MONKHOUSE. Then why talk of him?

RITCHIE. Mr. Wordsworth, what do you say?

WORDSWORTH. An experience, Ritchie; an experience.

LAMB. G-g-gentlemen, I p-p-propose a toast! The death of Jathan; and may he go to h-h-h-heaven, and be changed!

RITCHIE. In the twinkling of an eye, let's hope.

LAMB. *His* eye won't twinkle—ever, Ritchie.

WORDSWORTH. I don't like drinking to the death of any man.

LAMB. It's the only way sometimes. You can't abolish capital punishment for everything. Jathan is an unforgivable crime. May his father be forgiven! But I doubt it. (*drinks*) Jathan, Jathan! go where you are—not wanted.

MONKHOUSE. (*Taking* LAMB *by the arm.*) I think I had better make Charles say good-night, Haydon, and many, many——

HAYDON. Oh, but you are not going yet!

LAMB. Going? Yes: we are all going. Bed, every one! Worthy Wordy, dear, don't write a poem about Jathan. If you do I shall turn atheist.

MONKHOUSE. Come along, come along!

(MONKHOUSE *manipulates him tenderly to the door.* LAMB *clings to it for a moment, giving his best imitation of* WORDSWORTH, *as a farewell offering.*)

LAMB. 'Charles!' Charles!' . . Good-night!

KEATS. I think I am spiritually called, Haydon. It looks as though Monkhouse would have more than he can manage. Good-bye, and thanks. I will send you that poem. Mr. Wordsworth, your advice I shall remember and value; but I shall go on believing in Pan. Good-bye.

(*The other two have gone.* KEATS *follows. There is a*

KEATS. Then you must close the classics, sir; and Sappho must no longer be named. Surely the good things of this world are mixed.

WORDSWORTH. Aye: but there are some which won't mix. I should doubt the results if you tried to rewrite a poem of mine, Mr. Keats; or I one of yours.

KEATS. Yet I have rewritten some of my own poems because of you, sir. You can put a pot on the fire, without putting the fire *into* the pot.

WORDSWORTH. That is a very just remark, Mr Keats. I like talking with you, even though we do not agree.

JATHAN. But though Mr Keats does not agree with you, sir, *I* do!

> (*At this there is an awful pause: none of the others are capable of saying anything. Through the door the voice of* LAMB *comes to the rescue.*)

LAMB. (*From within.*) What? Hasn't the fellow gone yet?

JATHAN. (*Rising.*) I fear, sir, I am causing your friend some impatience, and I notice that it grows late. Therefore, I think I must be going.

HAYDON. (*Not very pressingly.*) Oh, won't you stay a little longer? There will be supper presently.

JATHAN. I thank you, no. I am infinitely obliged for this opportunity, this privilege, which you have allowed me. Mr. Wordsworth (*bowing over his hand*), a red-letter day in my life; a meeting that I shall never forget.

WORDSWORTH. Very good of you to say so, I'm sure. Good-night.

JATHAN. Good-night, sir. (*Then to Keats.*) Good-night, sir. (*To Haydon.*) Good-night. . . . Oh, but don't let me trouble you!

HAYDON. (*Politely getting rid of him.*) Pray let me see you to the door.

> (*As they pass out,* JATHAN'S *ejaculations are still heard.*)

JATHAN. Ah, no! Remain, remain! You have Mr. Wordsworth with you.

> (*The door closes. There is a pause. The two poets look at each other.*)

WORDSWORTH. Well, well!——Well!

KEATS. 'Well?' I wish I had your vision, Mr. Wordsworth. I wish I could feel—*well*.

> (*The inner door opens.* MONKHOUSE *puts in a cautious head.*)

MONKHOUSE. Gone? May we come in again?

> (*And without waiting for further permission they do,* LAMB

The servant re-enters, places a spirit stand and glasses, and retires again.)

JATHAN. (*To Wordsworth.*) And who would you name, sir, as the greatest genius that ever lived?

(*The door opens: a portion of* LAMB *is seen struggling in the arms of his friends: his voice is heard*:) 'I want to see that fellow's b-b-bumps!' *The door shuts again.*)

WORDSWORTH. Really, Mr. Jathan, that is a matter I never thought of deciding. It lies beyond me—beyond any of us.

JATHAN. Indeed, Mr Wordsworth, you surprise me!

WORDSWORTH For all we know, the works of the greatest genius no longer exist—are lost to us.

JATHAN. But is not that contrary to a belief in Providence?

WORDSWORTH. That is arguable, sir.

JATHAN. I would not presume to argue with you, Mr. Wordsworth: you are a man of genius. But I believe in Providence (*To Haydon.*) Do not you believe in Providence, sir?

HAYDON. (*Devoutly*) I do I do.

JATHAN. (*To Keats*) And you, sir?

KEATS. I have an open mind on the subject, Mr Jathan But if it was Providence which made us all meet here this evening, I think it was a blind Providence

JATHAN A blind Providence? That is a contradiction in terms, sir

KEATS. Then let us leave it at that

WORDSWORTH Yes, Mr Jathan, let us leave it at that.

HAYDON No, pardon me! Providence may be blind—inattentive to small events But, through the great minds of genius, I hold that Providence has eyes

KEATS But not the same eyes, Mr Haydon They all see differently

WORDSWORTH Then what they see is not the truth. Truth is all one; to see rightly, one must know it

KEATS. But poets see so much more than they know, Mr. Wordsworth. If they wrote only what they knew, half the poetry in the world would never have been written.

WORDSWORTH Poetry which the world could spare

KEATS. Ah, no, sir! The world? Well, *I* can't speak for it; only for myself. But if Milton had kept only to what he *knew* he could never have written *Paradise Lost.* Surely a poet writes not as he knows, but as he feels

WORDSWORTH. But not *all* he feels, Mr Keats. Feeling may become licentious.

KEATS. Even licentious feeling has produced great poetry, sir.

WORDSWORTH. That I should be inclined to deny.

LAMB. Upon my word and conscience,
How such a thing can be!
We descend to talking nonsense,
But we don't descend to tea!

HAYDON. Charles, come into the other room. I want you and Monkhouse to tell me what you think of some of my pictures.

LAMB. Do let me have another look at the gentleman's bumps.

MONKHOUSE. No, Charles, come and see the pictures.

LAMB. The b-b-bumps first!

MONKHOUSE. What's the use? You can't change them. Now criticise Haydon's pictures and he can——

LAMB. But he won't!

(He leads him away. They still hear him.)

HAYDON. Ritchie, go in and help Monkhouse to keep him quiet. I must stay here.

(RITCHIE goes out with the other two, and the door closes behind them; but LAMB continues to be audible—he goes on preferring the bumps to the pictures.)

JATHAN. I don't think, sir, that Mr. Lamb likes me.

HAYDON. *(Apologetically.)* Oh, but why think that?

JATHAN. Does he usually behave—like that—to people he likes?

HAYDON. After dinner he behaves anyhow. We take no notice.

JATHAN. It is rather difficult not to take notice.

HAYDON. Yes, till you are accustomed to him.

JATHAN. He is a friend of yours, sir?

HAYDON. Why, yes.

JATHAN. *(To Wordsworth.)* And a friend of yours, sir?

WORDSWORTH. Yes, a great friend.

JATHAN. That, I confess, surprises me.

KEATS. He is a continual surprise to everyone who knows him, Mr. Jathan. That is part of his charm.

(At this moment the voice of LAMB is heard again: "I want to see his b-b-bumps!" This gives Mr. JATHAN just the material he requires.)

JATHAN. 'Charm,' sir, did you say?

KEATS. I said 'charm.'

JATHAN. A word somewhat difficult to define, don't you think?

KEATS. Perhaps; but easy to recognise when met.

JATHAN. *(Sententiously.)* Oh!

HAYDON. *(Making conversation.)* More easy, one might say, than the recognition of genius.

(This starts Mr. JATHAN off once more on his favourite topic.

HAYDON. Did I hear you and Keats just now discussing theology?

WORDSWORTH. Dismissing it, rather. The theology of classic times, expounded in modern verse, is merely a curiosity.

KEATS. But when you wrote *Laodamia*, sir, you yourself took a classic subject, and brought in the gods.

WORDSWORTH. Why, yes, for a moral purpose, by way of illustration.

KEATS. Is not all life illustration, sir?

JATHAN. Pardon me, sir; I have in my library many lives that are without illustration.

LAMB. Diddle-diddle dumpling, my son John.

JATHAN. (*Continuing without waiting for this ebullition to end.*) Would it not be more correct to say that life was the result of experience?

LAMB. Went to bed with his b-b-breeches on!

WORDSWORTH. I should be more inclined to say that experience was the result of life. In your own life, Mr —— (*he paused*).

JATHAN. Jathan, sir. I apprehend that you do not remember me, Mr. Wordsworth?

WORDSWORTH. Indeed, I am unfortunate.

JATHAN. Yet I have had the honour of corresponding with you.

WORDSWORTH. With me? Not that I remember.

JATHAN. You do not, sir? I am comptroller of stamps over your own district, Mr. Wordsworth—a Government appointment of some importance, I venture to think.

LAMB. A damned foolish Government!

JATHAN. And I have myself supplied you with stamps. An honour.

LAMB. Hey diddle-diddle!
The cat and the fiddle!

WORDSWORTH. My dear Charles!

MONKHOUSE. (*Aside to* RITCHIE.) We must get him out of this, or there will be murder!

KEATS. What a subject for a poem!

LAMB. Eh? What subject!

KEATS. Dissection of your victim into his original prismatic colours, Mr. Lamb.

LAMB. Blood!

(*The servant who has again been going around, attending to his duties, passes across at this moment.*)

HAYDON. Surely, Mr. Jathan, a little tea? Now others are having more.

JATHAN. In Mr. Wordsworth's company, sir, one can hardly descend to such a thing as tea.

WORDSWORTH. And if Christianity dies, it will be because belief in that body can no longer be what it was.

KEATS. That is what I am saying, sir.

WORDSWORTH. No, you were not saying it, Mr. Keats.

KEATS. I was meaning it.

WORDSWORTH. Then perhaps you agree with me more than I wholly realised. I hope you do. I note that Milton influences you. Be careful. Also Shakespeare: the Shakespearean *form* of the sonnet has your allegiance. Yes; but be on your guard. I could have written like Shakespeare, had I had a mind.

LAMB. Yes; it was the m-mind that was l-lacking.

WORDSWORTH. It was, Charles, it was. I've a very good mind of my own.

LAMB. Worthy Wordy!

KEATS. I appreciate what you say about Milton, sir: for myself, I have found him to be a danger.

(*At this* Mr. JATHAN *opens his eyes disapprovingly.*)

HAYDON. Mr. Jathan, you are not taking any tea.

JATHAN. No, sir; I was occupied in listening—to Mr. Wordsworth. Pray, sir, do you not think that Milton was a great genius?

LAMB. Eh? What's that?

(JATHAN *gives him a silent stare.*)

Did I hear you say, sir, that Milton was a great genius?

JATHAN. No, sir. I asked Mr. Wordsworth if he were not.

LAMB. Oh! Then you are a silly fellow!

WORDSWORTH. Charles! My dear Charles!

JATHAN. (*Magnificently ignoring the rudeness.*) Indeed, sir, is it not correct to say that Milton and Newton were *both* great geniuses?

(LAMB, *seizing a candle from the chimney-piece, advances toward* Mr JATHAN, *with phrenological intent.*)

LAMB. Will you allow me, sir, to look at your b-b-bumps?

WORDSWORTH. Charles! Charles!

HAYDON. You are dropping the wax about, Charles. Put it down!

(LAMB *is persuaded back to his chair, and the candle is taken from him.*)

WORDSWORTH. Genius, my dear sir, exists in various degrees. In some cases it is so obvious one has not to mention it.

JATHAN. Why, of course, sir; that is so. In your own case, it would be quite superfluous to——

LAMB. Diddle-diddle, dumpling, my son John
Went to bed with his b-b-breeches on!

WORDSWORTH. Charles, Charles!

seven '—as we are now—but, it's Wordsworth and 'Brother Jim' counting the tombstones. Wordsworth's a murderer, if you like!

JATHAN. Really, sir, I don't think your argument is sound.

LAMB. No; but it's sense.

JATHAN. (*Valiant for truth.*) Mr. Wordsworth is not a murderer in any sense of the word.

LAMB. It would be sound sense, if I murdered *you*, sir.

JATHAN. I don't follow you, I fear.

LAMB. No, I should follow you—at the rope's end. But if the jury knew *you*, they'd acquit me.

MONKHOUSE. Charles, come and sit over here and talk to me

HAYDON. But how did Newton come in?

WORDSWORTH. Really, I even forget now how the discussion started.

RITCHIE. Why, it started in Lamb saying that you said Voltaire was dull You said again he *was* dull. Then the question arose what made people dull—what made things dull Somebody said that Milton's deity was dull; and I said that Newton's rainbow was dull when he reduced it to prismatic colours. Whereupon Charles called him a murderer

JATHAN. But pardon me, sir· was not Newton a great genius?

LAMB. Eh? What's that?

MONKHOUSE Sh! Sh!

(*While* RITCHIE *was speaking, the servant has brought in and poured out tea, and now stands at the elbow of an unobservant guest, waiting to hand it. This enables* HAYDON *once more to effect a diversion.*)

HAYDON. Will you take your tea, gentlemen?

(*The servant goes round offering it.* JATHAN *alone declines.*)

WORDSWORTH. Mr Keats, I have not thanked you yet for sending me your poem

KEATS. I thank *you*, Mr. Wordsworth, for reading it: if you did, sir.

WORDSWORTH I read it—yes, I read it. The *Hymn to Pan* I admired; a very pretty pagan conceit But do you, Mr. Keats, believe in Pan?

KEATS. Do not you, sir?

WORDSWORTH. Not Pan in that sense; no.

KEATS. But a Pan of the senses surely! In all your poetry, sir, you make sense the very basis of spiritual conception—feeling—imagination.

WORDSWORTH. But I don't give it an imaginary body.

KEATS. But to believe in it, we must! Christianity had to give its belief a body—else it would not have conquered the world.

JATHAN. And when you go back, it will be another long journey.

WORDSWORTH. The same distance both ways, sir.

LAMB. Got him!

JATHAN. You find that the landscape of the Lake District conduces to the production of poetry, Mr. Wordsworth?

LAMB. Ah, God!

(But Mr. JATHAN *is not to be diverted from his thirst for knowledge.)*

JATHAN. It does, does it not?

WORDSWORTH. More perhaps than London, as a *rule*.

JATHAN. So I should suppose.

WORDSWORTH. Though, on Westminster Bridge, I broke it the other day.

JATHAN. On Westminster Bridge? You surprise me! For the Bridge—what an honour!

(At this point LAMB *rises in an attitude of visionary recitation.)*

LAMB. Is this a dagger that I see before me, the handle toward my hand? Come, let me clutch it!

(He makes a grab at Mr. JATHAN, *who retreats.* MONKHOUSE *and* RITCHIE *seize hold of* LAMB *and drag him back to his seat,* LAMB *continuing meanwhile:)*

I have thee not, and yet I see thee still!
Out, out, damned spot!

(They almost have to sit on him to bring the recitation to a conclusion; and he continues to form a restive background to the dialogue which follows, with MONKHOUSE *at hand to keep him in order.)*

HAYDON. *(Tactfully, for a diversion.)* Well? and how did the argument resolve itself in the other room? Any conclusion?

KEATS. Our main conclusion—agreement (at least, Mr. Lamb agreed to it for us)—was that Newton deserved hanging as a murderer for having dissected the rainbow into prismatic colours.

HAYDON. But why not?

RITCHIE. Had Wordsworth done that, he could never have written his poem.

WORDSWORTH. Well, but Newton *has* done it; and I have written my poem; and the rainbow hasn't suffered.

LAMB. Oh, hasn't it! Nobody can ever look at a rainbow now, Wordsworth, without thinking of you. What could be worse?

RITCHIE. Why, Newton would be worse; you said so.

LAMB. Newton? Newton is dead mutton. Wordsworth's alive; a walking infection! You can't hear a cuckoo now; it's the wandering voice of Wordsworth. You can't say 'We are

JATHAN. You have a right to be honoured, sir.

(*This does not sound exactly as it is meant, and elicits from* LAMB, *by the fire, a sharp squeal of mental torture. But* Mr. JATHAN, *who has his piece to recite, flows on in swelling tones.*)

RITCHIE. Oh, Mr. Wordsworth! This meeting! What an honour! What a privilege!

WORDSWORTH. I didn't quite catch your name, sir?

LAMB. D-don't!

JATHAN. Jathan, sir. To meet you at last! Your poetry, your genius! I haven't words!

WORDSWORTH. Sometimes I haven't either, Mr Jathan. It is a difficulty which all writers experience. Are *you* a writer?

JATHAN. No, sir, no. My duties are official; I sign. I am a comptroller of stamps.

LAMB. (*Beating a tattoo with his feet.*) He can't control mine!

MONKHOUSE. Sit down, Charles, sit down!

HAYDON. Mr. Jathan—Mr. Keats. He is another of our poets.

JATHAN. Indeed? I have not heard of you.

(*To which* KEATS *bows his head in fitting silence.*)

LAMB. And I'll be bound he hasn't heard of you, either!

JATHAN. (*Magnificently.*) I beg your pardon, sir?

LAMB. And you can go on begging it, sir!

WORDSWORTH. Charles! Charles!

HAYDON. I venture to say you will hear of Mr Keats, some day, sir.

JATHAN. Well, stranger things have happened—*do* happen.

LAMB. They do! They stand on their hind legs, and they—br-bray!

WORDSWORTH. My dear Charles!

LAMB. (*To Monkhouse.*) Am I a dream? Or is *he?* Do I wake, or sleep?

KEATS. 'Do I wake or sleep?' Thank you, Mr Lamb. You have finished a poem for me. The words—the very words I was in search of!

LAMB. If *I* could finish *him!*

JATHAN. Has the gentleman been drinking, Mr. Haydon?

HAYDON. No, no. Mr Lamb is a humorist. He must have his joke. Pay no attention.

JATHAN. I do not, sir. Mr. Wordsworth, you have come up from the north.

WORDSWORTH. I have, sir. I live in the north.

JATHAN. You have had a long journey.

WORDSWORTH. Yes.

JATHAN. [illegible]

HAYDON. Mr. Jathan, Mr. Charles Lamb.

JATHAN. (*With pomp.*) How do you do, sir ?

LAMB. (*Entirely without it.*) Thank you, I-I-I'm looking rather—p-p-pale to-day.

JATHAN. I should have said not.

LAMB. You, sh-sh-shouldn't have said anything !

(*At this* Mr. JATHAN *stiffens his neck in surprised annoyance ; but the cause of it, turning his back, has gone to sit by the fire. Meanwhile two other guests have entered, and* HAYDON *proceeds to do the honours.*)

HAYDON. Mr. Jathan—my friends : Mr. Ritchie, Mr. Monkhouse.

MONKHOUSE. Your servant, sir.

RITCHIE. Delighted, I'm sure.

JATHAN. (*Correctively.*) Pray, which is which, sir ?

HAYDON. This is Mr. Ritchie.

JATHAN. (*Making quite sure.*) Oh—Mr. Ritchie.

(Mr. JATHAN'S *unfortunate air of self-importance has roused the enmity of* LAMB, *who flippantly interjects the first nonsense that occurs to him.*)

LAMB. A m-m-moneylender.

JATHAN. (*Intelligently discovering the obvious.*) Then *you* are—Mr. Monkhouse ?

LAMB. Right !

JATHAN. *Not* Mr. Ritchie. Now I have it.

LAMB. (*Talking into the fireplace, but aiming his remarks elsewhere.*)

Oh, it's true, quite true
That twice one's two,
That old's not new,
That black's not blue,
That grog's not glue,
That Sal's not Sue,
That you're not me, and that I'm not you !

RITCHIE. (*Going to him.*) Charles, what's the matter ?

LAMB. Matter ? Pus ; pus ! Look at it !

RITCHIE. But you shouldn't call me a moneylender.

LAMB. Why not ? You always *are* lending it.

(*The two remaining guests,* Mr. WORDSWORTH *and* Mr. JOHN KEATS, *have now entered into close conversation, which their host has to interrupt.*)

HAYDON. Here is Mr. Wordsworth. Wordsworth, this is Mr. Jathan, who has come more than a hundred miles for the chance of meeting you.

WORDSWORTH. (*Bowing.*) I am honoured.

No, no—better: Ah! Mr. Wordsworth! This meeting. What an honour! What a privilege!

(*He is of a mind to try a third time; but turns to find his rehearsal has been cut short by the entry of his host,* Mr. Benjamin Robert Haydon, *followed by the servant, who takes up his leavings, and, crossing, retires by the other door. Haydon is a brisk-moving man of forty, with an amiable, intelligent face, overbalanced by a large nose; his head is beginning to be bald. His wear is of the period when there was no sharp dividing-line between the dress which is called 'morning' and that which is called 'evening'—a suit of respectable black, but by no means smart. Though genial in character, his manner to this guest is a little formal*)

Haydon. Pardon me, sir, to have kept you waiting

Jathan. (*Generously shaping his grievance.*) It is your clock that is at fault, sir; not you.

Haydon. I am afraid we didn't sit down very punctually

Jathan. (*Rubbing it in*) You are still dining?

Haydon. No, we have dined My guests will join us in a moment.

Jathan. You have Mr Wordsworth, I hope, with you?

Haydon. Why, yes; Mr Wordsworth is one of them.

Jathan. It would have been a disappointment to have come here without meeting Mr. Wordsworth. my reason for coming

Haydon. (*Politely accepting this obliterating remark*) And a very good reason, my dear sir.

Jathan My *only* reason.

Haydon. Well——

(*And you wonder how he is going to take it, but the self-wrapt* Mr Jathan *continues without pause to display the obtuseness with which God has gifted him*)

Jathan. I consider Mr. Wordsworth to be a great genius. Do you not think, sir, that I am right?

(Mr. Jathan's *pontifical placing of Wordsworth for his generation makes conversational response a little difficult.*)

Haydon. I? Well . . . Ah! Here they come.

(*The door opens, and three of the guests enter; but Wordsworth is not among them. The smallest of the three is the most noticeable; he has obviously dined. As the door opens, he begins talking with a slight stutter.*)

Lamb. Haydon, I tell Wordsworth that if he d-d-drank more he would write better p-p-poetry.

Haydon. Where's the proof? *Your* poetry is not better than his, Charles. Let me introduce you. Mr. . . . ? I'm sorry.

CHARLES! CHARLES!

A ONE-ACT COMEDY

Mr. Jathan is a stranger to London; and as, with an air of importance, he puts his cloak and hat into the hands of the waiting man-servant, he looks round the large room in which he finds himself, to gather in what kind of abode a famous painter receives his friends. To Mr. Jathan's taste the room seems bare; but there are large pictures in it, which he supposes, mistakenly, to be good; he has, however, the support of the artist himself in thinking so. A door to right and to left, a chimney-piece of the Adam period in the centre, under which a bright fire is burning; an old writing-desk, a few worn and rather dilapidated chairs, a side-table on which after-dinner tea-things have been placed, a shabby carpet straggling across a shabby floor, these items he notes with a superior air (conscious that in his own domicile he has much better), while the servant, temporarily depositing the hat and cloak just anywhere, prepares to go and inform his master.

SERVANT. Yes, sir, Mr. Haydon is still at dinner, sir.

JATHAN. (*Slightly hurt.*) Mr. Haydon *told* me six o'clock.

SERVANT. It's now five minutes to, sir.

JATHAN. Your clock is wrong.

SERVANT. I will tell Mr. Haydon, sir.

JATHAN. You need not. *I* will tell him—

SERVANT. —that you are here, sir.

JATHAN. Ah! Pray do!

(*Left to himself,* Mr. JATHAN *is in the undivided company of the person he most respects, though it is to pay his respects to another that he is now waiting. In order that he may make a good impression, he begins practising. He has, you may notice, a prophetic resemblance to a certain retired comedian of our judicial Bench, but with more inches to his stature, and less brain. Lifting a long neck, he clears his throat, then speaks:*)

Oh! how do you do, Mr. Wordsworth? So honoured to meet you!

(*This, however, seems not to satisfy him; he tries again:*)

and what might indeed have been the final—defeat on the Zulus, had cover also been thrown up. And, however praiseworthy may seem Colonel Durnford's action in thinking only of attack, reflection inevitably leads to the conclusion that his primary duty was to see that the defence of the camp, which had been entrusted to his care, was placed on a thoroughly satisfactory footing. But the very blunders committed but throw up in stronger relief the dauntless heroism of those who paid for them with their lives Faithful unto death and fighting to the last, the officers, non-commissioned officers and men of the 24th Regiment fell where they stood, setting an imperishable example of fortitude in peril of which any nation or any army might be proud.

F E. WHITTON.

a special target of Melvill, who wore his red patrol jacket. Coghill's horse was killed and his rider cast adrift in the stream. Notwithstanding the exertions made to save it, the colour had to be abandoned, and the two officers themselves succeeded in reaching the opposite bank only with great difficulty, and in a most exhausted state. The bank was precipitous, and the two officers were yet 20 yards from the summit when they were overtaken and killed, standing fighting to the last and accounting for several Zulus before they fell.

Flushed with their success at Isandhlwana, some 4000 Zulus streamed onwards to the isolated post of Rorke's Drift, which was held but by Lieutenant Bromhead's company of the 2nd Battalion 24th Regiment, some details and sick in hospital, the whole under the command of Lieutenant Chard, R.E. Here, protected by some hastily erected breastworks of biscuit boxes and mealie bags, the little garrison put up a superb resistance, eventually driving off the enemy with a casualty list to themselves of but seventeen killed and eight wounded. The incident has a sorrowful interest as showing what might have been done at Isandhlwana had cover been erected and ammunition distributed. In the well-known picture of Rorke's Drift the supply of ammunition is shown by a clerical figure distributing packets from a haversack. The figure is that of the Rev. G. Smith, a missionary acting as chaplain to the Centre Column. For his conduct he received a commission in the Army Chaplain's Department, in which he served for many years. Many soldiers who read this article will recall 'Ammunition' Smith, as he was always known throughout the Old Army.

On February 4, 1879, the Queen's Colour of the 1st Battalion the 24th Regiment was found by a reconnoitring party in the Buffalo River; when the war was over Queen Victoria expressed a wish to see it, and at Osborne on July 28, 1880, Her Majesty attached a wreath of immortelles to the pole of the Queen's Colour, subsequently directing that a facsimile of the wreath in silver should be borne on the Queen's Colour of both the 1st and 2nd Battalions. As for the colours of the latter battalion which had been captured at Isandhlwana, these were never recovered; but a pole, crown, and case were found on different occasions during and after the war, the staff and crown being handed over to Queen Victoria by her desire, to find a resting place in the armoury of Windsor Castle.

In the annals of the British Army there is no sadder tale than that of Isandhlwana, for it is abundantly clear that the tragedy need never have occurred. The defenders were slaughtered because their ammunition failed; and there was at hand ammunition in sufficiency to check the attack and to inflict a crushing—

I jumped on my broken-kneed pony, which had no rest for thirty hours, and followed it (the transport) to find on topping the neck a scene of confusion I shall never forget, for some 4000 Zulus had come in behind and were busy with shield and assegai. Into this mass I rode, revolver in hand, right through the Zulus, but they completely ignored me. I heard afterwards that they had been told by their King Cetewayo that black coats were civilians and were not worth killing. I had a blue patrol jacket on, and it is noticeable that the only five officers who escaped—Essex, Cochran, Gardner, Curling and myself—had blue coats. The Zulus throughout my escape seemed to be set on killing natives who had sided with us, either as fighting levies or transport drivers

After getting through the mass of Zulus busy slaying, I followed in the line of fugitives. The outer horns of the Zulu army had been directed to meet at about a mile to the south-east of the camp, and they were still some distance apart when the retreat commenced It was this gap which fixed the line of retreat

I could see the Zulus running in to complete their circle from both flanks, and their leading men had already reached the line of retreat long before I had got there . . . Again I rode through unheeded, and shortly after was passed by Lieutenant Coghill (24th) wearing a blue patrol and cord breeches and riding a red roan horse. We had just exchanged remarks about the terrible disaster and he passed on towards Fugitive's Drift A little further on I caught up Lieutenant Curling, R A , and spoke to him, pointing out to him that the Zulus were all round, and urging him to push on, which he did. . . . The ground was terribly bad going, all rocks and boulders, and it was about three or four miles from camp to Fugitives' Drift. When approaching this drift and at least half a mile behind Coghill, Lieutenant Melvill (24th) in a red coat and with a cased colour across the front of his saddle passed me going to the drift

The fact that Melvill and Coghill were at this time separated is due most probably to an arrangement between the two that the unencumbered man should ride ahead to make some hasty reconnaissance of the Buffalo River and of the best means of getting across. Both officers reached the river, although, owing to the badness of the track, the Zulus kept up with them and continued throwing their spears at them The river was in flood, and at any other time would have been considered impassable. They plunged their horses in, but whilst Coghill got across and reached the opposite bank, Melvill, encumbered by the colour, got separated from his horse and was washed against a large rock in mid-stream, to which Lieutenant Higginson, of the Native Contingent, who afterwards escaped, was clinging. It was now apparently about ten minutes past 2, for Melvill's watch was subsequently found to have stopped at that hour. Melvill called out to Higginson to lay hold of the colour, which Higginson did, but so strong was the current that both men were washed away. Coghill, still on his horse and in comparative safety, at once rode back into the river to their aid. The Zulus by this time had gathered thick on the bank of the river and opened fire, making

last seen in the camp encouraging the men to stem the advance of the left horn of the Zulus. Bloomfield, the quartermaster of the 2nd Battalion, fell while trying, with others, to untie the ammunition boxes on the mules, now kicking and plunging and maddened with fear. He it was who but a few minutes earlier had expostulated with Lieutenant Smith-Dorrien. What need of requisitions now?

Little, however, is really known of the conflict in and around the camp. So swift was the disaster that it is easy to understand that the handful of survivors were unable to give any coherent account of the details. But the evidence of the dead, as afterwards found and buried where they lay, told the one unvarying tale of groups of men fighting back to back till the last cartridge was spent. Zulu witnesses, after the war, all told the same story: 'At first we could make no way against the soldiers, but suddenly they ceased to fire, then we came round them and threw our spears until we had killed them all.' By 1.30 p.m. no white man was alive in Isandhlwana camp. According to one account the last survivor was a drummer of the 24th Regiment who was seen to fling his short sword at a Zulu.

There died that day at Isandhlwana 52 officers and 806 other ranks of white men, five officers and a handful of men being all the Europeans that survived. Of the 24th Regiment, every one of the twenty-one officers met his death. The 1st Battalion had 403 other ranks present, and of these 400 were killed. Of the company of the 2nd Battalion five officers and 178 other ranks strong, there was not a single survivor. The disaster deprived the Centre Column of the whole of its transport, leaving the force which had been with Lord Chelmsford incapable of making any offensive movement. All the documents of the headquarters office were lost, as well as those of both battalions of the 24th Regiment. The colours of the 2nd Battalion were never seen again. Two 7-pounder guns with their ammunition, as well as about 800 Martini-Henry rifles and 400,000 rounds, fell into the hands of the Zulus, in addition to an immense quantity of supplies and stores.

With their encircling tactics the Zulus had almost completely surrounded Isandhlwana, but there was still a small gap open at the neck connecting the hill with the kopje to the south, and over which passed the road to Rorke's Drift. All the transport drivers, panic stricken, were jostling each other with their teams and waggons, shouting and yelling at their cattle, and striving to get over the neck on to the Rorke's Drift road. When the transport had mostly cleared the neck Lieutenant Smith-Dorrien followed, and he has put on record a vivid picture of the flight:

heavy fire, but the Zulus continued their advance. Then when the Zulu centre had come within 200 yards of the angle in the defensive line, the Native Contingent broke and fled, leaving a gap, through which masses of Zulus at once swarmed. At this very moment some ten miles away a man was looking, from a hill-top, at Isandhlwana through his glasses. It was Lord Chelmsford, who, satisfied by the sight of the standing tents, dismissed from his mind the reports which had reached him. But even had his binoculars been powerful enough to reveal the tragedy which was occurring, he could have done absolutely nothing.

The end was now very near. The isolated lines were taken in front and rear. Apparently at this moment there were shouts, in vain, for more ammunition. It must have been at this juncture that Lieut.-Colonel Pulleine, of the 1st Battalion of the 24th Regiment, said to the adjutant, Lieutenant Melvill: 'You, as senior subaltern, will take the colour[1] and make your way from here' Accompanied by Lieutenant Coghill,[2] of the 2nd battalion, Melvill rode off with the colour, taking the same direction as the other fugitives. The two guns, after discharging a few rounds of case, limbered up and retired, and, brought through the camp, now swarming with Zulus, reached the other flank, having lost all its gunners stabbed by assegais. Eventually all the drivers and horses were killed and the guns captured. Of the three companies on the left flank two—before they could even fix bayonets—were rushed and slaughtered to a man. The third (that of Captain Younghusband), being further off and nearer the hill, was enabled to reach a ledge on the southern side of Isandhlwana There the bodies were later found lying in a cluster Two other companies of the 24th Regiment, one of them 'G' Company of the 2nd Battalion, under Lieutenant Pope, also had time to close and make a determined stand until their ammunition was exhausted, when they were overpowered and died where they stood · 'for what parcel of ground anyone made choice of to stand on and fight, the same, being slain, his slaughtered body covered' In the camp of the 1st Battalion of the 24th Regiment, upon the right, the bodies of the slain lay thickest of all. A last resistance was made behind the officers' tents, where lay seventy dead. Here fell Colour-Sergeant Wolf surrounded by twenty of his men Further down the slope about sixty men lay together, and among them were the bodies of Captain Wardell and of Lieutenant Dyer, adjutant of the 2nd Battalion. Pullen, the quartermaster of the 1st Battalion, was

[1] The Queen's Colour: the regimental colour was with a detachment of Helpmakaar, over the frontier

[2] He was orderly officer to Colonel Glynn, but had remained in camp owing to a severe injury to his knee.

defence. The tents were still standing as they had been left when Lord Chelmsford marched out in the morning and were occupied by officers' servants, bandsmen, clerks and non-combatants, who were entirely unconscious of danger. Meanwhile the advance of the Zulus was continuing steadily and without check or halt. Moving from the north-east in a loose but deep formation of horse-shoe shape, their left horn was directed towards the right of the British line, while their right was descending the valley at the back of Isandhlwana Hill, and their central mass was aimed directly at the camp.

'It was a marvellous sight' [in the words of General Sir Horace Smith-Dorrien] line upon line of men in slightly extended order, one behind the other, firing as they came along, for a few of them had firearms, sweeping all before them. . . . And now the Zulu army, having swept away Durnford's force, flushed with victory moved steadily on to where the five companies of the 24th were lying down covering the camp. They were giving vent to no loud war cries, but to a low musical murmuring noise, which gave the impression of a gigantic swarm of bees getting nearer and nearer.'

Lieutenant Smith-Dorrien was, to a certain extent, merely a spectator, for he had no particular duty to perform other than to wait until the Zulus should be disposed of and then to take his empty waggons back to Rorke's Drift. But, although but a young officer of two years' service, on his own initiative he promptly organised a service which, could it have been carried out on more extended lines, might even now have averted the terrible disaster which ensued. Collecting camp stragglers, such as artillerymen in charge of spare horses, officers' servants, sick, etc., he led them to where the spare ammunition was to be found, and having with difficulty broken open the boxes—tightly screwed down—he kept sending up packets as quickly as possible to the firing line. There is a mournful irony in his relation how, even in the face of imminent destruction, 'red tape' raised her head. Most of the ammunition was necessarily going to the 1st Battalion of the 24th Regiment, and the quartermaster of the 2nd Battalion, seeing one of his boxes being broken open, exclaimed: 'Don't take that, for Heaven's sake, man, for it belongs to our battalion.' To which young Smith-Dorrien grimly replied: 'Hang it all, you don't want a requisition now, do you?' It was about this time that a Colonial waggon-conductor remarked to Smith-Dorrien: 'The game is up. If I had a good horse I would ride straight for Maritzburg.'

About 1 p.m. the defenders saw themselves outnumbered by at least six to one—for 10,000 Zulus were in the attack—by an enemy pressing onwards from all sides regardless of the heaviest losses. The guns and rifles of the defenders were pouring in a

to send out another, and subsequently a third, company in support of the company in difficulties. Colonel Pulleine, therefore, had half of his insufficient infantry more than 1000 yards away from the camp, through the necessity of supporting a company that ought not to have been sent out at all.

These three companies fell back fighting and covered the north side, or left flank, of the camp. The remaining three companies of the 24th Regiment were extended round the camp in attack formation, covering especially the front and left front at no great distance from the tents. Two battalions of native levies were also in this line, but they were not to be relied upon and were feebly armed, only one man in ten being allowed a rifle, lest they should desert to the enemy. The two guns were on the left of the camp. Forty-five empty waggons were standing in the camp with oxen in. These were a convoy which Lieutenant H. Smith-Dorrien, the officer in command of the Transport Depot at Rorke's Drift, was to have taken back for supplies early on the morning of this day, but the move had been postponed until the Zulus should be driven off These waggons might have been formed into a laager, but no one appeared to appreciate the gravity of the situation, and for a similar reason no steps were taken to issue extra ammunition from the large reserves in camp.[1]

From about noon the Zulus, who had apparently fallen back behind the hills, again showed in large numbers, coming down into the plain with great boldness. It was at this time that the first reinforcing company was sent out to help the isolated company of the 1st Battalion of the 24th Regiment, and at the same time the troops in camp stood-to The guns came into action and rifle fire was opened, causing the Zulus to fall back. It was now evident that the enemy were in considerable force, for they could be seen adopting their usual tactics of extending far to the south-east, apparently working towards the right rear of the camp. Colonel Durnford's detachment, some three miles out in front, had been caught in the arch of the horse-shoe formation of the Zulus and had been driven back, fighting, towards the right of the camp, with the loss of the rocket battery, which had been rushed and destroyed.

Nothing of importance occurred for some time beyond the increase of the Zulus and the spreading out of their horns until about 1 o'clock, when they started a forward movement direct on the camp. The camp itself was in no respect prepared for

[1] The account of the action at Isandhlwana has been taken from the following sources: *Official Narrative of the Zulu War*, 1879. *Records of the 24th Regiment*; *Memories of Forty-eight Years' Service*, by General Sir Horace Smith-Dorrien; *In Zululand with the British in 1879*, by C. L. Norris-Newman.

opposition, and about 8.30 p.m. the force silently bivouacked in the blackness on the neck between it and the great mass of Isandhlwana hill. And then, as they moved carefully about, men came upon body after body, mutilated and disembowelled.

To go back now to the morning of this terrible day of disaster. Nothing occurred at the camp at Isandhlwana until 8 a.m., when a report reached Colonel Pulleine, from a mounted party about 2000 yards north-east of the camp, that three columns of Zulus were approaching. On this the troops were got under arms and were drawn up in front of the camp, a mounted man being sent off with the message, timed 8.5 a.m., to acquaint Lord Chelmsford with the circumstance. No attack, however, resulted, and the Zulus were seen to draw off. The troops were still standing-to when Colonel Durnford arrived from Rorke's Drift with five troops of Basutos and a rocket battery carried on pack mules. On hearing that Zulus had been seen, Colonel Durnford at once proposed to move out and attack them—a proposal to which Colonel Pulleine strongly demurred in view of the written instructions which had been given him. The newly arrived commander considered, however, that, with the arrival of the force under his command, the circumstances had been altered and that he was not necessarily to be restricted by orders given to Colonel Pulleine personally. He therefore descended into the plain with two troops, the rocket battery and a company of natives, with the intention, it is believed, of creating a diversion in favour of Lord Chelmsford, who was supposed to be engaged somewhere in front. Before starting, Colonel Durnford directed a company of the 1st Battalion 24th Regiment to occupy the heights 1500 yards north of the camp—that is to say, to the left flank—a movement of doubtful advantage, in that it led to a further dissipation of the scanty force of the defenders. Meanwhile, in the camp itself no steps were taken to place it in a condition of defence. Not a sod was turned, not a trench was dug, not a breastwork was erected. Nothing was done to ensure a supply of ammunition to replace expenditure from the men's pouches. The reserve ammunition—and there was no lack of it: more than 400,000 rounds—was in boxes tightly screwed down, and some of these were, later, tightly strapped upon the backs of the mules which carried them on the march.

About noon, as the men were preparing for dinners, firing was heard from the high ground to which the detached company of the 24th Regiment had been sent. The inconvenience of its isolation was now to be felt. A report was brought back to the camp that its position was very serious. Colonel Durnford, the commander of the camp, was out fighting an action of his own some three miles away, and Colonel Pulleine was now forced

order from Lord Chelmsford compelled him to retrace his steps and to head once again for the new camp.

The very alarming message from Isandhlwana had not yet been delivered to Lord Chelmsford, for he could not be found by the two officers who were galloping to deliver it. It reached him, however, shortly after 2 o'clock as he was leisurely returning to Isandhlwana with the Mounted Volunteers. No uneasiness was, however, caused, for Lord Chelmsford himself had but a short time previously seen through his glasses the tents standing and the camp apparently undisturbed. Another message of a disquieting nature was received, but again no uneasiness was caused. Finally, however, even Lord Chelmsford was compelled to change his opinion, when at about 3.30 p.m., some five miles short of Isandhlwana camp, a solitary horseman on a dead-beat pony was encountered, who had a startling tale to tell.

The solitary horseman was Commandant Lonsdale, the commanding officer of the two native battalions, who, it will be remembered, had been sent out as part of a reconnaissance in force early on the 21st. During this day, January 22, he had ridden back to Isandhlwana to arrange for rations for his men, reaching the camp about 2 o'clock. The tents were all standing; soldiers in red coats were moving about. To his intense astonishment when almost in the camp he was fired upon, and then, to his horror, he realised that all the men in red tunics about him were Zulus, and that not a white man was to be seen Hastily turning his pony, he galloped off through a storm of bullets, and was thus able to bring the news to Lord Chelmsford

Confronted by this staggering intelligence, the general at once sent back to countermand the order for the new camp which he had selected and for all the units out in front to rejoin him and to fall back on Isandhlwana It was hoped that the force there had merely evacuated the camp in the face of an overwhelming attack, and had effected a retirement to Rorke's Drift. Still it was in an agony of apprehension that Lord Chelmsford's force pushed on. It was not until after 6 o'clock, however, that the advance could be resumed, owing to the necessity of awaiting the arrival of the troops recalled from the front. When these arrived Lord Chelmsford addressed them with a few brief words: 'Whilst we were skirmishing in front,' he said, 'the Zulus have taken our camp. There are 10,000 Zulus in our rear, and 20,000 in our front; we must win back our camp to-night, and cut our way back to Rorke's Drift to-morrow.' And the men answered with a cheer: 'All right, sir; we'll do it.' A start was then made. At 7 o'clock when the sun set the camp was still two miles distant. The African darkness fell quickly as the force cautiously felt its way towards Isandhlwana. The kopje was occupied without

[illegible] only had the camp at Isandhlwana been weakened by the despatch of a large fraction of its strength, but there was no co-ordination between the two portions into which the whole column had now been divided.

The operations of that portion of the force, with which was Lord Chelmsford, consisted, during the morning of this fatal January 22, in skirmishes against the Zulus, who, however, could not be brought to bay, but kept abandoning strong positions without firing a shot—showing that they had no intention of waiting to be attacked. Lord Chelmsford, therefore, decided to close this aimless and profitless fighting, to select another camp, and to summon to it the portion of the column left behind at Isandhlwana. There was, therefore, from about 1 p.m. onwards some rather confused marching and counter-marching, units of the reconnaissance in force abandoning the task of trying to bring the Zulus to fight and concentrating on the new camp, while individuals and small parties were making their way back to Isandhlwana with messages, or to collect stores, etc.

The confusion which marked the day, out far to the front, had not been lessened by reports which came from Isandhlwana. At 9 30 a.m., when Lord Chelmsford and his staff had halted for breakfast, a messenger arrived from the camp with a note from Colonel Pulleine, timed 8 5 a.m , to say that Zulus were advancing in force from the left front of the camp In consequence of this intelligence Lieutenant Milne, R N , attached to the staff, was sent to the top of a high hill to examine Isandhlwana camp with his telescope and to report No signs of a Zulu attack could, however, be detected, and after remaining on the hilltop for an hour and a half Lieutenant Milne rejoined Lord Chelmsford. It was about 1 p.m when the G O C. reached the site of the new camp; about this time a very urgent request from the Isandhlwana force reached a unit of the force out in front saying: 'For God's sake come with all your men the camp is surrounded and will be taken unless helped.' Two officers galloped off with the news to try to find Lord Chelmsford, who, as a matter of fact, had already received a report from a native that Zulus were near Isandhlwana, and that heavy firing was going on. On this Lord Chelmsford and his staff had galloped up to a hill from which the Isandhlwana camp was visible, and on seeing with their field-glasses that the tents there were standing and that all was apparently quiet, had concluded that this report and a similar one previously received from another native source were alike unfounded. Meanwhile the urgent message had been communicated to the officer commanding the four guns, who felt it his obvious duty to return at once with his guns to Isandhlwana. He had got about a mile and a half on his way, when a peremptory

the broken ground was no protection against Zulus and that there was no picquet in rear. The same day the adjutant of the 1st Battalion remarked to the same field officer, who was anxiously looking out to his front: 'I know what you are thinking of, by your face, sir; you are abusing this camp, and you are quite right. These Zulus will charge home, and with our small numbers we ought to be in laager, or at any rate be prepared to stand shoulder to shoulder.'

Early the following morning two parties, consisting respectively of 150 mounted troops and two battalions of natives, were sent out on a reconnaissance in force. Late that night news was brought back from this body to say that a force of Zulus had been observed and that reinforcements would be required before an attack upon them would be possible. Lord Chelmsford therefore gave orders that at daybreak a force consisting of some mounted infantry, six companies of the 2nd Battalion 24th Regiment, and four guns should leave Isandhlwana in support The force left camp at 4 a.m. on the 22nd and was accompanied by Lord Chelmsford and his staff, the troops then remaining at Isandhlwana being as follows:

30 Mounted infantry for vedettes
80 Mounted volunteers and police
70 Royal Artillery with two guns.
5 Companies 1st Battalion 24th Regiment.
1 Company 2nd Battalion 24th Regiment.
4 Companies of Natal Native Contingent.
10 Native pioneers

In all about 670 regulars, 110 Colonials, 900 natives

Before leaving, Lord Chelmsford sent orders to Colonel Durnford, R.E., who was behind at Rorke's Drift with a subsidiary column of natives, to advance at once to Isandhlwana with his mounted natives and rocket battery, and, as senior officer, to take command of the camp This, till his arrival, was left in charge of Lieut.-Colonel Pulleine, 2nd Battalion 24th Regiment, who received orders in writing that, in the absence of the force then starting, he was to keep the vedettes far advanced, but the line of infantry outposts was to be drawn in closer; and if attacked he was to act on the defensive. The general situation of the Centre Column was, therefore, that it was split into two separate parts, one acting offensively out in front, the other tied to the camp. With the former was not only the General Officer Commanding, but also the column commander; the latter portion was temporarily under an officer who was to be relieved by another new to the situation, and who, as a matter of fact, differed as to the interpretation of the orders given to the officer

[illegible] Zulu frontier the officers of the 1st Battalion, having a few bottles of wine left, invited the officers of the 2nd to dinner, when the toast was given: 'May we not get into such a mess and have better luck next time.' Only a few days later, of the 1st Battalion officers who drank the toast not one was left alive, and of those of the 2nd Battalion five officers were killed.

On Friday January 10, 1879, the Centre Column was encamped on the right bank of the Buffalo River at Rorke's Drift, entering Zululand on the following day. The General Officer Commanding, Lord Chelmsford, with his staff, accompanied this column. Very little opposition was encountered, but the necessity for close reconnaissance and for minor forays, and the roadless nature of the country, imposed a slow rate of progress, so that it was not until the 20th that the column approached Isandhlwana Hill, about a dozen miles from Rorke's Drift. The hill had been visited three days earlier by Lord Chelmsford during a reconnaissance, and, as fuel was obtainable in the vicinity, he selected it as the next halting place for the column.

The remarkably shaped and ill-starred hill of Isandhlwana formed a conspicuous landmark, its greatest length being from north to south. In shape it bore a curious resemblance to a sphinx or lion *couchant*. The highest part of the hill, or the head of the animal, was to the south, and still further to the south was a small stony hill or kopje, beyond which the ground was extremely rugged and broken. The ground to the north was similar in character, so that the terrain north and south, together with the great mass of the hill, formed a barrier pierced merely by the track which crossed the neck uniting Isandhlwana with the kopje. The western side of the hill—the right flank of the sphinx or lion—was precipitous. The other side or flank sloped down to an open plain which extended to a distance of some eight miles. This plain, which was much intersected by watercourses, was about four miles wide and was bounded by low rolling hills. The view from the camp to the east—that is to say, towards 'the front,' although in savage warfare every direction is really 'front'—was therefore extensive, but was much more limited to the right and to the left.

Here the column went into camp on the eastern side of the hill. No entrenchments of any kind were dug. Protection was arranged for by a chain of vedettes from two to three miles distant, and by an infantry outpost line closer in. Good as the position might have been against European troops, it was by no means so against Zulus, accustomed from childhood to jump from crag to crag and to charge up hill with an agility surprising to a white man. On the 21st a field officer of the 24th Regiment, being on duty with the picquets, remarked to a staff officer that

ISANDHLWANA:

January 22, 1879

The annexation of the Transvaal by England in 1877 brought with it an unwelcome heritage in the shape of territorial disputes with border tribes, and particularly a quarrel over a question of boundary between the Boers and the Zulus to the east. A commission, appointed in 1878 to consider the opposing claims, had reported in favour of the Zulus, but the High Commissioner for South Africa, in giving his decision, considered that any concession made should be contingent upon acceptance by the Zulus of certain conditions, chief among these being the disbandment of the formidable Zulu army A communication, in reality an ultimatum, to this effect was transmitted to the Zulu deputies on December 11, 1878. No reply having been received by the end of the year, it was decided to compel the compliance of the Zulus by force of arms. The invasion of Zululand was to be made by three main columns, advancing—with the royal kraal of Ulundi as the common goal—from the lower Tugela, from Rorke's Drift, and from Utrecht respectively The command of the Centre Column, to advance eastwards from Rorke's Drift, and consisting of some 1600 Europeans and 2500 natives, was given to Colonel Glynn, of the 1st Battalion of the 24th Regiment. The country to be invaded was some 15,000 square miles in extent, roadless and unmapped, inhabited by the most martial race of savages in the world, many of whom were armed with rifles and all trained and disciplined in a highly perfected military organisation.

The bulk of the fighting strength of the Centre Column was provided by the 1st and 2nd Battalions of the 24th Regiment, now the South Wales Borderers. These two battalions, be it noted, were not raw young soldiers straight from home. Both of them had been for some time in South Africa and had done fine service in the native wars which are commemorated in the first two years of the battle honour borne by the regiment: 'South Africa, 1877–78–79.' Almost exactly thirty years before the black day of Isandhlwana the 24th Regiment had suffered terrible losses at Chillianwallah. Now, a few days before crossing the

Europe, who seem to think that the reoccupation by Prussia of the Polish Belt will be something at once facile and necessary in the near future.

Now, even had there been no new work undertaken in this belt, any attempt to reimpose Prussian rule upon the Polish population there would mean a European war. But with Gdynia the thing becomes impossible. The chief outlet for Polish trade in purely Polish territory cannot be dealt with as a few small villages and market towns might have been. The more familiar the use of the Port of Gdynia becomes to Western commerce the more hopeless will grow the policy of 'rectifying the frontier' here. We have in this case what we have along the whole line from the Baltic to the Carpathians, and that is an increasing difficulty with every year that passes in upsetting the settlement. But though any attempt to upset the settlement would, as I have said, lead to a European war—inevitably—yet the certitude is stronger in the neighbourhood of Gdynia than upon any point in Silesia or Posnania. For to strike at Gdynia would be to menace directly the economic life of Poland.

It remains to be seen whether a further strength in the Polish position here will not be added by the use of Gdynia as a free port. The position is central, it makes an excellent point of exchange, it has the advantages of permanently safe access, and of being free from ice. However, the development of a port as a maritime exchange or as a place of call is a matter so much less calculable than its development as a gate for import and export, and as a terminus, that the future value of Gdynia in this respect remains conjectural. What is not conjectural but certain is that the West of Europe will wake up in a year or two to the presence of a new port in the Baltic more central, larger, and better equipped than any other; and that, with the presence of that port, the political situation of Poland will be something which was not allowed for a short nine years ago.

H. BELLOC.

should create a new railway to Gdynia which shall pass entirely through their own uncontrolled territory. And when that line comes into existence, engineered through the rolling country to the west of the Haff, instead of following the natural flat approach by the seaboard, it will be yet another example of the way in which the most obvious economic tendency is contradicted in our time by the demands of nationalism. For if the Western Governments had not made this exceedingly complicated pattern of a Polish belt, a free city, and then beyond it an isolated island of East Prussia (each with its own currency and until lately each with its own tariff), a new and artificial railway approach to the sea of this kind would never have been thought of.

It is both difficult and premature to talk in any detail of the political effect which the new port may have. But there are certain elementary points in connexion with it which are so obvious that it seems astonishing they have been hitherto so little considered in our Press.

The first and most obvious political effect is the upsetting of the very short-sighted calculation that depriving Poland of the Port of Dantzig would suffice to keep that country in tutelage for the future.

The settlement made after the war was made in a spirit inimical to Poland, and everything was done to make the western frontier as favourable as possible to our late enemies and to concede as little as could be to the Poles. Yet it ought to have occurred to those who were thus planning the restriction of the new country that the chances of a second port being built were very great. They ought even to have made certain that such a port would be built. That they did not do so is on a par with most of the rest that was done by the insufficient men to whom such great issues were left. The attempt to hold Poland through Dantzig has had an effect exactly contrary to that intended by its authors. It has endowed Poland with a much larger new port of its own.

The second point in connexion with Gdynia is the effect the building of it will have upon what is called in Prussia 'the Polish corridor.' Polish access to the sea was limited in the treaty of settlement to the narrowest possible belt. It was impossible to leave the district in the hands of Prussia without contradicting so flagrantly the principles upon which a new organisation of Europe was being attempted as to be more than opinion would have tolerated. Nevertheless, this setting free of a Polish population from a detested alien dominion has remained a standing grudge with the old masters of the place and their sympathisers abroad. There are very great numbers in Prussia itself (as is natural), but also (what is more remarkable) many in Western

export which is for Poland a matter of life and death. It may reasonably be presumed that, if Dantzig had been thus naturally allied with Poland by international agreement from the beginning, some new port would have come into existence sooner or later, because the expanding trade of Poland and the necessity so great a State would have for national shipping upon the Baltic would ultimately demand it. But at any rate, Gdynia has come into existence as early as it has because the Dantzig problem was solved, or half solved, after the fashion we know.

That is almost the only, and certainly far the strongest, argument in favour of those who regard the new port as a menace to Dantzig and a sort of challenge to the international settlement following the Great War.

On the other hand, we must set these facts: the export and import trade of Poland must increase rapidly in the nature of things, short of such a disturbance of the peace as we cannot believe the Western Powers would allow. The port of Dantzig is working at present up to its full capacity, having, as I have said, multiplied its trade by 4 since the new settlement of Poland. It is a river port, with comparatively little dock accommodation. On the other hand, it must be admitted that, were Polish trade compelled to depend upon Dantzig alone, it would be easy to increase accommodation almost indefinitely in the plain which lies to the west of the port.

Further, it must be remarked that Gdynia, starting fresh, enables the extra port accommodation which Poland needs to be equipped in the cheapest fashion with the most modern machinery. It is one thing to transform an old port, based upon a narrow, winding river, and to furnish in the best and most recent fashion a new port, with a large outer harbour and plenty of quay room.

Into the building of Gdynia there also enters the question of an unhampered railway. The railway built while this port of Poland was under Prussian domination naturally follows the Vistula valley to Dantzig. It then proceeds along the coast of the Haff, where there was no question in the old days of a port; and, though Dantzig is not the terminus, all the active commercial work of the line ended at Dantzig, and there was no reason why a railway should follow any other route.

Now the separation of Dantzig from Poland under the arrangement of the Peace, after the Great War, left the railway approach to any purely Polish port north of Dantzig dependent upon this line which runs through the territory of the free city. Traffic could only come by rail from Poland through Dantzig and then on into Poland again. At present Gdynia is still served by this railway alone for commercial purposes. But it is a step imperatively dictated by the most elementary prudence that the Poles

It was this configuration of the land which gave Dantzig a special security in the old days, when men could only use natural harbours, and had not the modern facility of constructing large artificial ones; but the security is greater in the case of modern Gdynia than ever it was in the case of old Dantzig; for the point of Hela lies 65° N. of E. from the entrance to Dantzig Harbour, and you can get heavy seas there from a sector of some nine points.

It must further be noted that the sheltered sea upon which Gdynia is rising makes the building of the new breakwaters easier, and the labour upon them more continuous than it could be on a more open coast.

Facility of construction is also remarkable on the land side. All the valley and plain lying round the new town of Gdynia between the low hills is flat and composed of that same friable soil which marks the shore and which lends itself with such exceptional facility to digging and dredging, and in this the site of the new port is an exception upon this coast line. For that line is bounded along most of its length by low hills, but here at Gdynia there is a break in them They recede, and a level V-shaped valley some 2 miles in breadth runs back into the country.

But though the plain is so admirably suited for excavation, it is in no danger of silting up The only waterway running through it is a brook called the Kielau, but this tiny watercourse can have no effect in filling up the new basins. That is a singular advantage, comparable to the advantage enjoyed by Cherbourg and Portland on our own side, as also by Fishguard and Newlyn and Dover. But Gdynia has the great further advantage of a tideless sea. The level of the water in the Baltic, and therefore in the Dantzig Haff, varies somewhat according to the persistency of direction in the winds, the melting of the ice in the Baltic, and in the rivers feeding it, and upon the ice and snow fields feeding those rivers. But it never varies greatly from the charted soundings.

There arises the question which was mentioned in the earlier part of this article—whether Gdynia is a threat to Dantzig or no. I will sum up the arguments, both political and economic, as briefly as I may, and ask the reader to judge.

On the one hand there is the fact that Gdynia was originally proposed because the Occidental Powers had refused Dantzig to Poland. We may presume that the new port would not have been constructed, or at any rate not so soon, had Dantzig been united with Poland under a reasonable arrangement; as, for instance, a federal status with local independence but without the right to put up a tariff or otherwise interfere with that power of entry and

indefinite extension of dock space should the future expansion of trade demand it.

Now all these conditions are present together in the case of Gdynia, and there is perhaps no other modern harbour in which they are thus present in combination.

The site chosen for the new port is one where the 10-metre contour line comes sufficiently close to shore to permit good draught of water at the entrances to the harbour without special excavation, and yet far enough from the shore to give an ample outer harbour exterior to the docks and quays of a good half square mile between the external breakwaters and the old shore line.

The approach to the new harbour is sufficiently deep, though the shore shelves very gradually, not unlike in contours to that of the Bight of Sussex. The 10-fathom line is nearly 3000 yards from the old shore, and over 2500 from the outer breakwaters of the new harbour. But just outside these breakwaters there is a natural depth of close on 6 fathom. Within the breakwaters it has been necessary to dredge, as there is a depth of under 5 fathom. The depth aimed at throughout the new harbour, its approaches, and the quays is one of about 11 metres, which means, roughly, 5½ fathom.

The sea bottom upon which the concrete blocks stand is firm. The coast is exceptionally protected. A heavy wind from the east will raise a good deal of sea blown down the whole length of the lagoon, but there is only one sector of somewhat over four points of the compass from which a gale can raise such a sea. In all other directions the entry to Gdynia is sufficiently sheltered by land.

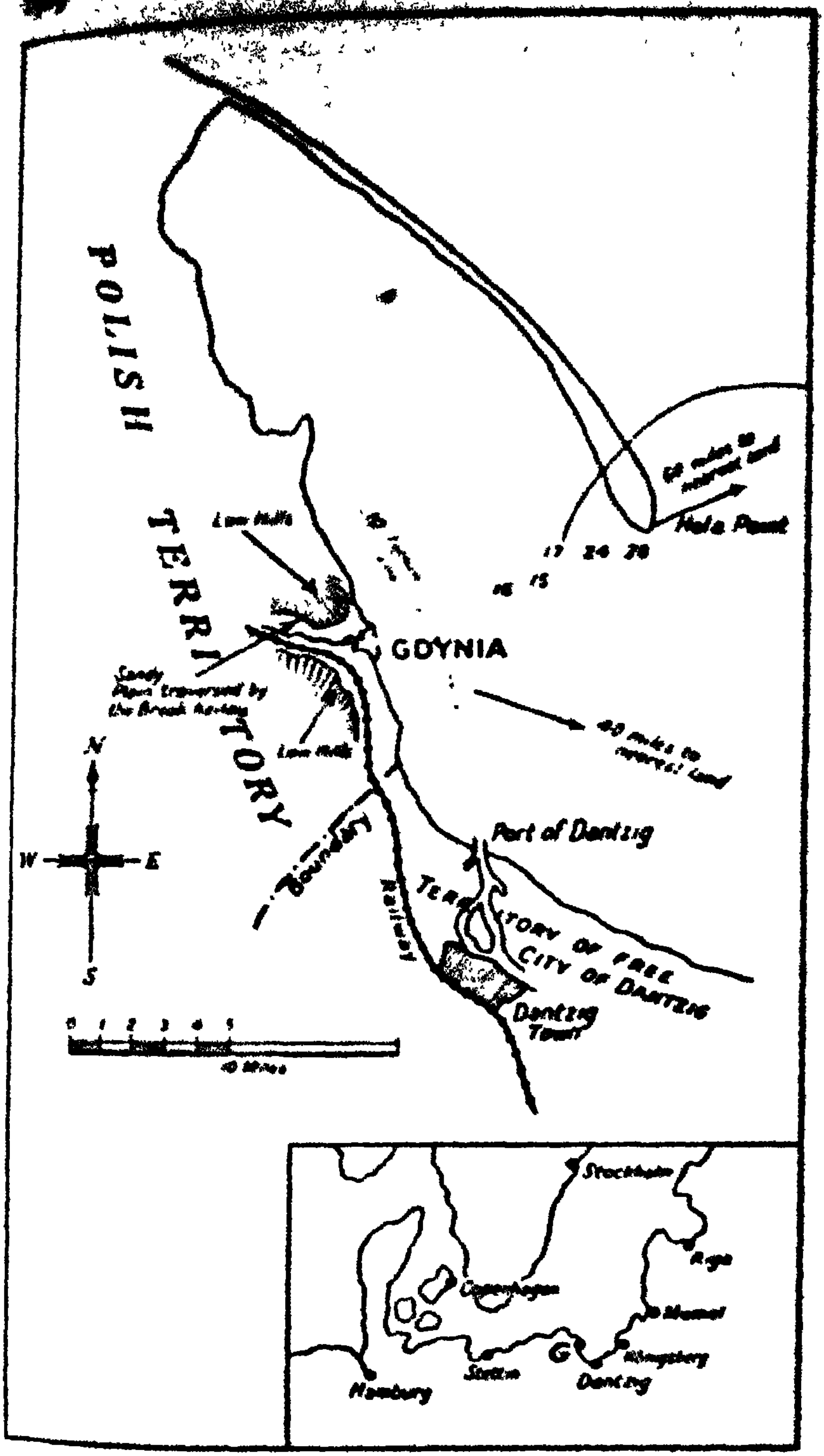
The distance from the breakwaters to the sheltering arm of land which ends at the point of Hela is about 10 nautical miles, bearing some 30° N. of E., and the new harbour is naturally protected from seas of any weight through more than three-quarters of the compass. So long as the wind is N. of E. 30 N., or south of S.E. true, there is calm water outside. The intervening sector can produce heavy seas in proportion to the northerliness of the wind, with a wind somewhat N. of E. there is 10 odd miles of water in which the waves can gather strength, and even with the wind due east there is over 40 miles. It is true that this great bay of Danzig is shallow, but no shallower than the North Sea; and we know what the North Sea can be between the mouths of the Scheldt and the Thames. We may say, then, that for general purposes the harbour is naturally sheltered over a good deal more than three-quarters of the circle, and is only subject to heavy seas when the wind blows within a sector of some four points, or 45°, and that from a quarter whence heavy gales are not common.

narrowest to which it could be whittled down, was allotted to Poland. Happily it included not only the few miles of exposed Baltic coast, but a fairly long stretch—nearly thirty miles—of the coast within the shelter of Hela Spit. Much of this inner piece is too shallow to be of service; but just at a point before the main shelter loses its effect there lay, upon the land-locked shore, a site most exceptionally favourable for the creation of a port; and it will perhaps prove a blessing in disguise to Poland, therefore to the stability of her independence, and therefore to the assurance of European peace, that Dantzig was not put, even federally, within the Polish frontiers, since that decision led to the rise of Gdynia, where all combines to produce, under the conditions of to-day, a harbour far more serviceable than Dantzig.

Fortune has favoured Poland greatly in this matter, and the most intelligent use has been made of the gift of fortune. It will usually be found when the tide has turned in the history of a nation, and when after a period of disasters it is entering a period of power, that even the details of circumstance thus combine in its favour.

With the modern powers of European civilisation over Nature there is nothing to prevent the building of a great artificial harbour anywhere, and nothing to prevent its success as a harbour save miscalculation upon the part of the contractors, or designers, or Governments concerned. Thus, if Dover is so difficult to use, it is because of a miscalculation of the effect this great mass of masonry would have upon the tidal stream running past the Forelands. But after the original experiment of Cherbourg there has followed one great example after another, all of which have shown the new opportunities that we have of building a harbour wherever we will, and ceasing to be dependent, as our fathers were, upon the accidents of Nature. Portland is a very fine example, and among the latest Casablanca.

But there are certain conditions which make the creation of one of these new great artificial harbours easier, cheaper, and more rapid. These are, one, that the sea bottom into which the jetties are built out shall, while deep enough to give draught for the largest vessels, shelve gradually; so that no very great height of wall has to be built even in the very outermost portions of the breakwaters. Another is security of foundation. Another is the general calmness of the sea in which the work has to be undertaken. Another is the ease of excavation of the soil, for the formation of the internal basin and docks. Another is easy approach for rail transport. Another is the absence, or relative weakness, of tides and currents. Another is low and level ground about the site, itself also easily excavated and thus permitting an


POLISH
TERRITORY
GDYNIA
Hela Point
Low Hills
Low Hills
Port of Danzig
TERRITORY OF FREE CITY OF DANZIG
Danzig Town
Railway
Boundary
N
S
W
E
Stockholm
Riga
Memel
Copenhagen
G
Danzig
Stettin
Hamburg

and, to judge by the curve of imports and exports, bids fair to rise to higher multiples still.

Meanwhile the newly liberated Polish State was not content to leave its keys in the hands of others. Hence the project of Gdynia. Gdynia was designed through the necessity under which the Polish State lay of guaranteeing that economic freedom without which political freedom cannot survive. Whether the new port will hurt Dantzig or not may be discussed later; but at any rate, the main motive in the original project of it was the determination to undo the anomaly created by the Peace Treaty and give Poland a port of her own, on her own soil, and entirely under her own control.

At first sight the creation of such a port did not seem easy. In order to understand how difficult it seemed and how unlikely it appeared that success should be attained, we must consider the conditions of the very narrow seaboard allotted to Poland by whatever Powers, financial and political, botched up the Peace settlement.

That seaboard was limited by the very simple rule followed—to the best of their ability—by those who were responsible for the new frontiers in this part of the world—*i.e.*, on the eastern frontiers of the Reich. This rule was to leave to the restored State all those districts in which a clear Polish majority could be shown, but to give Prussia the benefit of every doubt and to avoid as far as possible the subjection of a German-speaking majority, even in a petty district, to the Government of Warsaw. I say 'as far as possible.' There were here and there anomalous 'pockets' inevitable in the mosaic of Eastern Europe, but in the main the rule was followed.

Now along the Baltic coast from a point where it is crossed by longitude 17° E. of Greenwich the original German settlements were maritime. They were the estates of the Teutonic order, carved out of lands Slavonic in character, with a native population working for a few lords, or they were harbour towns founded by German merchants and seamen. Such was Dantzig; such was Königsberg. But these islands of German speech and culture lay in the midst of a Slav mass everywhere surrounding them, even after the German push eastward had begun at the opening of the Middle Ages. This Slav (in the neighbourhood of the Vistula delta this *Polish*) mass reached the sea. There are, west of the Dantzig bay, ten miles of almost unmixed Polish blood and tradition along the seacoast; if we count from the time before the partition, far more. With the best will in the world it was impossible for the politicians to put this purely Polish population back under Prussian rule without the certitude of such explosions as would make future peace impossible. Therefore this narrow belt of coast, the

[illegible] geographical [illegible] natural difficulty in transport.

Dantzig, at the mouth of the Vistula, or rather, on dead water in a part of its delta, was the port for all the Vistula region—that is, for the most productive and essential part of Poland. Before the unnatural conditions of the partition were imposed, while the smaller trade of earlier times in Europe still followed the lines of least resistance, Dantzig was the necessary gate of Poland. In race and culture it was German, but no one bothered much about that before modern nationalism arose in the wake of the French Revolution. Dantzig lived by Polish trade and was the flourishing market and place of entry and transhipment for the vast plains of the Vistula basin. Thus, in his aggressive war against the legitimate heir of the Swedish Royal family, who had been elected to the throne of Poland, Gustavus Adolphus made it his first business to seize Dantzig; and, indeed, for centuries it was a commonplace that Dantzig, theoretically subordinate to the Polish Republic, was the key to all Polish commerce. Poland had no other natural outlet to the sea.

After the war the advice given by the Council of Ambassadors that Dantzig should be incorporated into the new Poland was overriden by the more powerful force of the banks served by the politicians; but the port was not allowed to remain, as it had been for so long, an integral part of Prussia and, therefore, of the new German Reich created by Bismarck. The town and a certain small part of the surrounding country were turned into a free city, with a currency and Government of its own, and under the tutelage of the League of Nations.

The situation was absurd and anomalous because it threatened to undo all the work done in that restoration of Poland which was and remains the keystone of all the new arrangement of Europe and the most necessary condition of peace. Dantzig could, if nationalist feeling were allowed to overcome economic advantage, put grave difficulties in the way of Polish commerce. It held the one natural outlet for Polish goods and the one entry for what Poland needed.

At first it looked as though such friction would not only arise, but become worse as time went on. Happily money talked, and the anomaly was softened down. Tariffs between Poland and the free city were waived, transit was made easy, and the immediate effect of the new policy was a vast increase in the trade of what had been a dwindling and heavily handicapped port. The change can be illustrated in the briefest form by noting that the trade of the port of Dantzig was multiplied by *four* under the new régime,

GDYNIA

GDYNIA, the port at present under construction and nearing completion upon the lagoon of Dantzig, is among the most remarkable things in the Europe of our time. It is also one of the things to which the west of Europe, which it so nearly concerns, is paying insufficient attention—at least, insufficient attention on the part of the public. Those whose business it is to follow foreign policy and to consider the international relations of the next few years know all about it, of course, and are not only anxiously watching its construction, but estimating its chances of success and its effect upon the new frontiers. But I find that the educated public as a whole, in the West, and certainly in England, is hardly aware of what is going on.

Briefly, the situation is this

When Poland lay still partitioned and subject to three alien Governments, before the Treaty of Versailles, her products for export, and the imports required by the country, followed three artificial avenues. I use the phrase 'artificial avenues' in the sense of avenues other than those which Polish imports and exports would naturally follow if left to no more than economic laws and not 'canalised' by political restrictions

The greater part of Poland, being under Russia, was compelled by the Russian tariff system and railway and water transport to import and export largely through the Baltic ports east of East Prussia, or through the Black Sea ports. That part of Poland which was under Prussia was 'canalised' by an excellent system of communications to all the German ports, but mainly to Stettin and ports west thereof For one of the main industrial regions, that of Silesia, these lines thus taken through Germany were natural enough; for the rest, they were artificial.

The small part under the control of Austria exported and imported through the Austro-Hungarian system.

Now, Poland is, very roughly speaking, the basin of the Vistula; the extreme west is an exception, and notably Silesia (I mean, that part of Silesia restored to Poland by the Treaty); but even Silesia, certainly Lodz, Poznan also, though it be so near the

Speaking at a meeting of the League of Nations Union in Johannesburg on November 16, General Smuts, the enlightened statesman who has always aimed at seeing things as they are and seeing them whole, expressed his views in these significant words:

> The real cause of the war was that something was wanting in the machinery of human government. There was no machinery by which statesmen could meet round a table and come to a settlement. That was where the screw was loose that brought about the awful calamity which had been the worst disaster in human history.

As Mr. J. L. Garvin expressed it in the *Observer*, 'in vital things there is no real substitute for personal contact.'

In this fact lies the chief hope of such institutions as the League of Nations. The drafting of treaties and pacts is a matter of minor importance in comparison with the periodical meeting of statesmen inspired by the definite purpose of preventing misunderstandings that represent the roots of strife.

G. ELLIOT SMITH.

services of one another without thinking they were receiving or conferring any gift.' ?

In this article I have been concerned, not with theories or speculations about imaginary Utopias, but with an insistence upon the need for recognising the established facts of human nature. The interpretation of the significance of this evidence as a guide in practical politics is a very different matter. Such widespread misunderstanding has been revealed in the criticisms of the writings of my colleagues (especially W J. Perry, 'The Peaceful Habits of Primitive Communities': *Hibbert Journal*, 1917) and myself upon this subject that I must refer to some of the issues involved. The proof that man is by nature peaceful and well-behaved suggests the possibility of eliminating from civilisation the factors that provoke conflict and violence Unless one admits the fundamental decency of mankind, it is clearly useless to strive after schemes for the attainment of peace and goodwill. These virtues cannot be created unless they are already in being, if at times they may lie latent. But we can remove the obstacles that prevent their full expression

In insisting upon the peacefulness of primitive men I am not enrolling myself under the banner of those sentimental humanitarians who pretend to be so dissatisfied with civilisation as to wish for its destruction, or at any rate to cut themselves off from it and return to the simple life History records many such experiments on the part of crazy visionaries, who fail to realise how indispensable the most elementary comforts of civilisation become to most of those who have been brought up in a civilised State.

It may perhaps be objected that the behaviour of savages has no sort of bearing upon the problems of statesmanship. But if Mr. Coolidge, Mr Baldwin, Lord Cecil, and other statesmen find it necessary to call in human nature as an integral part of their arguments, it becomes the business of students of human nature to insist upon an exact presentation of the evidence

Statements that appeared in the Press during the week following Armistice Sunday revealed a remarkable consensus of opinion among British statesmen and publicists as to the steps which should be taken to allow the innate peacefulness and reasonableness of men to find expression. The Prime Minister discussed the unfortunate misunderstandings that too often mar the relationships between the United States of America and Great Britain, and expressed the opinion that only freer personal intercourse between statesmen upon the two sides of the Atlantic can prevent such disastrous results. Lord Lee of Fareham and the editors of several of our leading journals gave expression to the same idea.

peoples. One might go on quoting the surprised statements of traveller after traveller concerning these uncivilised, or what Mr. Perry calls 'food-gathering,' peoples; but it would become a tedious repetition of the virtues of peace and goodwill, and at the same time an ever-present readiness to resent by force any attempt to disturb this happy state of affairs.

If the spirit of wonder and incredulity is still alive in respect of these narratives, it is not for want of reiteration for four centuries by many, if not most, of the famous philosophers and political economists. For the discovery of the New World stirred the imaginations of men in the sixteenth century and set them thinking deeply on human nature. But it took two more centuries, and the frequent stimulus of fresh discoveries and fuller reports of the behaviour of native peoples, before the new ferment leavened the whole mass of political thought, and the thinking found expression in the political action that revolutionised society and statesmanship in the eighteenth century.

Numerous philosophers from the time of Sir Thomas More down to modern times have had glimpses of the truth; and several modern writers, such as Mr E. J. Payne (*The Cambridge Modern History*, I. 'Renaissance,' 1903, p. 56), Professor J. L. Myres (*British Association Report*, 1909, p. 589), and Professor Bury (*The Idea of Progress*, 1920), have referred to the profound effects of the new geography upon the renaissance of learning and upon political thought and practice. The progress of geographical exploration continued for more than three centuries to provide new examples of peaceful peoples to force students of human society again and again to return to the examination of facts that seemed so amazingly incredible.

The son of one of Captain Cook's fellow-travellers, George Forster, impressed upon his generation the fact that many of the peoples of Oceania were 'Pacific' in the double sense of that word. Chamisso, who travelled in the Pacific Ocean during the years 1815 to 1818, 'protested most vigorously against the term savage in its application to the South Sea Islanders.' 'Wherever the South Sea Islanders can be accused of corruption of morals, this seems to me to bear indication not of savagery but of over-civilisation.'

Similar statements might be quoted by the score from later writers with reference to many other peoples, not only in the Pacific, but also in the neighbouring lands of Papua, Australia, Tasmania, the Malay Archipelago, and in fact the whole Pacific littoral. Did not the ancient Chinese philosopher Lao-Tse say of primitive men: 'They loved one another without knowing that to do so was Benevolence: they were honest and leal-hearted without knowing it was Loyalty: they employed the

[illegible] the implements used for working the wild sago; but in these and in the use of the blow-pipe they are very expert. All other manufactured articles used by them—clothes, swords, spears—are obtained by barter from the other peoples. Unlike all the other peoples, they have no form of sepulture, but simply leave the corpse of a comrade in the rude shelter in which he died. They sing and declaim rude melancholy songs or dirges with peculiar skill and striking effect.

Each man has usually one wife. We know of no instances of polygyny amongst them; though we know of cases in which a Punan woman has become the second wife of a man of some other tribe. On the other hand, polyandry occurs, generally in cases in which a woman married to an elderly man has no children by him. They desire many children, and large families are the rule; a family with as many as eight or nine children is no rarity.

Marriage is for life, though separation by the advice and direction of the chief, or by desertion of the man to another community, occurs.

I am indebted to Dr. Hose for permission to make these extensive quotations from his writings. The reader who desires fuller information will find an excellent summary of it in his book *Natural Man* (1926). His description of the amiable character of the Punans is not a unique record. It is in substantial agreement, as I have already indicated, with the independent accounts of the Veddahs of Ceylon and many other peoples that have been given by Professor Seligman, the brothers Sarasin, and hosts of other writers.

The peoples of the world who are not civilised—*i.e.*, do not practise agriculture and therefore belong to what Mr. Perry calls 'the food-gathering' stage—include representatives of many races, and some of them are found in every continent: Negritos of the Congo Basin and adjoining region; Bushmen of South Africa; Veddahs of Ceylon; Pre-Dravidian jungle tribes of Southern India; Semang of Malay (Negrito); Sakai, Senoi, Jakun of Malaya (Australoid); Andaman Islanders (Negrito); Kubu of Sumatra; Punan and allied tribes of Borneo; a food-gathering tribe of the Aru Islands, west of New Guinea; Negritos of the Philippines; Negritos of New Guinea; Australians; the now extinct Tasmanians; Eskimo; the Dene of the Mackenzie Basin (Canada); the Salish of British Columbia; the Northern Ojibway; the Paiute of Nevada; the Indians of California; the peoples of Tierra del Fuego; the Lapps; the Samoyedes; and the Ostiaks of Siberia.

One might quote detailed reports upon every one of these peoples made by hundreds of investigators, ancient and modern, describing their high morality and genial qualities, except when they have been provoked by peoples threatening their food supplies or raiding them for human sacrifice. Then they defend themselves or adopt the habits of violence from immigrant

[illegible] A Punan [illegible] generally of some twenty or thirty adult men and women, and about the same number of children. One of the older men is recognised as the leader or chief. He has little formally defined authority, but rather the authority only that is naturally accorded to age and experience and to the fuller knowledge of the tribal history and traditions that comes with age. His sway is a very mild one; he dispenses no substantial punishments; public opinion and tradition seem to be the sole and sufficient sanctions of conduct among these Arcadian bands of gentle wary wanderers. Decisions as to the movements of the band are arrived at by open discussion, in which the leader will exercise an influence proportioned to his reputation for knowledge and judgment.

From the point of view of physical development the Punans are among the finest of the peoples of Borneo.

There are no distinctions of upper and lower social strata as among the other tribes, and thus the mixture of blood, which in the Kayan and Kenyah communities results from the adoption of war captives into the lower class, does not occur to them; and they present none of the wide diversities of type such as are common in the other tribes, especially between the upper and lower social classes. They correspond, in fact, to the relatively pure bred upper classes of the other tribes, and present the same high standard of physical development and vigour.

When gathered in friendly talk with strangers, even those whom they have every reason to trust, they prefer to remain squatting on their heels, rather than to sit down on a mat; and the tension of their muscles, combined with the still alert watchfulness of their faces, conveys the impression that they are ready to leap up and flee away or to struggle for their lives at any moment. It is doubtless this alertness of facial expression and bodily attitude that gives the Punan something of the air of an untameable wild animal.

In spite of his distrustful expression (which is merely the natural result of the fact that men living as they do must ever be alert to defend themselves against sudden danger) the Punan is a likeable person, rich in good qualities and innocent of vices. He never slays or attacks men of other tribes wantonly; he never seeks or takes a head, for his customs do not demand it; and he never goes upon the warpath, except when occasionally he joins a war-party of some other tribe in order to facilitate the avenging of blood. But he will defend himself and his family pluckily, if he is attacked and has no chance of flight; and, if anyone has killed one of his relatives, he will seek an opportunity of planting a poisoned dart in his body. In a case of this kind all the Punans of a large area will aid one another in obtaining certain information as to the identity of the offender; and any one of them will avenge the injury to his people, if the opportunity presents itself. They do not avenge themselves indiscriminately on all or any member of the offender's village or family, but they will postpone their vengeance for years, if the actual offender cannot be reached more promptly.

That the Punans will not allow the slaying of any one of their number to go unavenged on the person of the slayer is well known to all the people of the country, and this knowledge does much to give them immunity from attack.

Their only handicrafts are the making of baskets, mats, blow-pipes,

stories of the Golden Age when man lived an Arcadian existence of peace and happiness.

The example from Borneo is particularly instructive, because there are several sharply defined groups of people living side by side which present the most striking contrasts one to the other. This serves to throw in high relief the peaceful character of the cultureless Punan people. Perhaps the point that I want to emphasise will emerge most distinctly if I quote Dr Hose's own description of four of these different peoples—the Sea Dayaks or Ibans, the Kayans, the Kenyahs, and the Punans.

In their book on the *Pagan Tribes of Borneo* (vol. i., p. 32) Drs. Hose and McDougall say of the Sea Dayaks:

> They are a vain, dressy, boastful, excitable, not to say frivolous people—cheerful, talkative, sociable, fond of fun and jokes and lively stories, though given to exaggeration, their statements can generally be accepted as founded on fact; they are industrious and energetic, and are great wanderers, to the last peculiarity they owe the name of Iban.
>
> The good qualities enumerated above render the Iban an agreeable companion and a useful servant. But there is another side to the picture they have little respect for their chiefs, a peculiarity which renders their social organisation very defective and chaotic, they are quarrelsome, treacherous, and litigious, and the most inveterate head-hunters of the country; unlike most of the other peoples, they will take heads for the sake of the glory the act brings them and for the enjoyment of the killing; in the pursuit of human victims they become possessed by a furious excitement that drives them on to acts of the most heartless treachery and the most brutal ferocity.
>
> The Kayans are widely distributed throughout central Borneo, and are to be found in large villages situated on the middle reaches of all the principal rivers with the exception of those that run to the north coast
>
> They are a warlike people, but less truculent than the Sea Dayaks, more staid and conservative and religious, and less sociable. They do not wantonly enter into quarrels; they respect and obey their chiefs
>
> The Kenyahs are perhaps the most courageous and intelligent of the peoples; pugnacious, but less quarrelsome than the Sea Dayak, more energetic and excitable than the Kayan, hospitable and somewhat improvident, sociable and of pleasant manners, less reserved and of more buoyant temperament than the Kayan; very loyal and obedient to their chiefs; more truthful and more to be depended upon under all circumstances than any of the other peoples, except possibly the Kayans.
>
> The Punans . . . are the only people who do not dwell in villages established on the banks of the rivers.
>
> They 'cultivate no crops and have no domestic animals. They live entirely upon the wild produce of the jungle, vegetable and animal. . . . The Punan dwelling is merely a rude low shelter of palm leaves, supported on sticks to form a sloping roof which keeps off the rain but very imperfectly, and leaves the interior open on every side.'

afterwards, [illegible] sympathise with his feelings, for this experience was rather a disconcerting way of starting to explain the moral uplift. Perhaps I can best allow him to explain in his own words the difficulty that met him in embarking on his study of moral development. Basing his narrative on the statements of the brothers Sarasin, he writes :

> The Veddahs consist of a mere handful of scattered families, living sometimes in trees, in the rainy season often in caves, though they are capable of making primitive huts. They are hunters, and each Veddah, with his wife and family, keeps his hunting-ground for the most part scrupulously to himself. These very primitive folk, we read with some surprise, are strictly monogamous, and have the saying that nothing but death parts husband and wife.
>
> The looseness of morals which prevails apart from marriage among most savages also appears to be rare among these people ; and, though the husband is master in his own cave, his wife is well treated, and is in no sense a slave. The Veddahs are credited with affection for their children, and with attachment to their parents after they have grown up.

It is impossible to do more than cull extracts from the vast mass of writing that corroborates the accuracy of this impression and proves that, when free from the disturbing influence of civilisation, human behaviour invariably reveals these evidences of peace and goodwill. Man was indeed 'the gentle savage,' as Pope called him in the eighteenth century after reading Lafitau's account of certain North American tribes. But perhaps it would be more instructive if I first call attention to the facts which led to the revival of interest in this subject within recent years.

The main credit for this is due to my colleague Mr. W. J. Perry. Studying the cultural history of less-developed peoples in the Malay Archipelago during the years from 1913 onwards, two facts were deeply imprinted upon his mind. In the first place, the varying degrees of violent behaviour found among the wild peoples in those islands, and the fact that their warfare was entirely different both in motive and method from what we in Europe are accustomed to call war. But above all he was impressed by the remarkable statements made by Dr. Charles Hose with reference to the Punans in contrast to the surrounding agricultural tribes of Borneo, a people of good physique and high intelligence, who are content to live without houses or much in the way of clothes, without agriculture or domesticated animals, without practically everything that most of us consider so essential for existence. In spite of the immense discomfort of such an existence and the anxiety of having to search daily for food and to evade the danger from wild animals, the Punans retain a cheerfulness and goodwill towards their neighbours, for the only parallel to which we have to go back to the classical

personal experience to appreciate the true character and t good behaviour of Natural Man. A couple of recent experienc will perhaps give point to these general remarks.

In the course of conversation with a colonial administrat who has had more than thirty years' experience in the admin tration of the territory most commonly used as a symbol for t home of wild men, I asked what he considered the outstandi qualities of human nature. He gave the significant answe 'How else could a couple of English youths, perhaps fresh fr Oxford or Cambridge, administer a territory as big as Wales, a with a large population addicted to the practice of head-huntir if man taken in the bulk were not peace-loving and goo natured ?' A young man who is at present governing a popul tion of half a million people in Africa tells me he has only handful of native police to assist him in maintaining order in t vast population of savages. Yet the country is happy and pea ful. I might quote many other illustrations of similar experien that have come to my own knowledge by direct contact with t people concerned But I have said enough to remind my read of considerations they should not overlook.

Yet, even with centuries of such experience on the part of administrators, the claim that the true savage is the very reve of the usual connotation of the word 'savage' is still recei with widespread incredulity This scepticism is entertained merely by such of the general public as are lacking in perso experience of primitive peoples, but also by scientific men w have done field work in anthropology or whose business in lif to study human nature

For example, in his treatise on *Morals in Evolution*, a w which from its very title bears the implication that morality been evolved within the human family in recent centuries- other words, that the highest morality is not an integral a essential disposition or part of human nature—Professor L Hobhouse expresses surprise that the character, attainme and social life of people like the Veddahs of Ceylon should b many respects *not what one would have expected* of one of most primitive races of men, almost without social organisati but with a strongly developed family life, far from deficien the moral qualities upon which higher forms of social life built up. Professor Hobhouse's comment that this reputatio 'not what one would have expected' suggests the common f of scepticism about the essential character of uneducated hun nature. It seems to have come as a shock to discover that really primitive groups he chanced to select (as the starting p for his story of ethical evolution) should reveal a higher typ morality and social probity than perhaps any society that ca

beyond the influence of modern civilisation—are truthful, unaggressive, hospitable, helpful and sympathetic to strangers in need, grateful, and plucky in fighting when they have to defend themselves. Indeed, the leaders of European thought were so impressed by these facts in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries that many noteworthy achievements in literature, such as Sir Thomas More's *Utopia* and Montaigne's *Essays*, were directly inspired by the wonder of the new revelation of human nature, vouchsafed respectively by the discoveries of Christopher Columbus and Pizarro. The great social and political reforms of the eighteenth century were due, above all, to the newly recorded anthropological evidence, as Professor Bury so clearly explained in his *Idea of Progress* (1920). The renaissance of philosophy, and in fact of learning as a whole, was likewise in large measure the direct result of the series of geographical discoveries and the surprising experience of the geniality of hitherto unknown communities of Natural Men

Writing in 1517, when the glamour of the discovery of the New World was inspiring a new vision of humanity, Erasmus gave expression to his reaction in these words

> From nature man receives a mild and gentle disposition, so prone to reciprocal benevolence that he delights to be loved for the pleasure of being loved, without any view to interest, and feels a satisfaction in doing good, without a wish or prospect of remuneration This disposition to do disinterested good is natural to man unless in a few instances, where, corrupted by depraved desires, which operate like the drugs of Circe's cup, the human being has degenerated to the brute. Hence even the common people, in the ordinary language of daily conversation, denominate whatever is connected with mutual goodwill, humane, so that the word humanity no longer describes man's nature merely in a physical sense, but signifies humane manners, or a behaviour worthy the nature of man, acting his proper part in civil society

Yet four centuries later it is still a common belief that the nobler qualities of mankind are products of civilisation. No one questions the fact that there has been a refinement of manners and a tremendous increase in comfort and luxury in modern times; but it must not be forgotten that warfare and cruelty, injustice and brutality, are equally the results of civilisation and are not natural modes of behaviour. All men will fight in defence of their lives and for the safeguarding of their families; but the causes that provoke such conflicts are the results of departures from the original Arcadian manner of living.

There should be least excuse for citizens of the British Empire, of all people, to harbour misunderstanding of human nature. For centuries our fellow-countrymen have governed primitive peoples in many outlying parts of the world and learned by

HUMAN NATURE

THROUGHOUT the British Empire the tenth anniversary of the Armistice was dedicated to peace with an impressive depth of feeling that was as universal as it was spontaneous. While we were still under the spell of this experience President Coolidge's Armistice address, cabled from Washington, struck a strangely discordant note. It could hardly be called a peaceful oration. Yet, with paradoxical incongruity, amongst statements that were conspicuous for the absence of the spirit of conciliation, he gave expression to the view, which in modern times has never been frankly admitted by any other leading statesman, that 'peace is coming to be more and more realised as the natural state of mankind.'

The truth of this significant statement has been questioned just as definitely (though in a very different spirit) as the political implications of his speech. It would be impertinent of me to discuss the latter; but the problem of human nature involves the consideration of facts of anthropology that come within the province of the scientific investigator. The evidence is so definite and abundant that it becomes a problem of psychological interest to discuss why people persist in denying the fact of man's innate peacefulness. Each of us knows from his own experience that his fellows are on the whole kindly and well-intentioned. Most of the friction and the discords of our lives, what we call by the significant term 'disturbances of the peace,' are obviously the result of such exasperations and conflicts as civilisation itself creates. Envy, malice, and all uncharitableness usually have as the reason for their expression some obstacle in the way of attaining an artificial aim, from the pursuit of which primitive man is exempt.

But there are much more impressive reasons than these experiences of our daily lives, which by their very obviousness and banality are liable to be overlooked and forgotten, for treating the Utopias of the Golden Age as something more than poetic fictions or the fantasies of sentimental dreamers.

For more than four centuries travellers have been recording the fact that uncultured peoples in Africa, Asia, and America—

I hope that those who read this paper will do all in their power to give the animals killed for food in this country that very elementary measure of justice a painless death.

About 286 local authorities in England have decided to enforce humane slaughtering by adopting the following bye-law (clause 9B of the Ministry of Health's Model Bye-laws):

> A person shall not in a slaughter-house proceed to slaughter any animal until the same shall have been effectually stunned, and such stunning shall be effected with a mechanically-operated instrument, suitable and sufficient for the purpose.

In Southampton this bye-law has been in force since 1916, and Dr. Lauder, the medical officer of health, is thoroughly satisfied with it after twelve years' extensive experience.

May I suggest that those who want to help should get into touch with the R.S.P.C.A., the Council of Justice to Animals, or the Animal Defence Society, all of whom would gladly give full information in reply to any inquiry at their London offices. Petitions to local authorities have been of great use in inducing them to adopt clause 9B; and everybody, without exception, who buys meat should urge butchers to use humane killers if they do not already do so. Many friends of my own (in places where there is no bye-law) have left recalcitrant butchers and get meat only from those who guarantee to use humane killers. Many people also get bacon only from firms who kill humanely. The public could settle the question to-morrow if they would just take the trouble to insist upon being supplied with nothing but humanely killed meat. At present many people are ignorant of the terrible suffering involved in the usual methods of slaughter, and others are so half-hearted in their demands for reform that the butchers naturally do not take them seriously. For my own part, I think the public are far more to blame than the meat trade for the present disgraceful state of affairs. If anyone should think that I have overstated the case, all I can say is, let him go and see for himself.

LETTICE MACNAGHTEN.

Note.—Since this article was written the Humane Slaughtering of Animals Bill (Scotland) has been passed. While unfortunately, for the moment, pigs are excluded from the scope of the Bill, it is an enormous forward move that cattle (from January 1) and sheep (from October 1) will have to be stunned with a mechanically-operated instrument.

the Ministry's section at Wembley. Since then, deputations from many local authorities have visited the model slaughter-house, and also much information about it has been sent to every part of the world.

[illegible] there is no doubt that cattle especially frequently show great reluctance to entering the slaughter chamber, and can only be dragged in by the employment of considerable force. The presumption is that what they chiefly object to is the smell of blood; but, whether this can be proved or not, it is obviously undesirable from a purely business standpoint to run any risk, as it appears to be an established fact that the flesh of an animal killed whilst in a state of fear or excitement loses some of its palatable and marketable qualities.

Apart from this, the question is of such vital importance from the standpoint of humanity, that it seems clear that the animal should be given the full benefit of the doubt.

There is no space in this paper to deal with slaughter-houses themselves, but it is certain that a great deal of suffering can be saved if they are well planned. The waiting pen should be so placed that the animals are as far as possible spared from any contact with the sights or smells of the slaughter-house itself. There should be no corners or awkward places to negotiate between the waiting pens and the slaughter-house, and cattle should be brought to the killing ring by what is known as a 'straight lead.'

I take the following extracts from a pamphlet by that pioneer of slaughter reform, Mr. C. Cash:

> Often from fear of falling, cattle become nervously stubborn. Time and temper are lost and the slaughterman resorts to harsh treatment. It is a painful sight to watch heavy cattle floundering in terrified endeavours to stand, and then falling with bruised limbs or, as the author has seen, breaking off a horn close to the head.

Mr. Cash wrote that he was well acquainted with slaughter-houses in which he had never seen a bullock keep on its feet when roped in for slaughter. What was required was a sound and solid floor, smooth in so far as to be free from interstices and from harbouring dirt, but with a harsh and gritty surface which offers good foothold to man and beast.

The very excellent slaughter-houses at Chatham, Gosport, and Plymouth victualling yards were the practical outcome of the Admiralty Committee's investigations. Some years ago I saw cattle and sheep killed, all with the Greener killer, at Plymouth. After the first bullock was brought in, shot and bled, it was at once dragged by machinery into a second chamber (non-existent in any other place I have yet seen), and the slaughter chamber was thoroughly washed down before the next animal was brought in. These slaughter-houses were such excellent examples, it is unfortunate they are now closed owing to the Navy being fed on imported meat.[8]

[8] The Animal Defence Society, Bond Street, London, have built a model slaughter-house at Letchworth. The architect, Mr. Stephen Ayling (at the request of the Ministry of Health), lent a model and plans which were on view in

it with a [illegible]. A butcher who shoots all his animals voluntarily told me lately that a calf's head is far less damaged by shooting them by other methods of stunning. I must add that in many places calves are not stunned at all, but simply bled to death.

This paper, which is intended to give a general idea of good and bad methods of killing in Great Britain, would be quite incomplete if no reference was made to the Jewish method of slaughter. The Admiralty Committee before-mentioned said, after exhaustive inquiry in which they were assisted by Professors Michael Foster and Ernest Starling, that

> Until some method is devised and adopted for rendering the animal unconscious previous to the 'casting' and throat-cutting operations, the Jewish system of slaughtering cattle should not be permitted in any establishment under Government control.

The detailed account of their inquiry, given in the Report, makes dreadful reading.

A reliable man told me that he had seen a bullock brought into a public slaughter-house in Scotland take twenty-five minutes to cast and kill, and while no doubt this was a particularly terrible instance, the fact remains that it can never be anything but very terrible and painful to a large and powerful animal to be thrown, to have its head prized back, and finally its throat cut.

I shall never forget witnessing this method. A splendid roan bullock, standing in the waiting pen, had a chain thrown round its neck, and was then pulled and pushed into the slaughter hall, the condition of which was almost indescribable. Cattle in every stage towards becoming sides of beef, piles of newly-flayed hides and oceans of blood—no wonder that the unfortunate brute fought and struggled to the utmost when it found itself in such a hell! For utter ruthlessness and complete disregard of suffering I think what I saw that day could hardly be equalled.

I must confess that some cattle, apparently, do not appear to mind the blood and horrors of the slaughter-house: some are quiet and used to being handled, and I have seen them, when all is well arranged, brought in and stunned so quickly that they hardly had time to realise their surroundings; but the following, taken from the Admiralty Report ('Design of Slaughter-houses'), should not be forgotten:

> The animals awaiting slaughter should be spared as far as possible from any contact with the sights or smells of the slaughter-house itself.
>
> There is no point which the Committee have more carefully investigated than the question as to whether animals do or do not suffer fear from this contact, and the evidence of those best qualified to judge is so conflicting that no absolute verdict can be given. As an animal cannot speak, it is impossible to accurately determine to what extent it does or does not

[illegible] much. One of the most humane ways of killing pigs that I have seen was at Portsmouth Workhouse, where three are killed weekly for the inmates. The plan was this: The door of the pigstye was opened, and an admirable little handcart on four wheels was backed in and the tailboard let down. On this tailboard were cross battens, which made a good gangway up which the pig walked easily. After the pig was in (only one was taken at a time) the little cart was drawn to the place of slaughter, where a butcher shot the animal in the cart. The tailboard was then let down again and the pig pulled out and bled on the ground. There was not a sound from start to finish, and, although I observed all three pigs very closely, I could not detect the slightest sign of fear or distress.

Other excellent ways of holding pigs for shooting are, by a rope round the upper jaw, or by a pig trap. The former is cruel if the pig is pulled any distance by the rope, but if simply held at the door of the stye and there shot is perfectly easy and humane.

Pig traps such as are used in many of the Dutch, German, and Swedish slaughter-houses are excellent. They vary a little in design, but the principle is always the same. In shape they are rather like a large bath, and they are arranged so that the animal cannot turn or twist about, but without holding or tying is kept in a proper position for shooting. After shooting, the side of the trap falls down and the pig rolls out and is bled. I have seen these traps in Amsterdam, the Hague and Utrecht, and also at Messrs. Davy's factory in Sheffield. Messrs. Davy have had a 'Schermer' trap for about a year, and are highly pleased with it. They were good enough to allow me to visit their factory, and I saw eighteen pigs of varying sizes up to 40 stone shot with the 'Cash' captive-bolt pistol. There was not the slightest difficulty in getting the pigs to go into the trap—indeed, the only trouble was that some of them came in too fast after each other and fouled the trap. I understand that the authorities of Carlisle, Edinburgh, and Glasgow are going to instal 'Schermer' traps in their slaughter-houses.

Calves

Calves, particularly large ones, are often stunned either with a mallet or the flat side of the pole-axe before bleeding; but this is very unsatisfactory, as, apart from blows struck in the wrong place, hard hitting is not encouraged for fear of damaging the head. It therefore frequently happens that the animal is not properly stunned, and 'comes to' during the throat-cutting which follows. I have seen several calves shot, and it is the easiest thing in the world. The animal stands in the ordinary way; the slaughterman steadies it by holding it with a halter and shoots

[illegible] and had to suffer the pain of the additional [illegible] until the obstruction was cleared. When the pigs reached the top of the slope they were automatically passed on to a bar, below which the slaughtermen awaited them on the ground with their knives. After being 'stuck' the pigs, still hanging, were pushed further along the bar.

The pain suffered by the pigs in hoisting must be very severe, and the shrieks and groans were very different in sound from the ordinary squeals of pigs when being handled or touched. Only in four cases did the sticking rapidly end the pigs' suffering. In these cases the pigs bled very freely and were probably unconscious within a few seconds. In the great majority of cases the stick was not quickly effective, and the distressing screams continued in every variety of tone. I was standing within a few feet of the elevator and of the pig-pen during the whole operation, and I timed the duration of suffering of several of the pigs. It was usually twenty seconds from attaching to the hoist to sticking, and rather more from sticking until the shrieks ceased. It was pitiful to see a few of the pigs immediately on being stuck widely opening their mouths several times in a vain attempt to express their sufferings. Presumably these animals had been accidentally slit in the windpipe when they were stuck, thus rendering it impossible for them to utter any sound.

But while the majority of those connected with these factories swear that bacon cannot be made from stunned pigs, and that if stunning is insisted upon their trade will be ruined, it is a fact that at several factories all the pigs are shot and are made into excellent bacon. For example, one firm has shot about 400 pigs weekly for thirteen years. The managing director of one well-known factory wrote in 1922 as follows :

During the past ten years our firm have voluntarily adopted the humane method on our pigs. Our killings are between 70 and 100 weekly. Previously we killed our pigs in the usual way: we have therefore had considerable experience in both methods. According to our books, the humane method in no way affects financial results. As a matter of fact, our business has increased. So far as we can judge, there is only one obstacle to the adoption of the humane method, and that is prejudice. . . . The whole country is opposed to cruelty and is becoming more so ; would it not be well for the pig trade to take this into account ? The humane method saves cruelty ; on this point there is no question. It also saves the nuisance to the neighbourhood of the shrieks of the dying pigs.

At Falkirk and Carlisle slaughter-houses, to mention two where I have been lately, all the pigs are killed with humane killers, and the superintendents at both places told me that a good deal of bacon is made from the carcases. I saw pigs slaughtered most humanely at both places, and at Falkirk the superintendent said ' the pistol was a " God-send " for pigs.'

Some slaughtermen are very clever at getting the pigs into a corner, and then putting the pistol on their heads, without any holding or fuss. Others terrify them by dragging them by the

[illegible]. Three sheep were brought in at a time and laid on the crutches; a chain fastened to one side of the crutch was passed over the body of a sheep and hooked down. Nothing could have been simpler, and one felt that the sheep were given the minimum of discomfort and fear. As to pain, it was definitely non-existent, every sheep being shot with a Greener safety pistol. I have seen a great number of sheep shot, and on each occasion the complete absence of suffering has been very evident. Among hundreds of other places the Greener safety pistol has been used at the Hampshire Farmers' Co-operative abattoir at Southampton for several years, and the head slaughterman there, referring to the shooting of thousands of sheep by this killer, stated that it had never failed.

Pigs

All of us who have been sickened with the dying shrieks and groans of pigs killed in the ordinary way—with the knife only—must be profoundly thankful that they, too, can be painlessly killed.

Professor Linton wrote in the pamphlet before mentioned

> In some localities pigs are stuck when standing and are then left to wander and stagger about until they eventually fall and die. Anybody who has witnessed this operation can scarcely credit the statement that the operation is painless and that unconsciousness is immediate. If a stuck pig . . . is rendered unconscious immediately it is stuck, why does it continue to scream?

Professor Linton goes on to say (his pamphlet was published in 1924):

> . . . A veterinary surgeon of some age and experience has told me that not long ago he saw a pig imperfectly stuck dropped into the scalding tank, while, as he expressed it, it was very much alive.

At the majority of bacon factories pigs are not stunned, and in some a terrible system, copied probably from Chicago, is in vogue. Mr Paddison describes it as follows (I do not apologise for the length of this quotation as the subject of bacon factories is one of the most important in the country at the moment, from the humane point of view):

> The 'endless chain' runs on the outer edge of a triangular elevator with a gradual slope, alongside which the pigs were hoisted up the slope. Some sixteen to twenty pigs were assembled in a pen adjoining the elevator. Each pig was shackled in turn by a short chain noosed round a hind foot, and the shackle was attached by a hook to the moving chain which ran parallel to the ground 3 to 4 feet above it, until it turned a sharp corner and then climbed the slope. Until the corner was turned the pigs were dragged along the ground and amongst their companions, the weight of the pig tightening the noose of the chain round the foot. A few of the

There is [illegible] how to sever the spinal cord of a sheep than is [illegible] the pole-axe. It takes a considerable years of practice on live animals to become expert; nor do experts always sever the pith at the first stroke. I have seen them at a big public slaughter-house take eight or ten seconds crashing through the joints with their knives before the pith was properly severed. This torture, particularly from learners, is inseparable from the system, unless the system is altered by using the humane killer before the knife.

But is it correct to think that the sheep is unconscious after the cord or pith is completely severed? The portion above the cut is not disconnected with the brain. Dr. Dembo, a recognised authority, showed in his book that the 'nape stab' method for cattle, still practised in the Latin countries, is cruel; that it paralyses but does not produce unconsciousness or abolish pain. The 'nape stab' is simply pithing.

Witnesses before the Admiralty Committee, before mentioned, said:

> (Q. 1001.) In this country (England), it is not a really expert man who kills sheep; it is generally a lad or young man who does that.
>
> (Q. 1004.) The present method was not at all satisfactory.
>
> (Q. 1184.) I consider it an utterly abominable sight to see the men lay the sheep on its side and stick it and try to find the blood vessels with their knife, when they might divide the whole lot with one stroke.

The Admiralty Committee's Report, after describing sheep slaughtering, said:

> In the hands of an inexpert operator it may be some time before death supervenes, and there can be little doubt that the method must be very painful to the sheep as long as consciousness remains. At the best it is a somewhat difficult operation, and yet in practice is often left to the younger and less experienced hands in the slaughter-house, the probable reason being that sheep are easy to handle and do not struggle or give trouble when struck.

In one large abattoir it was the practice to tie the sheep's legs regardless of whether the slaughtermen were ready or not, and I have myself seen a dozen or more sheep waiting in discomfort and terror for about half an hour. Representations were made to the authorities, and I believe the sheep are now only tied as they are required.

In some places the men do not trouble to keep their knives sharp; in others they have been found using knives that are too short: in fact there is no end to the horrors prevalent under existing conditions.

It is a relief to turn to the humane method. Some men are very expert and can lay a sheep on its side and hold and shoot it single handed without any tying, but probably the majority like to have the animal steadied in some way, and by far the best method that I have yet seen was that followed at the Farmers'

using the pole-axe it would have been necessary to get the animals up again and to pull their heads down to the ring.

Now let us compare the humane killer—either the Greener, the R.S.P.C.A., or the Swedish—with the pole-axe. All are placed on the animal's head; there is no taking aim as with the axe or in ordinary shooting.

Slaughtermen naturally are aware of the position of the brain, and all they have to do is to place the killer on the right spot and fire. It is so easy that I would not hesitate to undertake to kill an injured animal with the humane killer if there was nobody else to do it; for, after having seen so many successfully stunned with the various types of killers, I think it would be hardly possible to make a mistake. At several demonstrations people who have never before been in a slaughter-house—one I remember, an elderly canon—have stunned animals quite successfully with the humane killer after being shown the exact spot on which to place the instrument and how to fire it. No skill, strength, or practice is necessary, and any slaughterman, however tired, inexperienced or clumsy, can kill painlessly with these 'weapons of precision.'

Sheep

The traditional method of killing sheep in Great Britain is nothing short of barbarous, and a butcher at Harlesden wrote to the R.S.P.C.A.: 'I have had thousands of sheep killed for my trade, and I certainly think it is a fearful death.'

I remember some years ago seeing a bullock killed with the Greener cattle killer, and the butcher, who was a very humane man, pointed to some sheep that were waiting and said 'What a pity there is nothing for them.' I was very glad to be able to tell him of the Greener safety pistol. He bought one, and has used it for small animals ever since.

The usual method is as follows: The sheep is laid on a crutch, or on the ground, and either three legs are tied or it is held. The neck is forcibly extended, a two-edged knife is thrust through the neck behind the ears, and with a second motion the point is inserted from within, between the joints of the vertebræ, in order to sever the spinal cord (often it is only nicked). In many places they bend the head back, and break the neck after withdrawing the knife. In the case of old sheep this is extremely difficult to do. I have a letter before me in which the writer said: 'Being an old slaughterman, and having killed hundreds of rams, I know it takes a strong man to break a ram's neck first try.'

Mr. Paddison, before mentioned, said:

[illegible] Edinburgh, in his *Humanity of Methods of Slaughter*, gives an example of the [illegible] uncertainty of the pole-axe:

A heifer was roped and brought to the wall in a killing booth in a large abattoir. There were present two experienced hands and a learner. The pole-axe was passed to the youth who then proceeded to light a cigarette. Having got this going to his satisfaction, he attempted to fell the heifer; after three abortive blows, and the unfortunate animal becoming maddened, one of the experienced hands took the pole-axe and himself failed to bring down the beast with the first blow. At his second blow, the fifth in all, the unfortunate animal fell stunned. That such things can and do occur, even in well-managed establishments, leaves one in doubt as to how anybody could question the necessity of a legislative measure making compulsory the use of a pistol for stunning cattle.

When bulls and very hard-headed animals have to be killed the difficulties of stunning with the axe are very much increased, and a skilled slaughterman, who saw the humane killer used for the first time when a single cartridge effectually stunned a large bull, said it might have taken as many as ten strokes with the axe to bring such an animal down. The practice of cutting off a bit of the thick hide on the forehead of a bull to allow the axe to penetrate the bone more easily is by no means unknown: three slaughtermen, in different parts of the country, have lately told me of having seen this.

The extremely slippery state of slaughter-house floors is another reason for failure with the axe. The men usually wear thick iron-tipped boots or clogs, and when swinging the axe are liable to slip and miss the vital spot on the bullock's head.

A further serious drawback to killing with the pole-axe is described by a Croydon slaughterman. He wrote:

> To use the pole-axe it is necessary to have the animal's head pulled down very securely. If this is not done he will move his head and the slaughterman strike in the wrong place. The process of pulling him about with ropes excites and terrifies him. Many animals are very sulky, lie down and refuse to move. To get him in position for using the pole-axe the slaughterman, however humane he may be, is obliged to use some cruelty to get the animal to move. The first thing usually done is to twist his tail and break it. If this does not succeed he may be beaten with a stick. With the humane killer none of this is necessary. In the first place it is not required to secure him so firmly. Then a sulky animal is easily stunned with the humane killer without getting him up at all. In the case of restive animals I have always found a humane killer very useful, and some butchers who do not regularly use it keep it ready for such an emergency.

I have on two occasions seen bullocks that have slipped and fallen easily killed with the R.S.P.C.A. killer on the ground where they lay. The men said that if they had been

appointed by the Admiralty to consider the humane slaughtering of animals gave as their first general recommendation: 'That all animals, without exception, should be stunned or otherwise rendered unconscious before blood is drawn.'[1] This recommendation, I think, receives added weight from the fact that twenty-one years ago, when the Report was issued, humane killers were by no means so good as they are now, particularly those for shooting pigs, sheep, and calves. Nevertheless the Committee felt that to render the animal unconscious before using the knife was of paramount importance. Switzerland arrived at this conclusion over thirty years ago, and passed a law carrying the principle into effect.

CATTLE

In Great Britain all cattle, except those killed by the Jews and the Mohammedans, are stunned before bleeding; this is done for the convenience of the butcher, cattle being less tractable than the smaller animals. The weapon in general use for stunning is the pole-axe, though in some out-of-the-way places a heavy hammer is used instead. The pole-axe is a long-handled axe with a hollow punch fixed at the back of the axe-head. This punch, if the blow struck is successful, is driven through the frontal bone into the brain, causing immediate unconsciousness; but please notice, *if the blow struck is successful!* There are so many possible causes of failure with the axe, that it can by no means be called 'an instrument of precision.' The Ministry of Agriculture said in their circular, May 5, 1921:

> . . . The men who wield the pole-axe skilfully are in the minority, and all beginners must, or rather do, learn by actual practice on living animals.

In May 1924 Mr. Robertson, manager of Wilson's, Limited, Butchers, Edinburgh, said at a public meeting:

> An expert golfer could miss his ball: with the pole-axe there was the same element of uncertainty. The spot on the forehead of the ox that had to be struck was not much larger than could be covered by a golf ball. The mechanical instrument ('humane killer') eliminated the human element. It took away the risk of failure.

Professor Linton, of the Royal Dick Veterinary College,

[1] The Admiralty Committee was composed of Mr. Arthur Lee, M.P. (now Lord Lee of Fareham), Civil Lord of the Admiralty (chairman); Colonel F. T. Clayton, C.B., A.Q.M.G., War Office; Mr. Alexander C. Cope, M.R.C.V.S., chief veterinary officer of the Board of Agriculture; Mr. Charles Game, chairman of the Cattle Markets Committee of the City of London; Mr. Gordon W. Miller, C.B., Director of Navy Contracts; Mr. Shirley F. Murphy, chief medical officer of health of the London County Council; Sir Henry F. R. Yorke, K.C.B., Director of Navy Victualling.

impossible for the animal protection societies to accomplish as much as they have.

If a large number of practical men with lifelong experience say that in their opinion humane killers prevent suffering, do no harm to the meat, and are safe to use, it makes it evident that the bitter hostility shown by some members of the trade is quite unreasonable. Thousands, literally, of butchers are now using humane killers voluntarily, and several known to myself have done so for over twenty years.

That animals should be rendered unconscious, instantaneously and enduringly, before the knife is used is the chief object of those working for slaughter reform. Mr Paddison, hon. humane slaughter adviser to the Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, wrote:

> With regard to unconsciousness. Anyone who by an accident has ever been thoroughly stunned knows that stunning is quite painless. It is a physiological fact that complete unconsciousness is produced by stunning in less time than it takes for the sensation of pain from the blow to reach the brain. Nor when an animal is stunned by a bullet through the brain is there any risk of a return to consciousness during the whole process of slaughter however clumsily the slaughterman does his work. There is an infallible sign of testing complete unconsciousness. If the centre of the eyeball is gently touched without causing any responsive movement, as a slight flicker of the eyelid, it may be taken as certain that unconsciousness is complete.

Mr. Toomer, ex-chairman of the Southampton Master Butchers' Association, wrote:

> Watch the eye of a sheep or pig whilst the knife is being used, see how it moves and flinches—signs of consciousness. On your next sheep or pig use the Greener safety pistol and then use the knife—the eye is fixed; pass the finger over the eye, there is no flinching, unconsciously dead to the world, and the rendering of this unconsciousness is what humane slaughtering means. It is everything to the animal that has to be slaughtered. It is like the anaesthetic to the human being previous to an operation.

The late Dr Berdoe wrote, after seeing animals stunned with humane killers:

> When the bolt or bullet enters the brain the whole sensory apparatus is wrecked instantly. You may wound, pinch or otherwise injure the limbs, and the nerves cannot possibly reach the brain, which alone can convey the message of pain.

As cattle, sheep, pigs, and calves are all killed in different ways it will be clearer for those who have no knowledge of the subject if we take each class of animal separately and describe the traditional and humane method of killing in each case. But first it may be as well to remind ourselves that the Committee

SLAUGHTER-HOUSE REFORM

It is commonly thought that a slaughter-house must inevitably be a place of horror and cruelty, and that only two courses are open to us—either that we should become vegetarians, or that we should ignore or condone the horrors. I must confess to having given up eating flesh many years ago; at the same time I have studied slaughter-houses and methods of killing very closely, and I am absolutely convinced that reform can be so complete as to make suffering in these places non-existent. In England private slaughter-houses are still the rule, even large towns of 200,000 inhabitants often having nothing better. Some are quite good, but many are deplorable, and the fact that they are scattered all over a town makes thorough supervision extremely difficult. In Scotland we have public slaughter-houses in all towns and many large villages. Unhappily, a large number were built in the days when the animal's point of view was not considered at all.

This paper is concerned solely with the prevention of cruelty to animals; therefore the important sanitary and economic aspects of slaughter-house reform will not be considered, and there will not be space to do more than touch upon the construction of slaughter-houses, although badly planned ones are a very definite cause of cruelty.

I should like to say at the outset that I am sure that butchers and slaughtermen are not in the least more cruel than other people. Unfortunately, the National Federation of Meat Traders is officially opposed to up-to-date and more humane methods of slaughter, which certainly gives a very bad impression; but those of us who have tried to get improvement in slaughtering can never forget the quite admirable help given by many butchers. Some of them have spoken publicly, and also written pamphlets, in favour of reform; others have appeared before Government departments and given invaluable testimony as to the advantages of the humane method; others, again, have given evidence before local authorities when these bodies contemplated making humane slaughtering compulsory by bye-law. Without these humane slaughtering compulsory by bye-law. Without these courageous pioneers in the trade itself it would have been quite

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[illegible] ourselves but of attacking the [illegible] everything. We are a maritime Power, and never become a purely military one, and our whole strength therefore rests upon the sea.

With regard to the third point, if it is to be argued that all laws and treaties will be broken in a future war, and that nations will simply revert to barbaric and piratical warfare of a kind yet uncontemplated by man, is it not rather a waste of time discussing either the freedom of the seas, the law of nations, or any other form of international law, treaty, convention, or pact?

Then, again, it is alleged that in 1914 we had the command of the sea, and yet we were nearly brought to the verge of starvation. That is more or less true; but what are the reasons? First, that by the enforcement of the clauses of the Declaration of London on our conduct of the war at sea we were denied the exercise of that power which our position gave us. Secondly, Germany, by her unrestricted submarine warfare, sinking all ships at sight without any regard as to the cargo they carried or the safety of their passengers and crews, broke the law of the sea, and her ships acted simply and solely as pirates. This is not an argument for the abolition of belligerent rights (nor, in fact, would the 'freedom of the seas' policy prove any more efficacious in preventing a similar course being taken again). There should be a condemnation of such piratical practices, and an insistence on more stringent penalties, should such a course be adopted in any future war, either by submarines or aircraft.

Great Britain, if she is to fulfil her destiny, must remain true to her traditions of the past, which have stood the test of time, and insist on a continuance of the historic and admitted rules of the law of nations, always remembering the saying of that grand old patriot Admiral Blake: 'It is our business to prevent foreigners from fooling us.'

E. A. TAYLOR.

complaints were justified or not, but one can say that some of those were definitely due to the Orders in Council issued by the Foreign Office Committee which was working the Declaration of London, and that no complaints were made by America against the proceedings of the Prize Courts of England, acting in accordance with the law of nations. However, as soon as America entered the war she at once enforced full belligerent rights, and adopted the most rigorous policy of cutting off enemies' supplies. This, in my opinion, was her great contribution to the war, which then entered upon its last phase.

If we consider the practical application of this policy of the freedom of the seas, and apply it to our own case, I think it will be evident that, even if nations agreed to this policy, it would never be carried out. All nations know, just as well as we do, of our entire dependence upon the sea for our daily existence, and that in time of war this dependence becomes our most vulnerable point. If, then, we were at war with any nation capable of interfering with our overseas supplies, is it possible to assume that that nation would abrogate her power and would permit neutral shipping, and our own immense mercantile marine, loaded with every description of commodity necessary for our continuance of the war, to pass freely into our ports under the eyes of her fleet and do nothing to prevent it? To believe this would be a childish conception of war and of human nature. It would be madness to put any faith in the abandonment on the part of the enemy o such a natural and obvious means of defeating us.

The advocates of this non-interference with trade at sea in time of war, if logical, must agree that its incidence should be universal and apply to both land and sea. That would mean that an army commander should allow neutral trains, loaded with every and any commodity, to pass without interferenc through the lines occupied by his troops into the enemy's country. If not, why not? The principle is the same, the only differenc being that in one case the commodities are transported by se and in the other by land.

It is argued that, as Great Britain is so entirely dependent o sea transport, we have most to gain by the freedom of the sea and most to lose under the existing law, especially since the intro duction of the submarine and aircraft. This argument is a ver specious one, but it assumes that—

(1) The policy if agreed to would be carried out.
(2) That we surrender the command of the sea.
(3) That submarines and aircraft would operate in w without any regard to the rules of warfare.

I have dealt with the first assumption, and as regards t second, if we surrender that and the power which that comma

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[illegible] for Great Britain, the setting up of an International Court, which would alter the law of England, could not be carried into effect without the sanction of Parliament, and this it never received. The Naval Prize Bill, 1910, was introduced into the House of Commons, but in December 1911 was rejected by the House of Lords. The Declaration of London was therefore not law, had no legal force, was not ratified by any single nation in the world, and consequently in no way altered the admitted rules of the existing law of nations.

Notwithstanding this fact, and that its clauses most severely crippled Great Britain's power at sea during a war, in August 1914 the Liberal Government proclaimed to the world that the clauses of this Declaration (binding upon no nation) were to be applied by England to her conduct of the war at sea. This had the most disastrous results to our own country and our Allies, permitted untold quantities of essential commodities to pour into the enemy's country, and thereby considerably prolonged the war. After vainly attempting for two years to work this novel system of war, the Foreign Office were compelled to abandon it. In July 1916 a Foreign Office memorandum was sent to all neutral Powers by His Majesty's Government in the following terms:

> That the rules, (of the Declaration of London) while not in all respects improving the safeguards afforded to neutrals, did not provide belligerents with the most effective means of exercising their admitted rights. . . . They have therefore come to the conclusion that they must confine themselves simply to applying the historic and admitted rules of the law of nations.

This is direct proof that all the elaborate arrangements in the Declaration of London on behalf of neutrals, when tried in the acid test of war, completely broke down, and is therefore one of the strongest arguments against the freedom of the seas.

Another argument, and a very significant one, against this policy is that all the Continental Powers and the United States, who support this policy when neutral, have, when they themselves have become belligerents, immediately abandoned it and claimed full belligerent rights under the law of nations, showing quite clearly that their advocacy of this policy has been one of expediency only.

For example, during the American Civil War, when England favoured and assisted the Confederate States, the Federals blockaded the whole of the Atlantic coast of those States, a matter of some 3000 miles, and claimed full belligerent rights. In the late war, prior to America's entry into it in 1917, she made continual complaints about our interference with neutral trade. I cannot in this article go into the question of whether these

In connexion with the Peace Conferences it is of interest to note some of the Foreign Office instructions to Great Britain's delegates. Sir Edward (now Lord) Grey's instructions contained the following:

> His Majesty's Government recognise to the full the desirability of freeing neutral commerce to the utmost extent possible from interference by belligerent Powers, and they are ready and willing for their part, in lieu of endeavouring to frame new and satisfactory rules for the prevention of contraband trade in the future, *to abandon the principle of contraband of war altogether*, thus allowing the oversea trade in neutral vessels between belligerents on the one hand and neutral on the other to continue during war without restriction, subject only to its exclusion by blockade of an enemy's port.

Again:

> The Government would be glad to see the right of search limited in every practicable way, e.g. by the adoption of a system of Consular certificates, declaring the absence of contraband from the cargo, *and by the exemption of passenger and mail steamers upon defined routes, etc.* The object which His Majesty's Government has in view, as you are aware, is to limit as far as may be possible the restrictions which war entails upon legitimate neutral trade.

Further, there was the desire to set up an international court of appeal from Prize Court tribunals, contained in these words to the delegates:

> His Majesty's Government are anxious to secure the adaptation of the machinery of the existing tribunal, which was created by the Convention (first Hague Conference 1899), to the purposes of an international tribunal of appeal from the decisions of belligerent Prize Courts affecting neutrals.

Incidentally, the law which this court was to administer was not mentioned; that was left to be decided later, but the principle of this suggestion, and the important part of it, is this. If it had been agreed to, it would have meant that the decisions of our Prize Court tribunals would have been referred to an international court on which Great Britain would have had one representative. Its decisions were to be made in private, and its proceedings to remain secret. Comment on these instructions is unnecessary, but with regard to the international court, I would quote an article in *The Times* for September 30, 1907:

> This project is utterly inadmissible by this country. . . . It is nothing less than the surrender into the hands of this novel tribunal of rights and interests which the most sagacious of our race have ever deemed essential to our greatness and to our safety. . . . Within the limited scope of its authority, it [Conference, 1907] has handed over, as we have shown, some of our supreme interests to the uncovenanted mercies of an alien tribunal. . . . We cannot ratify it. We cannot give foreigners *carte blanche* to make laws for our fleet, and to shorten at their discretion our arm upon the sea.

they might [illegible] the power of Great Britain; be it remembered, not a power derived from 'piratical attacks' on commerce, as suggested by Mr. Lloyd George in the House of Commons on November 15 last, but one coming under the sanction of and controlled by the law of nations.

Our power rests in our Navy—theirs in their conscript armies; and it has been just that power of the sea which has always stood as an impenetrable barrier between them and their designs against us, hence their endeavours to diminish it.

On the other hand, Powers when neutral have advocated this policy in order that their merchants and traders might enrich themselves out of other nations' troubles. It is obvious what opportunities a war offers for making immense profits, and, in spite of the risk of capture, confiscation, or sinking of ships and cargoes, neutrals will always take this risk and continue sea trade, both of a neutral and an unneutral character, in time of war.

Although the Continental land Powers failed to reduce belligerent rights at sea by the clash of arms, they succeeded in doing so by the Declaration of Paris in 1856, when the power of the diplomat was greater than the power of the sword, and we were false to our sea traditions by signing away an important part of our historic and admitted rights. We then agreed to the doctrine that 'the neutral flag covers enemies' merchandise, with the exception of contraband of war,' a claim which had first been put forward by de Witte in 1664 in his '*vry schip, vry goed*' declaration.

The terms of this Declaration, however, were only binding on those nations which signed it—Great Britain, France, Austria, Prussia, Russia, Sardinia, and Turkey. Up to the present time the United States of America and Spain have not agreed to its clauses. This abandonment of belligerent rights was brought about by agreement between Foreign Offices, and without being sanctioned either by the British Parliament or the British people.

Although by this Declaration much had been gained by neutrals, with a corresponding loss to ourselves, there was still left the right to prevent neutral shipping from carrying to the enemy contraband of war, which could be condemned before the duly constituted Prize Courts. A further scheme was therefore set on foot whereby greater concessions should be made to neutrals. In 1906 the Emperor of Russia invited forty-seven States to attend a Peace Conference to consider the matter, and Conferences subsequently took place in 1907 and 1908 at the Hague. As a result of their labours the Declaration of London of 1909 was evolved.

The fact that neutral ships are convoyed by men-of-war does not affect the belligerents' right of search, and this important point was clearly proved by Earl Balfour when he was Foreign Secretary in 1918. The Dutch Government proposed to send a convoy from Holland to the Dutch East Indies, and the following message was despatched on April 25, 1918, to the British Ambassador at the Hague.

> You should let the Netherlands Government know that His Majesty's Government of course do not recognise the right of convoy, and that they will exercise the belligerent rights of visit and search of merchant vessels, should the Netherlands Government carry out their proposal.

This assertion of right under the law of nations was accepted by the Dutch Government.

'Blockade' is a word generally used to-day in far too loose a manner, and is often taken as applying not only to blockade proper, but to all interference with neutral and belligerent trade, thereby causing considerable confusion of thought and glaring misconceptions of its true character. Right of search and blockade are two separate and distinct operations, although the carriage of contraband and the breaking of blockade may frequently be involved in the same transaction.

The carriage of contraband to a belligerent is illegal from the commencement of a war, whereas a breach of blockade can only become an illegal act after a blockade has come into operation, and then only during the time it continues in force. A blockade must be a real one, and not a paper one; it can only apply to the enemy's coast in whole or part, and must be clearly defined and notified. It is frequently stated that in the late war we blockaded Germany. We did nothing of the sort Three-fourths of the German coast line lies in the Baltic, and was practically free from molestation on our part during the whole period of the war. What we did do was to adopt, in March 1915 and in February 1917, certain measures of reprisal against Germany on account of her unlawful sea warfare. These measures, although they had practically the same result as a blockade, were not, and could not be, a blockade in the true sense of that term.

All these belligerent rights under the law of nations are designed to bring economic pressure to bear upon an enemy, which is exactly the policy envisaged by the League of Nations in the economic pressure which is to be brought to bear on a recalcitrant member by the other members of that League.

Why has the 'freedom of the seas' policy, which would abolish these belligerent rights, been put forward by the Continental land army Powers? Not from any altruistic motive, or as a step in the direction of world peace, but simply and solely so that

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[illegible] by the neutral, that any right he has to trade with the belligerent is at the mercy of the other belligerent. Great Britain takes up the standpoint that interference with neutral trade is justified whenever the premises on which the neutral claim rests—unconcern with the war—is negatived by the facts. In other words, if a neutral is carrying out unneutral service by rendering our enemy assistance in the further prosecution of the war, we claim we have a right to prevent it.

To-day war is no longer merely a matter of fleet actions, land battles, or air combats, but is a conflict between nations, in which every available man or woman has his or her allotted task to fulfil in the furtherance of the national object and fulfilment of its will. It is therefore obvious that there are practically no commodities, except a few luxury articles, which, if imported into a country, will not directly assist that country in the further prosecution of the war Consequently, trade between neutrals and belligerents must be very seriously interfered with, and therefore the sooner the conflict is brought to a conclusion the better it must be, not only for those nations actually at war, but for the whole world If the late war taught us anything, it taught us that.

This brings me to the subject of contraband and blockade. A commodity becomes contraband when, if supplied to the enemy, it would directly assist him in the further prosecution of the war. What is and what is not contraband is therefore a matter of fact, and can only be determined at the time by the Prize Court tribunals, taking into account all the facts and evidence laid before them. It is obvious that goods which could be condemned as contraband at one time and place might at a different time and place be declared non-contraband as being of no use to the enemy. It follows, therefore, that no detailed list of contraband published by belligerents at the beginning of a war will adequately meet the case Especially is this so under modern conditions, where, as I have already pointed out, there is practically no article which will not directly assist in the prosecution of a war. The Foreign Office (who worked the clauses of the Declaration of London, applying to our conduct at sea from August 1914 to July 1916) issued lists of contraband, absolute, provisional and non-contraband. This arrangement very soon proved unworkable, and the list was continually being altered.

To determine whether a ship is carrying a contraband cargo or not, the right of search under the law of nations by a man-of-war has to be enforced, in order that the character and intended ultimate destination of ship and cargo may be inquired into on the spot. Where such preliminary inquiry seems to justify it, there is the further right of the man-of-war to send the said ship into one of her own ports for a full inquiry by a Prize Court tribunal.

of sea traffic, as envisaged by the 'freedom of the seas' policy, were permitted without interference between neutral and belligerent as in peace-time.

Economic pressure—that is, the cutting off of supplies from a belligerent and the curtailment of his export trade—is the main factor in bringing about such a state of affairs in that country that it must sue for peace. This economic pressure can be most surely and swiftly brought about from the sea by the exercise of the rights which every country has under the law of nations—the right of search, capture and confiscation of enemy property, and blockade. Therefore if this policy of the immunity of sea traffic was adopted and carried out, not only would it render it impossible to exercise such economic pressure on a belligerent, but war upon the seas would practically come to an end.

Some people at once conclude that this would be very desirable as an important step in the abolition of armaments, and a great advance towards universal peace Unfortunately that is not so. The abolition of war at sea would not ensure peace, but would prolong and intensify war, merely confining it to the land and the air. It would not be a weapon in the armoury of peace, but a most destructive war measure, as by the constant and unrestricted supply of all commodities to each belligerent by the sea little economic pressure could be brought to bear on either, and a decision could only be reached between the combatants by the practical extermination of one by the other.

Under the law of nations a belligerent has the right to capture and confiscate enemy property wherever encountered upon the high seas, and whether found in the ship of a neutral or an enemy That is the law for which we fought again and again in order to keep its principles intact. It was acted upon by all and questioned by none until the seventeenth century, when we obtained the command of the seas which we have held ever since.

This law of nations is the direct negation of the 'freedom of the seas' policy, and in all the historic disputes of the past where England's attitude at sea has been challenged it has been because of the fundamental difference between these two claims. We are therefore faced with the question how far neutral merchants and belligerents have a right to trade with each other. By the laws of neutrality, neutral Governments cannot trade with a belligerent and still retain their neutrality, and therefore all trade between neutrals and belligerents must be in the form of private property. This point is important to remember, as it is a common suggestion nowadays that private property carried upon the high seas should, during a war, be immune from molestation.

The case for the belligerent cannot be put higher than this—that any interference with his trade means interference with the

purpose [illegible] the enemy—namely, to diminish the power of Great Britain, which the command of the sea has given her.

With the discovery and subsequent development of the land world the sea has become of greater and greater importance, until to-day no nation is independent of the commodities transported across it, and therefore it is essential that this great highway, over which no nation can claim sovereignty, should be as free as possible to all nations, alike in peace and war. To ensure uniformity of action some sea law is therefore necessary, which must be accepted and faithfully adhered to by all countries. Such a law exists, and is called 'the law of nations,' and it is in accordance with the provisions of this law that the Prize Court tribunals throughout the world give their judgment. There is a right of appeal from the decisions of these Prize Courts, and such appeals in this country go before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. It is important to remember that this is an international law, and not a municipal law.

The 'freedom of the seas' policy is now being advocated with the intention that it should supersede this historic and accepted sea law, and would mean that, for belligerent and neutral alike, no restrictions would be placed on their sea traffic once it was outside territorial waters. So far as a belligerent is concerned, such a claim would entirely ignore the conditions of war, and practically deny the right to fight upon the high seas.

The neutral, however, argues that as he is neutral he is unconcerned with the war, should not be affected by it, and should be allowed the same rights and privileges of free navigation and commerce during a war as he is in peace. This assumption also ignores the conditions of war, and at once raises the question how far such freedom of trade and intercourse with a belligerent is consistent with the law of neutrality.

There is some confusion of thought with regard to unnecessary interference with neutral sea traffic. People are apt to think that legitimate neutral trade is unduly obstructed, but that is not the case. Interference there undoubtedly is; but that interference is partly unavoidable owing to the conditions of war, and is to a large extent due, not to legitimate trading as such, but to the abuse of legitimate trading by those who send contraband cargoes to neutral countries when their ultimate destination is that of one of the belligerents. They are thereby deliberately assisting that belligerent in the further prosecution of the war, which is an unneutral service.

War at sea is exclusively concerned with traffic, whether such traffic be in the nature of goods, munitions, or man power. Without this traffic, war at sea would be meaningless and impossible, and it would also be equally futile if during a war all forms

THE FREEDOM OF THE SEAS[1]:

ITS MEANING AND SIGNIFICANCE

THE doctrine of the 'Freedom of the Seas' is being brought to the notice of the public, and it is being alleged that this policy would be of inestimable value to the world in general, and particularly to Great Britain

President Wilson, in the second of his 'Points,' advocated 'absolute freedom of navigation upon the seas outside territorial waters, alike in peace and war, except as the seas may be closed in whole or in part by international action for the enforcement of international covenants' This is the interpretation which is being placed upon that policy at the present time, and consequently it deserves serious consideration

Naturally, any question affecting the use of the seas, either in peace or war, is of vital importance to the British Empire We alone of all nations are absolutely dependent upon sea traffic for a constant and uninterrupted flow of food and raw materials to our shores for our daily existence. All nations benefit by the sea, but to us it is a jugular vein · if it is cut, we cease to exist ; if it is interfered with, we suffer in proportion to the extent of that interference

In peace-time there is complete freedom of the seas outside territorial waters, and therefore this policy has nothing whatever to do with peace, but is entirely concerned with war, and seeks to lay down how war shall be conducted on the high seas when once it has broken out.

The 'freedom of the seas' has been advocated ever since we wrested the command of the sea from the Dutch in the seventeenth century. Its protagonists have been the great Continental land Powers, whose chief strength has been vested in their conscript armies, and later they have been joined by the United States of America, who is now the chief supporter of this policy. It has varied in its extent and its provisions, but its main underlying

[1] I am indebted for much of the information contained in this article to *Sea Law and Sea Power*, by the late T. Gibson Bowles, M.P., and to *The Strength of England*, by George F. S. Bowles.

[illegible] set upon [illegible] and insist upon having its own way. But, when it comes to the point, the inclination to *laissez-faire* is strong. The opportunity of the Church comes at election time. The clergy will have their chance next year, the laity a little later. What will be done depends upon whether Church people can be got to see that the Assembly is worth taking trouble over. Something has been heard lately about 'educating the electorate' of the Church. This article is offered as a preliminary move in that direction.

H. CHALMER BELL.

At present there is no provision for referring matters which are the especial concern of either the clergy or laity to their own House for separate discussion. Means might be found to do this without much difficulty in the case of the laity, and as far as the clergy are concerned the Convocations are there and could be utilised. If Convocation were encouraged to consider and express its mind on the subjects which came within its province, it would be possible for the clergy to leave the greater part of the Assembly work to the laity, instead of, as at present, taking the largest share of it upon themselves. Whatever contribution the clergy have to make would be best made through Convocation.

It is much more revolutionary to suggest that the House of Clergy should be remodelled so as to include only about one-third of its present numbers Many proctors in Convocation are keenly interested in their work there and value the privilege of membership, but they are nothing like so enthusiastic about the Assembly. At present they must be members of both or of neither To evade the difficulty by failing to attend the sessions of the Assembly would not be a satisfactory plan, though there is really nothing which prevents them from doing this except a sense of duty. They are elected to Convocation, and there is no legal obligation on them to accept the position of members of the Assembly, which has been tacked on to the office of proctor. A House of Clergy which was only a link between the Assembly and Convocation would in the long run save much time, and would certainly enhance the dignity of the clerical office. A Convocation veto on Assembly legislation would be necessary. This would not involve any change, as the House of Clergy possesses it already. But it must be admitted that this particular reform is less immediately practical than the others suggested here

Following the same line of thought, it would certainly be a gain if episcopal intervention in general debate could be limited to the speeches of bishops who were commissioned to convey to the Assembly the mind of the House of Bishops; and that in spite of their lordships' unquestionable debating power. At times the bishops are insistent upon their marvellous unanimity when they do transact business in private, but, to put it quite bluntly, nobody believes them Unanimity is not conspicuous in the speeches they make at other times.

Finally, if the Assembly is ever to command the confidence of the Church at large, the tendency to bureaucracy will have to be sternly checked. The ability to do this rests with the Assembly itself. It is too prone to grouse and do nothing. It would not have to wait long for an opportunity to assert itself

[illegible]
[illegible] of [illegible] outside [illegible], when it can [illegible] without loss of efficiency, it may prove an effective instrument for securing the best conditions for the real work of the Church.

To that end this article may fittingly conclude with a few practical suggestions.

In the first place, the Assembly should turn its attention to the work of co-ordination. Three commissions should be appointed. One should survey the whole problem of clerical poverty, and consider the interrelation of Measures already passed and those which are proposed, with a view to arriving at what the Assembly has never yet had, a clear and definite policy with regard to the problem as a whole. Pensions, dilapidations, housing, stipends, union of benefices, the supply of candidates for the ministry would all come within its purview.

Another should be concerned with status. The Church courts, the ecclesiastical law, discipline (for lay people and clergy alike), the situation created by the different marriage law in Church and State would all come under this head.

The third might be formed by the enlargement of the existing Committee on Patronage, both as regards its reference and its personnel, so as to bring both the appointment of bishops and the increase of the episcopate within its sphere.

As a result, in three directions in which the Assembly must certainly continue to move we should see the end of the habit of nibbling at corners of problems without having any clear notion of what the ultimate goal is to be.

Then something needs to be done to make the 'revision' stage of Measures less unsatisfactory. Every member who is interested in a Measure should be on the committee which prepares the Measure for revision by the Assembly, and these committees should be much larger and more representative. The Standing Committee every now and then profess their desire to get the right people on committees, and their inability to know how to select them. It is not unreasonable to expect the Standing Committee to make it their business to find out these things. The debate on the stage of general approval is often a good guide to the members who are interested, but it is one which the Standing Committee do not follow. It is a futile policy to keep one or two members off a committee because they are likely to be 'tiresome' with the certainty that they will put down a large number of amendments on the revision stage. It would be a saving of time to let them be 'tiresome' in committee, and if the committee were large and representative enough it would only be rarely that they would try to get the committee's decision reversed by the Assembly.

has always allowed its enthusiasms to get the better of its judgment.

It has, as yet, little sense of legislative responsibility. It expects a great deal from its Measures, but is unwilling to spend the requisite amount of time and care on detail. It is roused to enthusiasm by 'general approval' debates, which correspond to second reading in Parliament, and, having given general approval, is inclined to scamp the stage of 'revision.' The members who put down amendments and endeavour to explain them are often received with impatience. The Assembly appears to think that anybody who wishes to amend a Measure in detail is a crank. A little group of half a dozen is always represented amongst the 'members in charge,' and one of them nearly always appeals to the Assembly to reject any proposed amendment.

The acid test of good legislation, ease and smoothness in administration, has begun to reveal the necessity of amending Measures. At every session now these witnesses to hasty and clumsy enactments make their appearance. To produce Measures which will work well and be permanent requires time and experience. All new legislatures have to go through this stage, and the Assembly need not be blamed for want of experience. A very cursory study of the work of the Dominion Parliaments reveals the same thing. The worst defects of the Assembly legislation are hurry and want of co-ordination

The Assembly has presented thirty-three Measures to Parliament. Thirty have received the Royal Assent, and three, including the Prayer Book Measure, were rejected by one or other House of Parliament. This is a good record, and one on which the Assembly would be well advised to rest for a time. Its future usefulness will be greatly increased as its output is lessened and the quality of it improved Its greatest achievements are the abolition of the sale of advowsons, the sub-division of some of the larger dioceses, and the Pensions and Dilapidations Measures. These by themselves when they are reviewed as history will make the early years of the Church Assembly notable. The two last have aroused too much feeling for them to be looked at without prejudice at present. Other Measures which have yet to be put into force, such as the Parsonages Measure and that which provides for the additional remuneration of older unbeneficed clergy, may confidently be expected to prove their value in time.

On the whole, the record of the Church Assembly shows that when it has 'found itself,' when it has learned to attack its work systematically, to utilise the whole of its resources, instead of allowing a comparatively few members to monopolise the con-

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The Assembly [illegible] by the parochial clergy, with more reason. The two Measures which they are told have been designed for their benefit combine the promise of a remote advantage with a demand for the immediate payment of a heavy tax. The ultimate benefit is real enough, but the thoughtless disregard for the facts, which allowed the new payments for pensions and dilapidations to begin at the same time, and not only that, but to coincide with the hardship incidental to the new Tithe Act, has not improved the reputation of the Assembly for sympathy or common sense.

The clergy suspect the Assembly for another reason. The Church of England abounds in anomalies, and when attention is drawn to any of them the defence always is that 'they work very well in practice.' On the whole, they do; but the reason is that they are compensated by another, the parson's freehold. A clergyman is prepared to put up with a good deal because he feels that in the last resort he can carry on his work without hindrance. In certain Assembly legislation the clergy detect an attempt to strike at the security of their position. In proposals for the reform of patronage, for giving further powers to parochial church councils, they see behind the stalking horse of the laity the bishops working towards complete dominance. They would not mind this if the bishops showed signs of including themselves in any reformed scheme of patronage and tenure, but this the bishops are very careful to avoid doing. The clergy are themselves partly to blame. They do not take much interest in what is happening in the Assembly until it is too late. Then they suddenly become aware of a perfectly outrageous piece of legislation like the Benefices (Ecclesiastical Duties) Measure, and are amazed that their representatives have done so little to protect their best interests.

During the eight years of its existence the Assembly has really accomplished a great deal. It has worked under difficulties for which it was not responsible. The arrears of work with which it was faced, through the increasing congestion of business in the House of Commons, were sufficient to intimidate the most venturesome. It has never been able to bring itself to face, deliberately and systematically, the whole of the task before it as far as that task could be envisaged at one time, and then to decide in what order the various problems which presented themselves for solution should be tackled.

It has gone at its task blindfold, seizing on the first thing which came handy, without stopping to consider its relation to other things equally important, and has hurried some sort of legislation through. The main thing, after all these years of inactivity and delay, was to get something done. The Assembly

for appointment as bishops, which it would be proper to confide to them.

The working class members have nothing to complain of as regards the generosity and attentiveness of the Assembly. They are always heard with evident pleasure. The speeches of Lancashire members, however, delivered in the dialect of their county, are treated a little unfairly, as a comic interlude. And, unhappily, there are no lowland Scotch to keep them company.

There is a slight undercurrent of anti-clerical feeling, based, as anti-clericalism often is, on a few known cases of clerical arrogance or incompetence. It is countered by very cordial relations with the House of Clergy, and, as far as it is possible to judge, by decidedly good feeling for the clergy of the parishes where the members live, and for others with whom they are personally acquainted.

The Assembly is a difficult audience to address. The bishops are the best listeners, the laity run them close, and the clergy are a bad third. Some of the reasons for this have been explained.

The control of business is in the hands of the Standing Committee. There is a widely prevalent idea that the Standing Committee is in the hands of the chairman and the chairman of the Committee on Standing Orders (Lord Hugh Cecil), and that the other members do not sufficiently assert themselves It is probably a mistake for the election of the Standing Committee to take place on party lines. The result is that the clerical representation is captured by one party and the lay representation by another, that each is suspicious of proposals made by the other, so that they cancel out.

During the formative period a few officials of necessity took a great deal upon themselves, and deserve gratitude for having done so. But they have shown little inclination, as time has gone on, to relinquish power. The Assembly is in some danger of beuraucracy Expressions such as 'the opposition' and 'private members' which have been let slip indicate a mental attitude which should give the Assembly warning and put it on its guard. The dominance of a few capable officials who know the business thoroughly, and who can keep in touch and act in concert, can very easily grow to most undesirable dimensions

Amongst Church people at large the Assembly is disliked and distrusted. This dislike is not based upon any good grounds. Little is known about it and its doings, but it has to be paid for, and it is the parishes which pay. The fact which stands out in the mind of the ordinary man is that the parochial quota is large, and that half of it represents the cost of central administration. He cannot see that any benefit accrues either to the parish or the diocese.

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—at the [illegible] procedure, which follows that of the House of Commons. They will get muddled, and require a lot of explanation when asked to vote on the question 'that the words proposed to be left out stand part.'

The same people form the House of Clergy and the Lower Houses of Convocation. They require to be watched at work in both capacities for the subtle difference between the two to be appreciated.

THE HOUSE OF LAITY.—The majority of the lay House are men and women who are actively engaged in parochial and diocesan work, and are keenly and whole-heartedly interested in all that concerns the welfare of the Church. The unintelligent laity are represented, but except on rare occasions are not much in evidence. The recent debates on the Prayer Book were not typical, and the House ought not to be judged by them. It has been said that every layman considers himself a born theologian and able to hold his own with those who have made the science of religion the study of a lifetime During the Prayer Book debates many of them advanced this claim in practice. That some of the proceedings of the lay House did not become utterly ludicrous was due to a chairmanship which was beyond all praise. What would be thought of a clergyman who with as little background of knowledge attempted to lay down the law on military, or legal, or commercial subjects? But normally the Assembly is not concerned with theology, and the presence of the lay members, and their participation in debate, is an enormous strength.

There is a small number of members with parliamentary experience These set a standard The amount of really useful work which the Assembly has accomplished is in the main due to their assistance. The debating power of the House is high. This applies to the women members as much as to the men.

The speeches of some laymen of the kind sometimes described as 'ecclesiastically minded' are a delight to listen to for their simple earnestness, for the grasp which the speakers have acquired of outstanding needs of the Church, and the intensity of their desire to meet them Without entering here on the merits of such a question as Disestablishment, it may be said in passing that the oft-repeated contention that the Church of England could not hope to survive the shock of the loss of endowments, because she could not depend upon her people to the same extent as did Ireland and Wales, would find no support with a careful student of the Church Assembly. Nobody need hesitate to trust a body of men like the majority of the House of Laity with the whole of the business side of Church activity, nor with those more spiritual activities, such as patronage, and the selection of men

clergy, and argue that if their speeches and votes really represent the strength of feeling on a subject the evil has been greatly exaggerated.

The clergy are not patient listeners, and very soon tire. This fact presents an interesting psychological study. It is due to the method by which parochial and diocesan business is conducted, which seldom calls for long-continued application, and for the necessity of allowing other people to do most of the talking.

Most diocesan meetings are summoned for 2.30 p.m. It is a remarkable fact that there is a train leaving every diocesan centre for the remote country districts between 4 and 4.30. As 4 o'clock approaches, the clergy attending any meeting begin to show signs of restlessness. Then they slip away one by one. At 4.15 the meeting hurriedly breaks up. The secretary's pathetic bleat that there are still two or three pieces of routine business which must be got through is silenced by a hastily moved resolution, carried with acclamation and relief, that these be left to the chairman and secretary. Those who are lucky enough to be near the door slip out before the chairman 'pronounces the benediction,' and so make time for a cup of tea before the departure of the train.

Now this habit reacts on the Assembly. Every member of the House of Clergy knows that the session is timed to close at 5 on Friday afternoon. Yet session after session and year after year they contrive to have important engagements on Friday evening, and must get away from London not later than midday. The result is that the attendance on Fridays is too small for the transaction of important business, and Friday is largely a lost day.

The House of Clergy is often more familiar than the laity with the subject-matter of Measures. The clergy do not manifest much patience with speeches addressed to the House of Laity. It is not an uncommon thing to hear bored clergymen groan, 'We don't want to be told all this.' They forget that the House of Laity does need to be told 'all this,' though they are ready to accuse the laity of ignorance when the vote reveals that they have failed to understand what is at stake.

The House of Clergy is well endowed with scholarship, and many of its members have a wide experience of affairs and of administration. The clergy do not compare favourably as debaters with the other two Houses. Most of them can speak fluently and pleasantly, but they do not show to advantage in this audience. The fact is the atmosphere and temper of Convocation suits them better. There they are accustomed to deal in a technical way with aspects of subjects which interest them. The Assembly work is either too elementary or completely unfamiliar. They have not,

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About one [illegible] members are ex-officio members [illegible] of these are [illegible]. Their official relation to their bishops makes them less free agents than the elected proctors. Many of them feel this keenly. As a result, the bishops are able to exercise an indirect influence on the voting of the House of Clergy on any important question. Comment in the lobbies on what has taken place is often at variance with the demeanour displayed in the House. A good many votes were given for the new Prayer Book which represented official obligation rather than personal conviction. There has to be a very great preponderance of feeling in the House of Clergy against proposals favoured by the bishops before opposition becomes effective.

The House of Clergy is hampered in another way. The future prospects of most of the clergy depend upon the bishops. A comparison of speeches made at meetings of the various groups with the speeches made afterwards in the House points to a decided reluctance on the part of the clergy to come out strongly on any (episcopally) unpopular subject. There is probably no ground for supposing that the bishops would deliberately give bad marks to clergymen who opposed their views, but the fear that this might happen, perhaps unconsciously, is evidently present to the minds of clergymen when they arrive on the platform.

Without deliberate intention, something of the kind may happen. It is natural for a bishop to form a higher opinion of a clergyman who is pleasantly subservient, and who always agrees with him, than with a tiresome fellow who is always in opposition and always critical. The seating arrangements of the Assembly give a speaker the impression that he is addressing a meeting of bishops. It is a formidable experience until one gets hardened.

Although its members hate this to be said, and never allow it to pass without protest, the House of Clergy is an elderly and well-to-do body. The bulk of its members are between the ages of fifty and seventy; the number under forty is very small indeed. Besides their personal expenses of election, the candidates share the legal expenses of election amongst themselves, and these are considerable. For members living in or near London the expenses of membership are not great, but for others, and especially for those in the Province of York and in the northern Midlands, they may easily amount to 60*l*. a year or more. Only clergy with private means, or those holding the more lucrative appointments, can contemplate membership. This, too, has a decided bearing upon the effectiveness of the House of Clergy in carrying out reforms. The incidents of clerical poverty touch them only lightly, and their advocacy of measures for the benefit of the clergy lacks the fire which it would possess if they were smarting under a sense of injustice or disability. The laity take their cue from the

sounds unanswerable until the next speaker rises to answer it. The respect which is properly felt for the episcopal office interferes with the freedom of a speaker who is replying to a bishop. It is not only the speaker himself who feels this, but the audience as well, and a pungency and downrightness which would be applauded in a speech directed towards the arguments of a clerical or lay member is, when aimed at a bishop, resented as a kind of *lèse-majesté*, and inclines the Assembly to the side of the victim, even when, as sometimes happens, he thoroughly deserves the treatment he is receiving.

For quite a different reason the bishops make debate difficult for the clergy. Reference will be made to this later.

Lastly, the participation of bishops in debate tends to detract from their prestige in the minds of thoughtful people. The Assembly is altogether too popular a body. About the proceedings of Convocation there is a certain dignity and restraint. In those of the Assembly there is little of either. It is not edifying to see our fathers in God joining in the rough and tumble of its proceedings. They are out of place there. They are an undemocratic element in a democratic body. They always will be, and rightly so, however much the method of their appointment is reformed. They are not consistent. They play at democracy when it suits them, and retire into lofty seclusion when they choose. They would be better advised to listen to the Assembly debates without joining in them, and then, whatever views they see fit to express, to put them forward as coming from the bishops, the episcopate as a whole.

After all, the proper place for Olympians is on Olympus. Their descent into the arena of mundane affairs is both popular and spectacular, but, as in an earlier day, it is apt to have disastrous results on both the happiness and the morals of ordinary men.

The House of Clergy.—In common with the bishops the clergy play a double *rôle*. They are proctors in Convocation as well as members of the Assembly Unlike the bishops, they do not confuse the functions of the two The older members, who were there before the Assembly came into being, have a great regard for Convocation : more recent arrivals are impressed with the greater capacity of the Assembly for getting through business, and sometimes talk as if the day of Convocation was past. During the proceedings on the Revised Prayer Book there has shown itself a strong inclination to avoid a conflict between the two bodies, and, with that end in view, a willingness to forego as far as possible the constitutional rights of Convocation. The future relationship of the two is one of the most important points which will have to be decided.

[illegible] which a [illegible] is sufficiently daring to point out any [illegible] they usually persist in their course, and either ignore the objection or try to laugh it off. The best example of this is the way in which in the Prayer Book Measure they attempted to set themselves up, as the House of Bishops, as a new authority in liturgical matters, which lost the Measure a certain number of votes.

The Church Assembly has departed from the practice of Convocation in allowing the bishops to take part in general debate with the rest of the members. The results of this practice are interesting.

In the first place, it certainly raises the level of debate. Many of the bishops are capable and practised speakers, and for the most part they are able men. They are well worth listening to, quite apart from any question of agreement with them, and they are in fact listened to by the Assembly with evident pleasure. They are accustomed to speak with authority, and to address audiences who are anxious to hear them, and who will attach weight to what they say. This gives them just the right ease and confidence which are essential for a successful speaker to an audience like the Assembly. The reputation which the Assembly has gained for preserving a very high level in the tone and substance of its debates is largely due to the part taken by the bishops.

Their intervention tends to produce a certain amount of confusion in the minds of their hearers notwithstanding. People are accustomed to think of the bishops as a body. Outside the Assembly the average layman and many clergymen only know one of them, their own. It is a tradition to treat 'episcopal utterances' with great respect. Members of the Assembly approach their work in the first place with this idea firmly fixed in their minds, and they relinquish it with difficulty. The spectacle of bishops engaging in controversy with one another is new. It takes members of the Assembly a long time to realise that the opinion expressed by a bishop in the course of debate is merely his own opinion, and not an 'utterance' of the episcopate as a body. It takes people outside the Assembly longer still. There ought not to be much difficulty in making this distinction, but there are signs that it is not clearly made, and that an episcopal speech is felt to come with an authority which belongs to the bishops corporately. The bishops assist in this misconception through their habit, probably unconscious, of adopting an *ex cathedrâ* manner in setting forth their personal views.

Moreover, the part taken by the bishops makes debate difficult for other people. An essential feature of good debate is the equality of the disputants. Any speech of a really good debater

together—the Houses of Bishops, Clergy, and Laity. Th Bishops number 44, the Clergy about 315, and the Laity 350.

The procedure has been modelled largely on that of Parlia ment, and the Assembly owes an enormous deal to Lord Hugh Cecil, who from the start placed at its disposal his knowledg of House of Commons procedure, and as chairman of the Com mittee on Standing Orders has enabled the Assembly to functior during the period of its infancy, with extraordinary smoothnes for such a new and unwieldy body.

Each of the three Houses has a character of its own, and make its own contribution to the general work of the Assembly, anc each House also exhibits certain weaknesses. It will be best tc take a glance at the separate Houses one by one.

The House of Bishops.—It is a commonplace to speak of the changes which took place in the Church of England at the Reformation. One of the greatest of these has escaped notice. It is impossible to study the mind of the pre-Reformation episcopate and not to realise that bishops looked upon themselves as belonging to the same order, and having the same interests, as the rest of the clergy. This is especially evident in their attempts at law-making Their enactments all bear the mark of accurate knowledge of, and sympathy with, the work of the clergy. The later conception of the clergy as an inferior order who are likely to give trouble, and whose irregularities must be watched and checked, is apparent only in their dealings with the archdeacons, who seem to have been a perennial source of discord on account of their extravagant habits and love of display

The present-day bishops are a remote and dignified class, who have the greatest difficulty in remembering that they were once mere clergymen themselves. And some of them never were. A considerable proportion have never done any ordinary clerical work, and are out of touch with the mind of the order to which they are supposed to belong. The causes of this do not concern us now. It is partly due to the way in which they are selected for appointment, and partly to the size of dioceses, which is from three to six times what it ought to be.

What we are concerned with is the effect on the Church Assembly. The House of Bishops is in the position of Pooh Bah. The same people also form the Upper Houses of Convocation, and they are either peers of Parliament, or are looking forward to becoming so in their turn There is a tendency for the functions of the Upper Houses of Convocation and the House of Bishops to get confused. The bishops have sometimes forgotten in which capacity they are acting, and slight constitutional mistakes are made. It seems to be a matter of principle with them not to

EIGHT YEARS OF THE CHURCH ASSEMBLY

After eight years of existence, for the past eighteen months the Church Assembly has been so much in the public eye, and so much has been said, and so wildly, about its proper work and the degree of authority which it possesses, that it may not be amiss to recall how it came into being, and for what purposes, and then to take a look at it at work and try to arrive at an estimate of its usefulness.

The *fons et origo* was the increasing congestion of business in the House of Commons, and the consequent difficulty, amounting almost to an impossibility, of getting any specific Church legislation through Parliament at all.

It is the nature of the Church of England to take things quietly, and it took this very quietly for a long time. But during the period after the war the country was ripe for experiment. The blessed word 'reconstruction' was in the foreground. When proposals were put forward to relieve the House of Commons of the unwelcome necessity of considering Bills promoted on behalf of the Established Church in detail, while leaving to Parliament its veto on ecclesiastical legislation, the Enabling Bill which embodied the proposals was jumped at, and was passed with amazingly little trouble. Whether it would have passed at all in any other year but 1919 is a question—very likely it would not; but it did pass, because it was so eminently in harmony with the spirit of the times. The Enabling Act was a true product of the Great War.

The Assembly, which this Act set up, is merely a device for saving the time of the House of Commons. It leaves untouched the synods of the Church, which still have their recognised place in the British Constitution. It may not issue any statement to define the doctrine of the Church, and when any Measure (the legislative Acts of the Assembly are known by this name, both before and after they have passed) touches doctrinal formulæ or Church services, there is a special procedure intended to safeguard the rights and duties of the Convocations.

The Assembly consists of three Houses, which as a rule sit

by bringing under secular control, and even into secular use, those sacred buildings which have for centuries enshrined the witness and worship of the Church of England.

But whether Disestablishment by consent be attainable or not, the Establishment as it now exists is morally discredited beyond recovery. It cannot permanently continue. If, indeed, the Church of England were, under whatever self-deluding pretences, to acquiesce in such bondage to Parliament as now we know to be integral to its established position, that Church might still continue to be, in the astonishing description of the Archbishop of York, 'utterly, completely, provokingly, adorably English,'* but it would have ceased for ever to be either recognisably Catholic or adequately Christian.

HERBERT DUNELM.

* The Archbishop should not have omitted the mitigating circumstance that this aggressively English institution is ruled by Scottish primates.

[illegible] there has been a notable change of opinion and feeling within the Church of England. The process was greatly stimulated by the war, which clothed the very notion of national Churches with an enigmatic and even repulsive aspect. Liberty is more desired than privilege, and, since the Establishment is now seen to be incompatible with the first, it is little likely to commend itself by the last. If, then, Disestablishment stood alone, there would be no great difficulty in securing its acceptance by the general body of Anglicans. But it does not stand alone. It goes ever along with the sinister and terrifying prospect of Disendowment. Disendowment raises formidable issues which affect the tone, temper, habit, and tendency of ecclesiastical life, and therefore it moves in devout and considering minds anxieties which are deep, painful, and embarrassing.

The worst consequences of Disestablishment are not involved in the process itself, but in the conditions under which it may but too probably be effected. If the Church of England were disestablished against its will, and after a fierce and protracted contest in the constituencies, it might well be the case that lasting alienations might grow in men's minds, creating a state of feeling in the religious world which would throw back the cause of Christian reunion indefinitely and poison social relations for generations. If, therefore, Disestablishment be itself requisite in the interest of indispensable spiritual liberty, it would seem the task of statesmanship to seek to bring it about by agreement, and thus to purge it of its worst possibilities.

The difficulty of maintaining the work of the Church is now so apparent that the prospect of a great reduction of material resources must needs be very terrible. 'Voluntaryism' is found to consist neither with independence nor with efficiency. Spiritual influence wanes as financial pressure waxes. Probably the most morally enfeebling circumstance of modern Christianity is the absorption of the Churches in the arts and crafts of money-raising. An experience which would add to the stringency of financial need cannot but be very repugnant to an informed and considering Christian.

It ought not to be beyond the bounds of possibility that statesmen in friendly conference with the leaders of the Church of England and of the Free Churches should frame a measure of Disestablishment and Disendowment which, while bringing to an end the immemorial relation of Church and State in England (a relation which, in the course of time, has lost justification, and has now plainly become unwholesome for both), and thus securing to the spiritual society its indispensable freedom, should not cripple the Church's work by an inequitably harsh measure of confiscation, nor wound the deepest feelings of devout Anglicans

essential to them all, since it alone makes possible both their anarchic individualism and their eager propagandism. The policy of provisional acquiescence pending the attainment of harmony within the Church of England is indistinguishable from the intelligible if unworthy procedure colloquially known as 'taking it lying down.' We may dismiss it as equally attractive and inadmissible.

Is there more to be said for the suggestion that some revision of the Enabling Act should be attempted? It may suffice to answer, first, that revision is a two-edged weapon, which may by no means be prudently employed when a single interest is aimed at. Parliament also may desire to revise the Enabling Act, and in the final result the last state of the Established Church might be worse than the first. Next, if revision were extended to the Establishment as a whole, it must necessarily correct many other anomalies than those which the defeat of the Prayer Book Measure has brought into prominence, and might easily become indistinguishable in its cumulative effect from the proposal of Disestablishment without Disendowment, which may be set aside as plainly lying outside the region of practical politics.

There remains the policy which we desire to advocate—namely, Disestablishment by consent, for which the time is favourable, and which appears, when examined, to embody no fatal defect, and to be attended by no insuperable difficulty. It is understood that all the political leaders are at the moment anxious to keep the question of Disestablishment out of the political arena. The issues raised by Disestablishment are irrelevant to the party programmes, and cut across the lines of party allegiance in a disconcerting fashion They could not fail to inject into electoral contests that element of religious passion which the wiser politicians in all the parties fear and dislike. It ought not, therefore, to be difficult for the Church to gain a sympathetic attention from the party leaders for the proposal of an agreed measure of Disestablishment. Much would turn on the attitude of the Nonconformists. They would naturally favour a policy which they have advocated for generations, and which, as they generally maintain, is requisite for the securing of religious equality. Within recent years there has been much fraternisation of Anglicans and Nonconformists. It cannot be extravagant to suppose that *some* honest goodwill underlies the copious language of spiritual brotherhood; and if so, Churchmen might fairly hope to find something more than a friendly welcome to their approaches. Undoubtedly the loss of the national status would be for many Churchmen, especially for those whose ideas and ideals were formed in an older world, a wounding experience, very hard to endure; but for the majority the Establishment has ceased to be

[illegible] hardly be [illegible] but [illegible] to English Churchmen, they may well reflect that the Establishment has been wearing out for some while past, and is now reduced to the shadow of a shade. Moreover, in recent years the Church of England has acquired the character of the leading Church in the great federation of Churches which is known as 'the Anglican Communion,' and that character would be helped rather than embarrassed by Disestablishment. For it is incongruous, and may easily become inconvenient, that the leading Church should also be the only Church which is not free.

What, then, in the confessedly 'intolerable' situation of the Church of England, is the policy which should be pursued? Ought the question of fundamental principle—that is, the constitutional issue—to be postponed until the Church has solved its immediate problems, and has arrived at unity within itself? This is (if at least I have apprehended his Grace's meaning correctly) the course recommended by the Archbishop of York. It is the line of least resistance, and as such can count on a large acceptance. The politicians generally favour it, for obviously it matches best with their convenience. The inert, the indifferent, and the timorous rally to it eagerly, for it saves them from the abhorred necessity of realising principles, facing difficulties, and running risks. Nevertheless, it lies open to two fatal objections. On the one hand, it involves a sacrifice of principle to expediency. On the other hand, it could not possibly succeed. If the present situation be, as the Archbishop himself allows, '*in the strict and proper sense of the word intolerable*,' it would seem to call for immediate repudiation, not for an acquiescence, provisional indeed, but of undefined duration. But even if there were no objection in point of principle, such a provisional acquiescence could not be reasonably expected to secure its avowed object. For it would perpetuate that paralysis of operative authority in the Church of England which is the very condition under which the lawless elements within the Church have been able hitherto to develop and organise themselves. Acquiescence in an intolerable situation in order to gain time for arriving at internal harmony could only succeed if English Churchmen embraced it sincerely, a supposition which is, in the actual circumstances, apparently absurd. The facts are notoriously inconsistent with it. For the root of Anglican disorder is, not merely or mainly the lack of mutual understanding and goodwill among Churchmen, but the existence within the Church of organised factions, fanatically devoted to their respective opinions and practices, none of which recognises any such authority in the Church as may command its obedience. Paralysis of spiritual authority is

Creighton [writes Dr. Figgis] saw earlier than most people that the real question at issue was not whether the Church of England had done this or that in the past, not even whether it had the right to do this and that, but whether there was a Church of England at all.[1]

The lawless extremists who defy the bishops and break the rules of the Church whose commission they bear, stand with the House of Commons in treating the Church of England as if it were destitute of inherent spiritual authority. In the disestablished Church their position would become immediately and apparently untenable, but, so long as the Church remains established, they can persist in their lawlessness under colour of the unanswerable pleas that the rubrics are impracticable, and the ecclesiastical courts lacking in spiritual authority. The nation has no interest more vital than the healthy working of the Church of England, but, apart from a vindication of the Church's authority over its own officials, such healthy working is impossible. All the complicated machinery, by which the Royal supremacy is now expressed, is stricken with impotence so long as Church and State are in conflict on the crucial issue of spiritual authority. Informed students of Anglican affairs know well that a temper is growing among the clergy which will not much longer acknowledge the right to govern vested in bishops appointed by Royal prerogative on the nomination of a Prime Minister who may be of any religion or of none, apart from the choice, and even against the will, of the dioceses. This may imply much ignorance of ecclesiastical history. It may be irrational, and is certainly regrettable, but he is a foolish politician who ignores it. It is perhaps no exaggeration to say that the Establishment threatens to become paralysed by its own anomalies.

III

In facing the practical question What course ought the Church to pursue in its present difficulties? it is perhaps important to bear in mind that 'Establishment' has become in Christendom a highly abnormal phenomenon. National Churches are everywhere disappearing, and they survive nowhere in the English-speaking world save in England and Scotland. In Ireland and in Wales the Churches have been disestablished within the last sixty years. It is difficult to think that the 'Establishments' north and south of the Tweed can last much longer, though in the absence of any crises which would submit them to an intolerable strain they might linger long. But their practical importance has almost vanished, and their abolition could not affect any vital interest of the communities which they serve. If, therefore, the

[1] *Vide Churches in the Modern State*, p. 237.

[illegible] the number of Established Pas-
tion of the [illegible] that appeals to the [illegible], as
Churches [illegible]
well religious as [illegible], are now commonly signed, not only by the heads of the established hierarchy, but by the leaders of Nonconformity, a proceeding which anticipates the normal procedure after Disestablishment. When, moreover, we consider, not the occasional activities of the Church of England, but its normal service, the same conclusion leaps to the eyes. The parochial system no longer retains its old significance. Industrialism, massing vast populations in the centres of industry, has destroyed it over a large part of the nation, and the Enabling Act has registered its failure by definitely sanctioning a congregational basis for membership of the parochial church councils. The right of the parishioners to the services of the parson is rather moral than legal, and as such it cannot be affected by any change of the law. Not the conditions of his established position, but the obligation of his Divine commission, requires the parson to be freely at the spiritual service of the parishioners. Disendowment might, indeed, restrict the area over which the parson's ministrations would be available, but the serious and still continuing shortage of ordination candidates—which has now reached a point at which the possibility of filling the benefices with incumbents is becoming doubtful—is doing that already, and the worst result that need be anticipated is that the process of combining contiguous parishes (which has been for some while proceeding on a large scale) would be expedited and extended. Much would turn on the measure of disendowment by which Disestablishment would be accompanied. Neither in Ireland nor in Wales did any serious limitation of pastoral activity result from Disestablishment, and it does not seem extravagant to assume that the Church of England would not be less generously treated by the State than the smaller Churches.

Not only, however, is Disestablishment, in the circumstances which now obtain, less formidable than it once appeared, but it even carries the promise of no inconsiderable advantages both to the Church and to the nation. To the first, it would at last make possible the vindication of authority over the clergy, and the ending of the domestic disorders which have for so long weakened its influence and compromised its reputation. To the last it would imply the removal of a formidable cause of social discord, and terminate a system which threatens soon to reach actual deadlock. These are no slight benefits. The gravity of the continuance of internal disorder is hardly yet appreciated by the mass of English Churchmen. What was apparent to Bishop Creighton a generation ago has not yet been generally realised.

the national establishment of religion so completely, that most of the arguments, by which in the past Disestablishment has been opposed, have lost validity. The scale of society is so greatly increased that the ecclesiastical factor, which a few generations ago was dominant in the nation, has become quite unimportant. The change is to be observed outside the Church of England. It is notorious that Nonconformity, which in the eighties of the last century was not untruly described by Mr. Gladstone as 'the backbone of the Liberal Party,' has become politically negligible, a circumstance which may possibly go some way towards explaining the present decline of that once great party. Similarly, the influence of the Established Church is no longer a considerable factor in the sum of political forces. It follows that the old plea that, in the interest of its own security, the State could not tolerate an uncontrolled Church of England has lost all meaning. During the last century many social functions once left in the hands of the Anglican clergy have been undertaken by the State, so that the range of clerical activity has been largely restricted, and its quality has become, so far as the State is concerned, a matter of comparative indifference Education has now passed almost entirely out of clerical control, for, though the 'dual system' still survives, its end is apparently near, and the rapid advance of the teachers in efficiency and social consequence has effectively declericalised even the Church schools. Since the war the endowments of the Church of England, which once seemed so considerable that their tenure was held to involve subjection to State control, are now so petty by comparison with the national revenue, and so plainly inadequate for their purpose, that disendowment has lost urgency, and even seems both mean and unnecessary. The sentimental pleas for the Establishment no longer retain their old force. Disestablishment, we can now see, need not hinder the coronation of the Sovereign with religious rites, nor the cessation of prayers in the Houses of Parliament, nor the disappearance of chaplains from the Army and Navy, the workhouses and prisons, nor the loss of those public acts of intercession and thanksgiving which in the past have been customary at crises of the national fortunes. We have within recent years grown to be very familiar with united services organised, not by order of the State, but by arrangement of the uniting Churches; and there can be no doubt that the general preference inclines to such services as more truly expressing the national Christianity than to the distinctively Anglican services which the present Establishment secures. In truth, Disestablishment has become a misleading term, for the 'Free Churches' are, in the propriety of language, also established. Disestablishment really means the substitution of one kind of establishment for another, the addi-

[illegible] in the House of Commons. There are [illegible] connected with the interpretation of the ancient creeds, with the [illegible] of Christendom, with the complicated ethical issues distinctive of our time, which could not rightly or usefully be handled apart from spiritual freedom. The more the present situation is considered, the more literally 'intolerable' it is seen to be. Plainly, to use a famous phrase of John Wesley which was in the nineteenth century adopted into politics, it must be either mended or ended. The measured language of the new Primate on the occasion of his enthronement in Canterbury Cathedral will be generally indorsed:

> I cannot doubt that thoughtful men will come to see that in view of the immense changes which have passed over the life both of the nation and of the Church, the relations of Church and State which reflected the conditions of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries cannot remain unchanged.

To the mass of English people, bred in the assumption that the national Church is an integral part of the familiar furniture of civic life, accustomed to look to Parliament as the only source of legislation as well ecclesiastical as secular, the notion of disputing the right of the State to handle spiritual matters is strange and almost unintelligible; and when that notion is seen to point quite plainly to the abhorred consequence of Disestablishment, it is also in the highest degree unpalatable. Yet even that consequence may have to be faced if the credit of the Church as a spiritual society is to be saved. There is a sphere within which the State may not rightly enter; and if that sphere be not kept immune from secular invasion, the moral influence of the Church, its power of appeal to men's consciences, must be irreparably injured. Nothing may have changed in the outward aspect of public life. The hierarchy may continue to use the old solemn language of Divine Commission. In courts and parliaments the Church may raise her mitred front with the immemorial impressiveness. But the meaning will have gone out of the accustomed phrases. Ecclesiastical functions may be performed with unprecedented magnificence, but they will have lost relevance to spiritual realities. The Church will be dead while still retaining the semblance of life like that Church of Sardis to whom the message came, '*I know thy works, that thou hast a name that thou livest, and art dead.*'

II

Disestablishment, whether requisite in the interest of the Church's indispensable spiritual freedom or not, is no longer a political issue of the first importance, for the nation has outgrown

legal powers of Parliament were left intact, but that was no more than yet another example of the love of fictional identity by which Englishmen have ever loved to mark and to mask the changes implicit in the development of their treasured Constitution. The legal powers of the Crown are mostly what they were under Henry VIII.; but who dreams of employing them? The legislative omnipotence of the British Parliament is still (in spite of the last Imperial Conference) unimpaired; but who dreams of bringing it into active exercise? The disciplinary system of the Jacobean canons is still obligatory on the clergy; but what sane bishop would essay its enforcement? And so on indefinitely. The legal right of the House of Commons to override the bishops, Convocations, Church Assembly, diocesan conferences (*i.e.*, all the organs of self-expression which the Church possesses), does not affect in the least the essential unfairness of its action. The Enabling Act may have been premature and impolitic—there were those in 1919 who held it to be both—but there can be no doubt whatever as to the soundness of the assumptions on which it was based, nor as to the essential rightness of the object which it was designed to secure. Parliament as it now exists is beyond all reasonable question morally incompetent for ecclesiastical legislation. The Church of England does possess, because it is a spiritual society, a Christian Church, that 'inherent spiritual authority' which the Archbishops claimed in their famous letter of December 1927, and which the Church must at all hazards maintain. That the House of Commons was legally entitled to veto the Prayer Book Measure is, as we have shown, *nihil ad rem*. It was not morally entitled to do so, because, by doing so, it claimed and exercised a spiritual authority which it does not really possess, and which the Church of England cannot admit. If Establishment does really require the admission, then Establishment has become inconsistent with religious duty and must be abandoned. 'The rejection of the Prayer Book Measure,' writes Dr. Temple, the Archbishop of York, 'has created a situation which is in the strict and proper sense of the word intolerable; it is a situation in which we cannot acquiesce.' The untoward action of the House of Commons has created a situation in which the first duty of the Church of England is to vindicate its spiritual independence.

There lie before the Church of England in the immediate future tasks of the utmost gravity which cannot possibly be undertaken by a Church which is not, and is not acknowledged to be, spiritually free. The revision of the Thirty-nine Articles has been demanded for many years past with waxing insistence, and cannot be much longer postponed without mischievous consequences. Who could contemplate a revision which must run the

[illegible] confusion of mind. [illegible] has been carried through [illegible] unparalleled in the history of the [illegible] with a [illegible] Reformed Church, and followed throughout by a measure of public interest not less remarkable than the pageant itself. Of course the new facilities of advertisement and aggregation count for much, making many things possible to-day which were not possible in the recent past. We may easily overrate the significance of pageants, whether secular or ecclesiastical. One thing is certain. The Church of England cannot be saved by pageants. A slave is none the less a slave for being bound with fetters of gold, and adorned with the master's gifts. If it be the case—and the House of Commons has made it quite plain that it is—that the Church of England cannot so much as determine the manner of its Eucharistic worship, nor control its sacramental ministration to the sick and dying, without the permission of an assembly which is not even in theory Christian, then the Church of England is not adequately free. The bitter cry of the Prophet comes irresistibly to mind, '*Take away her battlements, for they are not the Lord's.*' If the Establishment does really imply such subordination of the Church to the State, then the Establishment is not morally legitimate. The late Archbishop of Canterbury assured the General Assembly that the entire episcopate agreed in the following pronouncement, which can by no means be harmonised with the existing relation of Church and State in England:

> It is a fundamental principle that the Church—that is, the bishops together with the clergy and the laity—must in the last resort, when its mind has been *fully* ascertained, retain its inalienable right, in loyalty to our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, to formulate its faith in Him and to arrange the expression of that holy faith in its forms of worship.

The time has gone by when the subordination of the Church to Parliament can be excused, and even justified, by the familiar and (within limits) satisfying argument which commends anomalies which are not practically mischievous to the acceptance of religious men. That argument, so far as the Church of England is concerned, has lost validity since 1919, when the spiritual incompetence of Parliament was frankly recognised by Parliament itself, and a new procedure, designed to remedy the intolerable situation which that incompetence created, was legalised. The situation was held to be intolerable for two reasons, the practical impossibility of securing ecclesiastical legislation which had become really indispensable, and the gross scandal of having the awful verities of religion talked about in, and spiritual decisions taken by, an assembly which was plainly by its composition, habit, and temper unqualified for such discussion. No doubt the

repudiation of the ecclesiastical courts by a large par
English clergy. The first lies outside the influence of Par
but the last two do not. By rejecting the Revised I
House of Commons has sent the bishops back to their
possible task of administering an obsolete law. By as
supremacy over the spiritual society the House of Comm
stamped on the Establishment a repulsively 'Erastian' cl
and ruined in advance any project of so reforming the eccle
courts as to remove defects which now make them offensiv
Anglican conscience. What reasonable probability is th
any revision of the legal system, which would satisfy th
would secure the approval of Parliament? Why, m
should the Church be at the pains of carrying through le
on the courts, when it knows in advance that, even if *per im*
its Measure received parliamentary sanction, the reforme
would have no other law to administer than that which l
certified to be incapable of enforcement? There are
persons who speak, and perhaps believe, that a Church
governed by voluntary agreement, on a basis of 'loyalty.'
nature must have changed greatly if that were indeed
Certainly the Christian Church has always included the
of coercion in its disciplinary system. No society c
manently tolerate in its accredited officials men who d
teaching and disobey its laws. The Church of England,
wide its membership and tolerant its temper, is no excepti
too, must in the last resort depend on coercion for the main
of order. But coercion can only be effective if it have b
the sanction of the general conscience. And this ca
secured in an enslaved Church. Only when the spiritua
is genuinely self-governing can the laws be enforced, for o
do the laws express the general will. A Church in cha
always have difficulty about its discipline, and the diffic
grow as the chains are felt, until the extent of domestic
becomes the measure of the Church's resentment. Si
rejection of the Prayer Book Measure a singular situat
developed. The retirement of the defeated Archbishop h
made the occasion of a remarkable demonstration of public
Beyond question this demonstration expresses the adm
which the nation feels for his Grace's character and serv
there is in it an element of *reparation* to one who, greatly de
has met with unworthy treatment. Certainly the spec
piquant and arresting in no common degree. A pee
'tribute,' and the freedom of the City of London ar
contrasted with the severest humiliation which any eccle
leader could have been required to endure. We must a
genuine desire to make some kind of *amende* to the vi

[illegible]

Canterbury [illegible] between the Church and the nation [illegible]

"We have heard it called a dummy House. How can you say that the laity who sit in the Church Assembly really represent the opinion of England? They do not profess to represent the people of England, but they do profess to represent the Church of England, the people who [illegible] about these matters and go to church, who want to use their Prayer Book, who care about the form that Book should take, who understand the question, and who are the people really qualified to speak. To say that they represent only a small minority of the thousands who could be gathered in Trafalgar Square or the first thousands who cross London Bridge in the morning does not meet the case. We summoned the Church, in the most official way that it could be summoned, and it spoke, not only with no uncertain voice, but with an overwhelming majority in favour of going forward with this Measure.

That unanimity within the Church of England should be the condition under which alone Parliament will respect its decisions is all one with condemning the Church to a total prohibition of all change. For unanimity is rarely, if ever, attainable in this world, never attainable when the matters handled are such as move men deeply. It is not sufficiently remembered by those who discuss the revision of the Prayer Book that of all subjects *that* was the least likely to secure agreement. History certifies that every attempt to revise the Prayer Book has in the past opened the floodgates of embittered strife. Every previous revision has had an epilogue of violence. The first Edwardian Book (1549) provoked the Devonshire rebellion, the second (1552) was immediately followed by the persecuting reaction under Mary. The Elizabethan Book (1558) led in a few years to the schism of the Papists, and the Caroline Book (1661) precipitated the expulsion of the Nonconformists. No informed or considering man could have expected that the revision of 1928 would have been carried through without friction and protest. The really astonishing thing is the nearness of the approach to agreement within the Church which was actually attained. 'The new Book,' said Archbishop Davidson very truly, 'is largely the outcome of a new spirit of loyalty among the clergy.' His Grace might have added with equal truth that it was also the outcome of a new spirit of justice among the laity.

In the next place, the House of Commons has destroyed the possibility of any restoration of discipline within the Church so long as the Establishment is maintained. The roots of the present disorder are three—the spread of ecclesiastical theory inconsistent with any honest recognition of authority in the Church of England among a section of the Anglo-Catholics, the impracticable character of the rubrics of the present Book, and the conscientious

were themselves more truly representative of the Church than the bishops and ecclesiastical assemblies, and could therefore rightly override them; that Parliament would never reject the *unanimous* demand of the Church of England in spiritual matters. These pleas will not bear a moment's serious consideration. The intentions and hopes of the Home Secretary and the Attorney-General, however interesting and important to themselves, are wholly irrelevant to the effect of their action. Whatever they intended or hoped, they did in fact induce the House of Commons—a mixed assembly, Christian neither in theory nor in fact—to claim and exercise a spiritual control over the Church of England which conflicts with the Christian conscience itself, and cannot possibly be conceded by any Church claiming to be Christian. The affectation of disaffected individuals to represent the Church of England more truly and authoritatively than its own representative assemblies is equally impudent and anarchic. It is the first, because it reflects an exorbitant egotism; it is the last, because no government could proceed in Church or State if its right to obedience could be at any time upset by discontented minorities. It is beside the mark to insist on the unrepresentative character of the House of Laity, the smallness of the electorate by which the members are chosen, the apathy displayed by the electors, and the indirect methods of election. All these points may properly arrest the notice of the responsible authorities, and perhaps lead them to revise the representative system which the Enabling Act created; but they have no bearing whatever on the title of the constitutional organs of the Church of England to be accepted as competent, and solely competent, to declare the Church's mind. This was clearly perceived and stated by the Ecclesiastical Committee in their report of the Prayer Book Measure Act:

> In so far as the objections which have been received consist of objections on the part of members of the Church as such, the Committee feel that in respect of this Measure they themselves should be guided by the decisive conclusions of the Church Assembly, as the representative body entrusted by Parliament with the power of passing Measures concerning the Church of England.

Moreover, it may not be forgotten that the mind of a society, whether secular or ecclesiastical, may be faithfully expressed by means of a very unsatisfactory representative system. The long period over which the process of revision had extended, the large measure of public attention which it had arrested, the elaborate method by which the work was carried out, all tended to keep the Church Assembly in close touch with the general mind. When introducing the Measure in the House of Lords, the Archbishop of

[illegible]

ment was [illegible] with the contempt which it deserved. The last two years of Whitgift's life cast a shadow on his career which neither his personal excellence nor even the enormous difficulties of his situation can wholly remove. On his successor also in due time the verdict of history will be passed, and that verdict may not be wisely or justly anticipated. Yet it cannot be unfair or unwise to indicate the thought-provoking parallel between the situation of the Church of England in the sixteenth century and that of the same Church in the twentieth, which the records of the two Archbishops suggest.

The vote of the House of Commons on December 15, 1927, repeated on June 14, 1928 (after a popular agitation which added largely to its significance), did, when calmly considered, bring the issue of Disestablishment directly into the arena of politics. This was clearly foreseen in the course of the debates. Thus the Prime Minister, when defending the Measure, emphasised in both debates the danger of Disestablishment if it should be rejected; and Mr. Winston Churchill argued that 'the rejection of the Measure would inaugurate a period of chaos which could only be corrected by Disestablishment.' This consequence was, indeed, ignored or disclaimed by the leaders of the majority, but it is so apparent that their attitude may fairly be discounted as no more than forensic. By rejecting the Prayer Book Measure the House of Commons did so effectually strip the Establishment of moral justification that its survival cannot long continue.

For what has really happened? In the first place, the Church of England has been roughly reminded that the self-government supposed to have been conceded by the Enabling Act, 1919, is altogether fictional, being conditioned not only by the very proper obligation to respect the King's prerogative and the rights of his subjects as such—the guaranteeing of which was the legitimate purpose both of the Ecclesiastical Committee and of the parliamentary veto—but also by the necessity of satisfying both Houses on the doctrinal issues implicit in ecclesiastical legislation, *i.e.*, subjecting the decisions of the spiritual society to the vote of a parliamentary majority, itself largely non-Anglican and even non-Christian. Self-government so conditioned is not self-government at all, and the acceptance of these humiliating conditions would strip of all title to acceptance whatever decisions future representative assemblies of the Church may take. Those decisions will lack the prerequisite of spiritual authority—namely, freedom.

The attempt has been made to empty the vote of the House of Commons of this formidable significance by pleading that the leaders of the majority had no intention of bringing the Church of England into a position of such intolerable subjection; that they

DISESTABLISHMENT BY CONSENT

I

On August 22, 1532, William Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, died, having held the primatial see for no less than twenty-nine years. On November 12, 1928, Randall Thomas Davidson resigned the same illustrious see, after a tenure of twenty-five years. The parallel between the two men is suggestively close, and a consideration of their careers cannot but suggest that they were temperamentally very similar Both were men of rare personal excellence whom their familiars loved. Both were diplomatic by genius and habit Both were set to rule in times of unprecedented difficulty, and both perceived the advent of new forces which they could neither direct nor restrain. The death of the Tudor primate inaugurated the ecclesiastical revolution out of which the Establishment of the Church of England developed; the retirement of his Georgian successor seems likely to precipitate the catastrophe of Disestablishment Both these illustrious prelates were opportunists, and perhaps both have illustrated the strength and the weakness of opportunism, its strength in quiet times, its weakness in time of difficulty. Might not the historian's reference to Archbishop Warham be extended *mutatis mutandis* to Archbishop Davidson?

> Already now in his 79th year, he was destined to retire early from the scene, and yet not before he had witnessed some part of the great revolution which cast down his order from their ancient dignity. It was not for him to withstand the revolution like Fisher: he dallied with the elements of change: and when they grew into a combination that was intolerable in his eyes, it was his part to hurl against them the feeble thunderbolt of a dying protestation [1]

To both the Archbishops the crucial test came at the very end of their careers. That Warham failed is certain. His pitiful plea for deserting the Queen over the divorce, because '*Ira principis mors est*,' led on naturally enough to his vacillation over the King's claim to be 'Supreme Head' of the Church of England. A belated protest against the activities of the Reformation Parlia-

[1] *Vide* Dixon, *History of the Church of England*, vol. i., p. 27.

[illegible] remedy. We are in the presence of an industrial situation which is literally without precedent. The traditional remedies will no longer avail. To discover new remedies demands wisdom; to apply them will call for courage. May neither be lacking.

J. A. R. Marriott

'forties should have found England too strait at a time when the population was little more than half the population of to-day seems to us paradoxical; yet in relation to national wealth England was more thickly populated in the 'forties than it is to-day.

May we draw comfort from that fact? Should we be over-inclined to optimism there is an observant foreigner at hand to warn us against it. 'The Victorian era [England's] apogee of prosperity and power was essentially an era of coal. . . . Coal is no longer king. Here is the real British crisis.' So writes M. André Siegfried,[1] an exceptionally competent critic. England's economic hegemony is, he believes passing; her industrial monopoly has gone; her commercial supremacy is threatened, but her financial equilibrium is, nevertheless, maintained:

> She is tending to concentrate on her *rôle* as the world's broker, in *defence of the interests* which she has been able to secure everywhere outside her own little European boundaries. . . . The fortune of Great Britain is not, in fact, shut up within the restricted metropolitan area of the Empire. It is . . . in the tea of India, the rubber of Malaysia, the oil of several continents. It is also no doubt at Manchester, Leeds, Birmingham or Glasgow, but still more perhaps in that city of London which is not industrial, but essentially commercial and financial in spirit, tradition and genius.

Is this analysis consoling? It does indeed point, given sound and prudent finance, to a reasonably prolonged survival, yet the doubt persists whether, divorced from production, commercial and financial supremacy can be indefinitely maintained. One thing is certain. 'Finance' will not permanently sustain 50,000,000 people, unless the greater part of them contribute something to the production of wealth. Legislation may temporarily avail to distribute, in the form of doles, an increasingly large proportion of the profits of 'finance.' But, despite the economic force of *vis inertiæ*, finance is not rooted to any particular soil. 'Capital,' it is proverbially said, 'has wings' If that be true, in a measure, of industrial capital, it is far more true of financial capital. The financier can operate as easily from New York or Montreal as from London. He has no local attachments, nor is he invariably native-born. The country which has abandoned production may survive—it can hardly hope to advance; and the country which has ceased to advance must politically and economically recede.

The 'condition of England' to-day is not desperate. Even M. Siegfried does not believe that 'she will go to smash.' But it

[1] *Foreign Affairs*, July 1928.

[illegible] Nor must it be forgotten that in 1922 the [illegible] passed special legislation for the purpose of stimulating emigration to the Dominions. The results of that legislation have been disappointingly meagre. On this point the Industrial Transference Board speak with no uncertain voice:

> As regards overseas settlement it is a matter of regret, and indeed astonishment, to find how disappointingly slow has been the settlement of British people in Australia and Canada, notwithstanding the passing in 1922 of the Empire Settlement Act for the express purpose of stimulating it. These two countries, although each comparable in size to the United States of America, have populations comparable merely to that of London. Even if it were the case—and it is obviously not so—that Australia and Canada had reached the limit of their absorptive power, it is still to be noted that in 1927 82,000 continental Europeans settled in Canada. In the same year approximately 22,000 non-British persons arrived in Australia.

This is bluntly spoken, but truly, and the situation which these words disclose is undeniably grave. For certain purposes the mid-European is preferred in Canada to the Briton. This fact cannot be gainsaid, and it is for the Briton to discover the reason. I forbear to press the matter further.

Meanwhile, the paradox persists. Canada wants money and men: for the former she looks increasingly to the United States; for the latter to continental Europe—despite the fact that Great Britain can supply both.

Thus the contemporary situation throws us back once more to Chartist days.

> The condition of England (wrote Thomas Carlyle in 1843) is justly regarded as one of the most ominous, and withal one of the strangest ever seen in this world. England is full of wealth, of multifarious produce, supply for human want of every kind; yet England is dying of inanition. . . . In the midst of plethoric plenty, the people perish.

What were the remedies he prescribed?

> First, education, 'an effective teaching service.' Then again, [he proceeds] why should there not be an 'Emigration Service' and secretary, with adjuncts, funds, forces, idle Navy-ships, and ever-increasing apparatus; in fine, an *effective system* of emigration; so that at length . . . every honest willing workman who found England too strait . . . might find likewise a bridge built to carry him into new western lands . . . a free bridge for emigrants?

So Carlyle preached in his *Past and Present* and on the same text in his *Essay on Chartism*.

A similar problem confronts the statesmen and thinkers of to-day; nor is Carlyle's prescription less appropriate to the later phase of a strangely recurring disease. Th[illegible] of the

ment in these areas until the crisis passes. A new policy is needed . . .'

What is the new policy recommended? It is comprehended in the one word 'migration'—migration from the distressed areas to other areas where the prospect of employment is more favourable, migration from this country to the oversea Dominions and Colonies.

It is a hard thing [as the Report truly and sympathetically says] to tell numbers of men and even whole communities that unless they leave all their familiar surroundings they will not be able to earn a living, but we should be shirking every inference from the facts if we did not emphasise this as the first and strongest of the lessons that our work has provided.

These are grave words; but the warning they convey will be ignored only at our peril. No longer are we face to face with 'a cyclical or transient depression.' That idea 'must now be recognised quite unflinchingly as no longer tenable.' We must look, therefore, for a drastic and permanent remedy. That the de-rating of productive industry and the readjustment of the areas of local government may do something to mitigate hard conditions is the hope of all good citizens, but it is plain that more drastic remedies must be applied to a disease which threatens to become chronic Meanwhile, the Ministry of Labour are entitled to credit for the efforts they are making. They have already moved 1500 boys from congested areas to vacancies which have been found for them elsewhere As for adults, they reckon that within the next six months 15,000 men will be transferred through the agency of the labour exchanges and instructional factories, and they will be the cause, it is hoped, of another 15,000 following spontaneously. Should the hope be realised, the transference movement will make in the course of a year or two a substantial contribution towards the solution of the problem

But a more drastic remedy remains to be applied. The 'condition of England' to-day is primarily due to the slowing down of emigration since the war Had the rate of emigration during the last five years been equal to the rate during the five years preceding the war, we should have 700,000 less people to look after in this country than in fact we have. The detailed figures are singularly disquieting. During the three years 1911-13 463,944 British subjects on the average left this country for countries outside Europe. In the years 1924-6 the average fell to 265,934. The figures for the Dominions are even worse In the years 1911-13 Canada received on the average 137,222 immigrants from the United Kingdom. From 1925-7 the average was 45,707, while of foreigners the average was, in the latter period, 80,884. Australia's average in the earlier period was (including tourists) 131,035; in the latter, 88,868. New Zealand's

[illegible] per cent.; [illegible] instruments [illegible] per cent.; electrical wiring and contracting 35 per cent. [illegible] of the 27 industries highest on the list of increases [illegible] are concerned in production or services for home consumption. Among the more important industries which show decreases we note chemicals, cotton, carpets, boots and shoes, woollen and worsted, coal mining, general engineering, saddlery and leather, steel and iron, marine engineering and shipbuilding—an ominous list. The geographical summary of insured persons in employment is not less suggestive. Most striking is the rate of increase in the south-eastern division, but the southern section as a whole shows an increase of 10·31 per cent. as compared with 1923, while that of the northern section during the same period is only 2·59 per cent. Take one or two typical illustrations. The percentage of insured persons in paint, varnish, and lead manufacture has *increased* in the southern section from 54·5 to 63·3; in the northern it has *decreased* from 45·5 to 36·7. Glass bottle making shows an *increase* in the former from 26·8 to 33·9; a *decrease* in the latter from 73·2 to 66·1. Dressmaking and millinery an *increase* from 69·4 to 76·5 in the south; a *decrease* in the north from 30·6 to 23·5. And so on right down a long list.

In this connexion the *Report of the Industrial Transference Board* is worthy of attentive study. The picture there presented (Cmd. 3156) of the 'condition of England' is terribly disquieting. It is true that the Board is careful to point out that 120,000 (gross) new engagements of workers are made every week, that the (net) increase of employment in the last four years amounts to 850,000, and that some alleviation of the situation may be expected during the next few years owing to the decrease in the birth rate. But when all this has been said, the situation remains disquieting, if not actually alarming. In addition to some 1,300,000 unemployed persons there have been in recent winters over 1,750,000 persons in receipt of poor relief,[1] and the Board was forced to the conclusion that there is a definite and seemingly permanent surplus of at least 200,000 manual workers. No fewer than 280,000 persons have in the last two years been discarded by the coal industry alone. This, as the Report states, 'constitutes a tragic problem, necessitating the urgent and sympathetic attention of the entire country.' Owing to the fact that unemployment is 'concentrated in areas where almost the whole community has depended on one or two industries,' the problem 'is not susceptible of solution by localised measures of relief. It is no longer a question of tiding over the unemploy-

[1] These figures to some extent overlap. On June 18, 1927, over 116,000 'unemployed' persons in England and Wales were in receipt of outdoor relief.

markets a considerable proportion of our people must either starve or migrate. But the industries on which we have mainly relied to provide us with profitable exports—coal, iron and steel, and cotton—have suffered from prolonged depression. Pessimists would go further and say that as staple exports they are threatened with extinction. Our railways are suffering in company with the 'heavy' industries on which they mainly rely for freights. Shipping is in a similar quandary.

Nor is it only the export trade which is threatened. Our foreign competitors are making a bold bid for the control of our home markets. Longer hours and lower wages are giving the foreign producer of iron and steel and woollen goods—to mention no others—an advantage which home manufacturers find it difficult to withstand.

The gloom is not, however, entirely unrelieved. Though many industries—and among them some of the most important—are suffering from severe depression, trade as a whole is not unprosperous. The income tax returns afford sufficient evidence of this truth. The 'actual income' of taxpayers brought under the review of the Inland Revenue Department was in 1923-4 2,303,308,424*l.*; in 1924-5 nearly 2,500,000,000*l*, and in 1925-6 close on 2,400,000,000*l*. (These figures are for the United Kingdom, excluding Southern Ireland) The yield of income tax and super tax for the same years was (in round figures) 330,000,000*l*., 336,000,000*l*. and 328,000,000*l*. respectively. Customs for the, same years yielded 120,000,000*l*., 99,000,000*l*. and 103,000,000*l*., and excise 148,000,000*l*., 135,000,000*l*. and 134,500,000*l*. Such figures are inconsistent with the idea of national bankruptcy. Yet the pictures of distress in certain areas are not, and cannot be, overdrawn.

The explanation of the apparent paradox must be sought in a series of industrial changes so significant as almost entitled, in the aggregate, to be described as a new 'Industrial Revolution.' Two features in particular marked the earlier revolution: first, the shifting of population from the south to the north of the Trent; and, secondly, the concentration of industry and population on or near the coalfields. To-day, on the contrary, we are witnessing a southward migration, a dispersion of population, and a marked increase of employment in the 'secondary' industries. A Report lately issued by the Ministry of Labour shows that out of 100 industries into which their statistics of insured workpeople are classified 66 show an increase of employment during the last five years, and 34 show a decrease. Among the former silk and artificial silk head the list with an increase of no less than 93·6 per cent. (147,600 as against 37,300) as compared with 1923. Artificial stone and concrete shows 64·4 per

[illegible] when the middle [illegible] Villiers, launched their Anti-Corn Law crusade, it was denounced by the Chartist leaders as a middle class manoeuvre. 'If you give up your agitation for the charter to help the Free Traders,' said Thomas Cooper, 'they will not help you to get the charter. Don't be deceived by the middle classes again. You helped them to get their votes, but where are the fine promises they made to you? . . . And now they want to get the Corn Laws repealed, not for your benefit, but for their own. . . . Cheap food they cry, but they mean low wages.' It is not pertinent to my argument to inquire how far the suspicions of the Chartists were justified. It is enough that they existed, that they prove the social estrangement to which I referred, and that they explain the purely political texture of the charter itself.

Virtually all the demands of the Chartists have been conceded, except annual Parliaments. The Franchise Acts of 1867, 1884, 1918, and 1928 have established adult suffrage as the law of the land; members of Parliament, elected without any property qualification, are paid; and single electoral districts have been delimited. Democracy is in the saddle.

Parliamentary democracy has, however, shown itself impotent to solve the industrial problem. It has, be it admitted, done much to mitigate the actual distress which had aforetime been the concomitant of recurrent industrial crises. Old age pensions, though imprudently conceded on a non-contributory basis, have done something to abate the terrors of poverty-stricken old age, though they have not diminished pauperism; health insurance and unemployment insurance have practically brought the whole body of manual workers within the network of a system of insurance wisely conceived to mitigate the hazards and uncertainties incidental to an industrial system in which the wage-paid labourers are mostly divorced from proprietorship; the large scheme of insurance for widows, orphans, and old age, recently inaugurated, should go far to remove the apprehensions of those who are dependent on weekly wages.

All these things are to the good, and substantially differentiate the situation of 1928 from that of 1848. Yet, despite all this social legislation, we find ourselves face to face with an industrial crisis of menacing proportions and serious complexity. After Waterloo the population of the United Kingdom was about 19,000,000. It is now over 47,000,000. The population of 1815 we could feed on the produce of our own soil. The population of 1928 we cannot sustain save by the profits of our overseas trade. In other words, unless we can sell our products in overseas

(the Master of the Mint) to Sir Charles Bagot in July of the same year, 'have lost all their feelings of pride and richness and flourishing fatness; trade is gone, contracts are gone, paper credit is gone, and there is nothing but stoppage, retrenchments and bankruptcy.' Wellesley-Pole and Western did not exaggerate the gravity of the situation, and economic distress gave rise to political disturbances. Meetings were organised in Spa Fields, in St. Peter's Fields, Manchester, and elsewhere; conspiracies were plotted for the wholesale assassination of Ministers.

Things have been pretty bad since 1920, but not so bad as that; distress, though acute, has not been universal, and, though the wilder spirits preached the doctrine of 'direct action' in 1920-21and again in 1926, there has been little crime, hardly any organised violence, and no general assault upon the fabric of the Constitution.

Does not this fact, in itself, constitute a conspicuous vindication of the policy of 'reform' which we have now steadily pursued for three generations? After Waterloo the agitation was not solely due to social estrangements and economic distress. Social estrangement was the phenomenon specially indicated by Disraeli in *Sybil*. The community, characteristic, as I have shown, of the eighteenth century had unhappily been dissolved; the industrial revolution had sundered the human ties which had bound man to man and class to class; a 'cash nexus' (to use Carlyle's phrase) had superseded the human nexus. Thus in 1845 Disraeli could write without palpable exaggeration of 'two nations between whom there is no intercourse and no sympathy, who are as ignorant of each other's habits, thoughts and feelings as if they were dwellers in different zones, or inhabitants of different planets.' The picture which Disraeli drew was substantiated by independent witnesses, writing from very different angles, in *Mary Barton*, *Yeast*, and *Alton Locke*. All alike testified to the sense of social estrangement as the most serious feature of a disquieting situation.

It may be objected that in the meantime—between the post-war crisis and that of 1848—the Reform Bill of 1832 had been placed upon the Statute-book That is true; but it had served only to accentuate the discontent of the manual workers. The Act of 1832 had bitterly disappointed them. The Chartists had supplied the driving power for the 'Reform' agitation. Accordingly they looked, and not unnaturally, for some share of the political spoils. In fact, they got nothing out of 'reform' except a lever for future agitation. Moreover, Lord John Russell had told them that the Whigs regarded the Bill of 1832 as a 'final settlement.' The Chartists took

[illegible]

This [illegible] the whole structure of which it was an integral part—was determined by that series of changes and innovations which, in the aggregate, we describe as the 'Industrial Revolution.' A rapid growth of population; its transference from south to north; from countryside to town; the evolution of the factory system; the invention of ever-improving machinery; the substitution of coal for wood in the smelting of iron; the construction of roads, of canals, of railways; the enclosure of open fields and commons; the extinction of the yeomen; the dominance of capitalism both in agriculture and industry; the growth of foreign trade, the development of the shipping industry—these things and others transformed the slow-moving, sparsely populated, agricultural England of the eighteenth century into the thickly populated industrial England of the nineteenth.

Nor must it be forgotten that the crisis of this change coincided with twenty-three years of war, and that war accentuated the effects of economic development

The cessation of war produced an acute crisis. The disbandment of armies flooded the labour market; foreign countries began, though slowly, to compete with an England which for years had been the sole manufacturer and carrier of the world; prices collapsed; farms were thrown up, labourers were dismissed and farmers went bankrupt; banks stopped payment; mortgagees foreclosed on unsaleable properties; the demonetisation of paper and the restoration of gold served only to accentuate a crisis already severe, harvests failed; the machinery of the Poor Law was subjected to an unprecedented strain; the peasants burnt the hay-ricks; the artisans smashed the new machinery; the Communists preached to excited mobs the gospel of class hatred, declaring that the 'landowner was a monster to be hunted down,' and that the fundholders were 'rapacious creatures who take from the people 15*d*. out of every quartern loaf.'

Many of the sinister features which characterised the post-war period after Waterloo have reappeared since the ending of the Great War in 1918. Happily, however, one prominent feature in the situation of 1815-30 has not been reproduced. Despite industrial depression order has been, on the whole, maintained. 'I assure you the landed people are getting *desperate*; the universality of ruin among them or distress bordering on it is absolutely unparalleled.' So Mr. C. C. Western, M.P., wrote to Creevy in February 1816. 'The citizens,' wrote Wellesley-Pole

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known in the aggregate as *The Industrial Revolution*, had proceeded apace. They had lately gathered momentum. Hence for the real genesis of Victorian Chartism we may usefully go to a group of notable novels published almost simultaneously by three persons in widely differing circumstances. Mrs. Gaskell, the wife of a Unitarian minister in Manchester, published her *Mary Barton* in 1848. Disraeli, the rising hope of the young England Tories, had published his *Sybil* in 1845. Charles Kingsley, Anglican parson, Court preacher, Cambridge professor, published *Yeast* in 1848 and *Alton Locke* in 1850. The conjunction of dates is highly significant. What had induced three gifted writers, so widely apart in outlook and circumstances, to concentrate their attention upon a single, though far from simple, problem? The answer is to be found in the word *Chartism*.

Chartism, however, despite the unity of the Charter, was many-sided. Though it aimed primarily at political reform it was essentially the resultant of economic and social changes.

Perhaps the most serious social phenomenon of the day was the widening gulf between class and class. This was itself a result of the rapid increase in the wealth of the middle classes and the evolution of the factory system. All social observers bear witness to the fact that down to the middle of the eighteenth century England had been in a very real sense a *community*. Towns were few and relatively small. More than three-fourths of the population lived in villages. Industry was organised on the 'domestic system.' At the head of the industrial unit was the master manufacturer, something of a capitalist, but working with his own hands, the owner perhaps of three or four looms; the employer, it may be, of eight or ten people, men, women and children. Not only the weaving, but the spinning, and in many cases the dyeing, was carried on in the house of the manufacturer or in an adjoining shed. The master's manual work was shared by his apprentice and journeymen, the latter being wage-earning employees originally working, as the word implies, by the day, but now generally engaged at the annual 'hiring fair' by the year. The apprentices, on the other hand, were bound to the master for a term of service, generally seven years. The whole system was pre-eminently paternal, and the relations between master, apprentice, and journeymen were necessarily intimate and generally cordial. The system had no doubt its darker side, but 'masters and men,' as a witness before a Royal Commission averred, 'were in general so joined together in sentiment that they did not wish to be separated if they could help it.' This evidence was corroborated from the other side. 'It seldom

[illegible] though the genesis of that the [illegible] social and economic as it was Chartism [illegible] political. [illegible] the less significant that, in the 'hungry 'forties,' the manual workers, in face of the many [illegible] upon their 'Morrison's-pill remedies' by men like Charles Kingsley and Thomas Carlyle, should have pinned their faith in, and concentrated their efforts on, parliamentary reform.

What, then, was the real meaning and significance of the movement which in 1838 culminated in the demands of *The People's Charter?* Let Thomas Carlyle answer the question. 'Chartism,' he wrote, 'means the bitter discontent grown fierce and mad, the wrong condition, therefore, or the wrong disposition of the working classes of England. Is the condition of the English working people wrong? Or is the discontent itself mad, like the shape it took? Not the *condition* of the working people that is wrong, but their disposition . . .?'

The question is a searching one. It should be postulated again to-day, as it was ninety years ago. There is among certain classes in England bitter discontent: is that discontent due, as some hold, to bad *conditions*, social and economic, or is it due, as others persistently maintain, to a bad disposition, to the evil spirit of Bolshevism—to the great beast, unchained by revolution, who goeth about seeking whom he may devour? It is of supreme importance to our national well-being that this question should be squarely faced and answered with candour. It may help to an answer to pursue somewhat further the historical parallel.

Looking back upon the Chartist movement, we can perceive that it represented a mass of discontent which had been accumulating ever since the close of the Napoleonic wars. Yet, as we have seen, the genesis of the movement must be sought in times prior to the outbreak of those wars. The Chartists had in fact been anticipated by Horne Tooke, Cartwright, and Charles James Fox. The parliamentary reformers of the later eighteenth century were moved mainly by two considerations: on the one hand, they had imbibed from Locke and his French disciples certain abstract ideas on the subject of representative government, in the light of which the parliamentary system of the eighteenth century stood condemned; on the other hand, that system had been rendered obsolete and even grotesque by the economic changes which were transforming England from a nation of countrymen and farmers into a country of towns and factories, mines and forges.

Between 1780, when the *Society for Constitutional Information* formulated its programme, and the recrudescence of Chartism in the early years of the Queen's reign, those changes, which we

THE CONDITION OF ENGLAND, 1838. 1928

HISTORICAL parallels are as captivating as they are illusory. Only people whose acquaintance with history is superficial or whose bump of caution is undeveloped are, in general, eager to establish them. Lord Bryce, indeed, went so far as to say that history *never* repeats itself. I think his statement was characteristically over-cautious, but every historian who is also a politician will understand what Lord Bryce meant, and will respect if he does not imitate his caution.

There are times, however, when it would seem worth while to take some risks, if thereby we might bring a little comfort to those who suffer, and afford some guidance to those who are perplexed. Many thousands of our fellow-countrymen are to-day in dire distress, and many more are grievously perplexed. Words can avail little for the former, but the latter may find some help and encouragement in the considerations which I propose in this paper to submit.

Ninety years ago England was in the throes of a crisis which culminated in the movement known as *Chartism*. In historical fact all the demands put forward in 1838-9 by the Chartists—the famous six points—had been anticipated in the programme formulated in 1780 by the *Society for Constitutional Information*, and in the same year had been embodied in a Bill introduced into the House of Lords by the Duke of Richmond. On May 8, 1838, the London Working Men's Association reformulated the programme in a document subsequently known as *The People's Charter*. The points on which they insisted were: annual Parliaments; manhood suffrage, vote by ballot; the abolition of the property qualification for members of Parliament; payment of members according to the wholesome practice of ancient times; and equal electoral districts. Two observations may be made on this programme: First, that Chartism, though newly revived, was no new thing. 'The matter of Chartism,' as Carlyle said, 'is weighty, deep rooted, far extending; did not begin yesterday; will by no means end this day or to-morrow.' Secondly,

[illegible] paid to landowners is the point [illegible] one worthy of [illegible] a year are given in royalties to owners of steel works; every ton of steel means 1s. royalty to the landowner for coal and limestone. I cannot imagine any industry managing to exist with such dead expenses as the coal industry carries in the matter of rents and royalties and directors' fees. Then, too, many mines are rated on output; in times of depression it pays the mineowner to close down and thus claim relief of rating. I may be accused of partisanship when I point out the toll taken by directors and landlords, but I am concerned with this one fact: I know of no director or landlord who is walking about 'genuinely seeking employment,' with an empty stomach and broken boots, leaving at home a subnormal child and a wife without underclothes, and I know of thousands of miners in this plight. A director of the Tredegar Coal and Iron Company who died in October has left 60,000*l.*, his whole estate, to the R.S.P.C.A. Not many miners who die to-day leave even enough insurance to bury themselves.

LEONORA MURRAY.
(*Leonora Eyles*).

Report comes into force, nobody dares to think. Under this scheme the receipt of unemployment pay will become a difficult matter. At present a man with thirty stamps on his card gets pay, even though he does have to 'genuinely seek employment' for it and go before boards of referees from time to time. But after next April only men who have had seven and a half months work *in the past two years*—that is, men with thirty stamps on their cards during the past two years—will be eligible to apply for unemployment pay. Hundreds, even thousands, of men are even now not on any books as 'unemployed insured persons' because they were struck off the dole months or even years ago; how many of the men who have been unemployed for five years, or even for two years, will be receiving any money at all next April nobody yet knows. The whole of the machinery for keeping a civilised community alive seems to have broken down. On the one side are these people who will undoubtedly go under unless they are helped; on the other side an already overburdened working community, with rates increasing to a fantastic figure. Anyone who, like myself, has recently been talking to miners and their wives and the people in close touch with them could not help saying that we are in a state of national emergency.

And the way out? People who want to help the actual distress can find plenty of avenues for help in the Lord Mayor's Fund and the Coalfields Distress Fund of the Society of Friends, which is trying to provide food for nursing and expectant mothers, and also has the splendid plan of buying seeds and plants to restart the allotments which have gone derelict and tools to break up new allotments. A great deal also can be done by 'adoption' on the lines started recently by the congregation of St. Martin in the Fields, London, who have taken a mining village under their wing, and such individual adoption as that I have already mentioned, where a prosperous family adopts a needy one. But these are mere palliatives. It is work the people want if their souls and bodies are to be saved, if possible work within the industry they know so well, and after that an entire reorganisation of the industry to make life even a little civilised for people who have reached a very high state of culture. I am no economist, yet I cannot help feeling that much might be done in the way of byproducts to revive the coal industry. I saw a pit last week working full time; two years ago it was the subject of a Government inquiry, as it was considered not to be worth working at all. It fell into the hands of chemists, and now 9*l.* per ton is being made out of byproducts. I would advise anybody who wants to find a way out to study this business of byproducts and of low-pressure carbonisation. I believe, from my very little knowledge of the subject, that there some degree of salvation lies. I would

[illegible]

[illegible] When a man [illegible] that he is 'genuinely seeking employment' or be taken off the dole. How can a man 'genuinely seek employment' in such districts as the Rhondda, where everyone knows there is no employment to be had? What is the use of a man tramping to two pits a day—which is what the authorities consider 'genuinely seeking employment' to mean—on an empty stomach, with broken boots dropping off his feet, to ask for employment at a pithead where in some cases even pumping has ceased? Yet this is what they have to do; and in the Welsh valleys, where transport is not good and they could not get omnibuses even if they could pay the fares, it is more than cruel. It means that they lie; there are numbers of men, who know the managers, foremen, district and so on, well, who give details to others so that they can answer a cross-examination by the referees and thus get extended benefit. They hate this lying and this futile farce of 'genuinely seeking employment'; a lie is a serious matter to the God-fearing people many of these men are. Yet being put off the dole means a complete going under.

The guardians are granting relief now—not to single men, who, as I said before, have either to depend on friends or take to the roads: to some families they give from 25s. to even as much as 30s. a week; in many cases they insist on a married man entering the workhouse, and they give his wife 10s. (largely in food tickets) and each child 2s. It is hoped, of course, that the woman can get charing or washing to do. But this is a vain hope for the most part, for the class of people who employ charwomen and washerwomen—that is, the tradesman and foreman class—is suffering almost as acutely, and economising in every possible way, the first way, naturally, being in the employment of labour. School teachers who could afford to employ women are managing without them in many cases and spending their money on feeding and clothing their schoolchildren. The churches and chapels are having great difficulty in keeping open, and in many cases are making no appeals for church expenses, which are met, when met at all, out of the pockets of the clergy, who are themselves besieged on every hand for help from their parishioners.

How long parish relief can go on nobody seems to know. The notorious Bedwellty guardians, now superseded by Government commissioners, owe the Ministry 1,100,000*l.*, and are paying something like 1000*l.* a week in interest on the debt alone; in the Rhondda, a very careful and economical board is in debt to the tune of 500,000*l.* to the Ministry, and rates are 27s. in the pound. What will happen next April, when the Blanesborough

people; but the will to get out has to be, as in this case, accompanied by some outlet, which the lads get in the motor-tyre and the pottery trades, and in the great expansion of means of transport which is using up a great number of young men. At the year's exhibition at the local art school I was shown two very fine water colours by a boy of eighteen who was dismissed from a closed pit two years ago. He spends three sessions a day at the school and lives on money earned by writing window tickets for shops. In the Northumbrian and Durham, Yorkshire, and South Wales coalfields there is very little chance of other industries taking in the young; they have to emigrate to other parts of England. The Ministry of Labour is training boys in special schools in many mining areas in such trades as carpentry, and the boys are doing extremely well, but when the training is over there is no chance of work at home; they have to go away to a strange district and live in lodgings—their money, once so eagerly looked forward to to help the finances of the home, is swallowed up in their own support. In desperate cases, where the removal of a growing lad from the home would take away a specially large appetite, jobs have sometimes been found before training, such jobs as barman, boots and so on, which mean 'living in' and small wages in cash. In all there are 2000 boys under eighteen in training for various crafts at centres in the coal areas; but how many thousands are leaving school each year to drift into vagrancy and chronic unemployableness? [1]

This picture I have given is a bitter one; it is bitter for a strong, hard-working man—often an ex-service man who was given rosy promises of a land fit for heroes when he came home from the war—to be forcedly idle; to see his home disappear, bit by bit, into the pawnshop or auction room; to see his children being clothed and fed by charity; to see his wife sometimes dying on her feet. It is bitter for him to see his big sons, in whom he once felt such hope and pride, cursing him and his generation for having given them birth; it is bitter for these men, many of them the most intensely religious people in this country, to hear their sons preaching crude atheism and uttering the sort of blasphemies that the fathers honestly believe are putting them

[1] A little thing that happened to me in 1926 during the stoppage may be interesting. Through George Lansbury's paper I offered a prize of 1*l.* 1*s.* for a short story and got about 700 entries. Twenty at least of the stories sent in by young miners were quite definitely up to the standard of a monthly review as far as literary expression and observation went; they were lacking only in construction. Some of these lads have sent me charming poems since, and three working hard on the very scrappy literary advice I was able to give them, have since sold stories and articles to the Press. They ask for advice on what to read, and spend hours at the free libraries. I lent my *Emerson* to one Welsh boy, and he copied it out from cover to cover, whilst a Yorkshire lad copied 100 pages of *Progress and Poverty*, which I lent him.

[illegible] for men who [illegible] time [illegible] regular employment early [illegible] pay. No single able-bodied young man receives relief in any form, but has either to depend on the charity of friends or take to the roads. There are in South Wales especially, and also in other mining areas to a lesser extent, thousands of young men of twenty who, since leaving school six years ago, have never done a day's work. Perhaps these young men present the gravest problem of all—even graver to the community than the problem of the starved mothers. By that I mean that these mothers stay in their homes passively suffering and sacrificing themselves; they do not become vicious or dangerous, they simply walk about half alive, bearing weakly babies or becoming weaker through miscarriages. The young men lounge about all day, getting into any possible mischief, entirely undisciplined, half fed, in ragged clothes which give no possible chance of self-respect. They are a menace to the community in general, for it is no exaggeration to say that, even if they do not drift into crime before long, they can never become good workers and fathers of families; they are infecting the girls they meet with a bitter egotism. I know of one such lad of nineteen who is already the father of three illegitimate children, whose mothers are scarcely more than children, now living on public charity. They say quite frankly, 'Why shouldn't I?' when reproached for the disaster they have caused. Everywhere they are saying the same thing—'The old people have got us into this mess; we didn't ask to be born; now it's up to anybody who likes to keep us.' I am not alone in thinking that nothing can be done to help these particular lads. I do not believe they will ever work; a day's work in a mine would kill them, flabby and ill nourished as they are. A few drift into the Army or Navy, but not very many could pass the necessary physical tests. At the magistrates' courts in South Wales there are queues of these young men, charged with minor crimes such as coal-stealing. They cannot pay the fines—they have to start on a downgrade by going to prison.

But there is a brighter side to the problem of youth. In North Staffordshire I found that there is scarcely a young lad working in the pits at all; it used to be the custom for the father to take his sons with him when they left school. Now the fathers are saying, 'No lad of mine is going into this hell'; and to-day there are hundreds of men, fathers of families, working at jobs which normally a boy would do, and do better, being smaller and more agile. In some cases the pit manager has to pay a man 7s. a day for a boy's 3s. a day job. It is cheering to find that this district, at least, is seeking a way out for its young

empty house, shorn of all but the barest necessities, and sometimes even of those. Auction rooms are crowded with furniture and pawnbrokers will not take in anything but jewellery in some districts, knowing that pledges of clothing, sewing machines, and other articles of home use will never be redeemed and can only with difficulty be sold when people have no money to buy. Even before pawnbrokers ceased to take in articles of clothing in the most distressed districts they were giving very little for them; a suit which could in prosperous times be pawned for 10s. would only fetch 5s., and a bundle of children's clothing once pawnable for 3s. dropped to 1s. 9d.

'They never redeem anything now (a pawnbroker told me). I always know when bad times come on a district. When work is good and they pawn a suit or a coat meaning to get it out in a few weeks, they always pay 1d. extra to have it hung so that it won't be creased and show it has been 'up the spout.' The last two or three years they never pay the extra penny; they know they'll never get their things out. I've got women's coats here I've kept for three years, although a pawnbroker is entitled by law to sell a pledge if it is not claimed in thirteen months. Sometimes the women have called in and asked me to keep them just a little longer, and I've done so to oblige even though they couldn't pay the interest. Now I've got hundreds of women's and children's clothes on my hands, and they'll never be claimed, nor can I sell them in more prosperous districts because they are all old-fashioned.'

Much has been said lately of the work of the transference boards, by which men are taken from a derelict district to a more prosperous one. I cannot see where in this country to-day a prosperous district is to be found. Men migrated unofficially to the Yorkshire and Northumbrian mining areas from worked-out or closed pits, when work resumed after the stoppage, only to find that work was very scarce, while in many cases the work they obtained was too hard for them. The seams are deeper, the conditions harder and the work considerably more strenuous; excessive perspiration was the result of their effort, and frequent chills. In some districts the new tuberculosis cases are found to be those of these immigrants who cannot adapt themselves to the new conditions. Work was recently found in Flintshire for a young Staffordshire miner, who, when he got there, found that unemployment was as bad as in his own district, and that a few strangers had been imported to take the place of men against whom the manager had some personal political bias. It is usual to transfer a young unmarried man, because obviously he has no furniture or dependants to remove; but the difficulties here are very great indeed. A young man has not the same responsibility as the father of a family; he has, perhaps, not the same will to put up with difficulties; and it seems fairly common for a young

[illegible]
[illegible] soap, [illegible]
[illegible] including these for bread, tea,
potatoes, [illegible]
sugar, lard, margarine, [illegible] milk, and jam.

Now all these budgets are from women whose husbands are working and receiving no dole or relief of any sort. It will be noticed what a heavy toll dues of various sorts take of the weekly wages before living expenses can be calculated, and when life on these 'good' wages given is at so low a level it can be imagined what life on the unemployment pay of 26s. man and wife and 2s. per child is like. Relief varies in the districts where the men have exhausted unemployment pay. In many cases it is 25s. a week for man and wife and one child, but it is frequently given in food tickets, some of which the landlord takes in lieu of rent. I do not know if this is legal, but it is done everywhere. It is significant that in the Blaenau district the annual turnover of the co-operative society, which supplies much of the food of the district, has dropped from 80,000l. to 20,000l. in four years, although the population remains fairly level—that is, a quarter of the normal amount of money is being spent on food. Tradespeople are in a distressing condition; in one street in a Welsh village can be seen seven shops closed down, and the same is true of South Staffordshire, Yorkshire, Durham, and Northumberland; you can see thirty empty shops in one small town. Men who have put all their life savings into a business, and in some cases have borrowed money to start a shop, are ruined. What is happening to them nobody seems to know. They have no dole to draw on, not being employed workers; some of them sit at home in despair, some of them have disappeared from the district. The same applies to owners of houses. Very often an elderly woman, or perhaps an old couple, during the good days have saved money and built half a dozen houses in a building society as provision against old age. These houses have been let to miners, and for four or five years now rent has not been paid regularly; in some cases it has entirely ceased to be paid at all, while even in the case of bigger landlords the position is very desperate.

The housing problem presents many curious and unexpected sides; you can walk along a whole street of empty post-war houses in almost any mining district nowadays—houses built on the familiar garden city lines, on subsidy or by private enterprise—and also older houses, all untenanted; while in the next street two or three families are huddled together in one house to save rent. Perhaps the housing problem hurts most those thrifty people who are buying a house on mortgage; the anxiety they are undergoing to pay the amounts due every month or quarter and the shifts they are put to are terrible. In many cases neat curtains hide an

Payday is a nightmare, trying to think which thing I shall pay [she says]. All the money is spent before it comes into the house, and I manage by appeasing one tradesman at a time. When I have to pay for boots or stockings we have to leave a grocer's bill partly unpaid. Next week we shan't have to pay back rent, as that is deducted every fortnight, but the coal money will be deducted, so we shall be as bad burnt as scalded.

Her husband never has a shilling in his pocket, and the shillings-worth of cigarettes she buys from the grocer she rations out to him every day. She says she cannot remember when they had an outing, and has never been in a cinema in her life.

Here is a budget from Durham of a miner and his wife who have been married five years and have no children. The man gets 1*l*. 13*s*. 4*d*. a week for five shifts, of which he has to pay 2*s*. 3*d*. a fortnight for the union They pay 5*s*. rent ; 2*s*. off back debt to grocer, incurred in 1926 ; sick club, 9*d*. ; milk, 9*d*. ; insurance, 1*s*. 4*d*. ; clothing club, 2*s*. ; club, 1*s*. ; husband's pocket-money, 1*s*. 6*d* ; meat, 3*s* , tobacco, 7½*d*. ; groceries, cleaning materials and vegetables, 10*s* ; flour and yeast, 3*s*. 4*d*. What is left she spends on the house ; she has recently papered her two rooms herself, and is very house-proud. They never have an outing, but, as they have no children, consider themselves very fortunate.

A woman in Wakefield sends me this budget. Her husband's wages are 2*l* 10*s* a week for a full week, but often drop to 2*l*. or less. This family is overshadowed by a debt of 5*l*. to the grocer, left over from the 1926 stoppage, and it has to be met somehow. Rent is 6*s* 3*d* ; insurance and papers, 1*s* ; clothing club, 2*s*. 6*d* , hire purchase beds and bedding, 2*s*. 6*d*. ; union, 1*s*. ; debt to poor law guardians, 2*s* ; coal, 2*s* 6*d* , shoe-mending, 4*s*. 6*d*. ; gas, 1*s* ; milk, 2*s* 6*d* , eggs, 2*s* ; meat, dripping and bones for soup, 6*s* , flour, 7*s*. 1*d* , sugar, 2*s*. 1½*d*. ; margarine, 2*s*. ; tea, 2*s* 8*d*. , potatoes, 2*s* ; lard and bacon, 1*s*. 6*d*. ; jam, 1*s*. 9*d*. ; cleaning materials, salt, vinegar, rice, and currants, 3*s* 6*d* There are seven in this family—five children, father and mother This woman seems a genius at housekeeping, for she manages to lay out her money in a way that provides some variety in feeding.

Mrs. H. (Lancs) calls herself a high-class miner's wife because her husband is working four or five days a week and bringing home 2*l*. 6*s*. on a good week. 'When I buy a jersey or a pinafore for one of the four children, or a shirt for my husband, I have to cut short the food,' she says, 'and one thing is worn to shreds before I buy another' Here is her budget : rent, 9*s*. 3*d*., including 1*s*. for arrears , coal, 3*s*. 5*d*. ; milk for baby, 1*s*. 2*d*. ; relief fund, 1*s*. ; insurance, plus arrears, 2*s*. 1*d*. ; clothing club, 2*s*. 6*d*. ; children's insurance, plus arrears, 1*s*. 4*d*. ; doctor, 1*s*. ; shoe repairs, 1*s*. ; club for Christmas and August Bank Holiday

[illegible] rice, milk), 6d. on [illegible] meat borrowed in [illegible] during the stoppage, 1s. on pieces of meat for Sunday, 6d. on potatoes. This leaves her with 2s. 9d. for everything else—medicines, clothes, repairs to boots, newspapers and so on. This man hews coal, which is one of the heaviest jobs in a mine, and his wife does all the work for a family of seven, five of whom are growing children. They have no clothes and are, like everyone else in their village, just trusting to Providence to find covering for them. An alderman in this district, writing to me this week, says that 'if it were not for the help given by the child welfare centres and the Lord Mayor's Fund, this place would be a cemetery of living bones.' As Mrs. H. says, they live on bread and margarine and tea. 'A shillingsworth of pieces' of meat is an elastic term. In good times, when butchers are doing well, they sometimes give 3 lb. of trimmings of joints for 1s.; I have often bought such an amount in London for 1s. for my dog. But in the mining districts the tradesmen are all on the edge of ruin, and a shillingsworth of pieces now means about half what it meant two years ago. These pieces are stewed in water; but you notice that no money is spent on onions or other vegetables to make the stew palatable, nor yet on any sort of flavouring. Such a stew is only reasonably fit for human consumption if cooked as a Frenchwoman would cook it, by dipping each piece of meat in flour and frying it first with onions, turnips, carrots and tomatoes. These pieces of meat (often slightly 'off'), boiled in water and eaten so, make a nauseating dish. They are the Sunday dinner looked forward to all the week.

Here is another budget from Yorkshire. The writer is the wife of a miner with three children who has just brought home 32s. 6d. after deductions for rent, back rent, and other dues. He has had a six days week on the coal face—that is, the maximum. Her husband is one of the aristocracy. Her grocery bill comes to 17s., and is spent as follows: flour, 4s. 6d.; butter, 4s.; margarine, 1s.; soap, 1s. 4d.; matches, 3d.; cigarettes, 1s.; milk (tinned), 7d.; jam, 1s. 4d.; lard, 1s.; cleaning materials, 8d.; bacon, 9d.; and corned beef, 3d. She pays 1s. 6d. boot repairing; 1s. the union; 1s. 9d. stockings for one of the girls; 2s. 6d. off the water rate overdue; 2s. 6d. insurances; 1s. clothing club; 1s. off the doctor's bill incurred when a child had pneumonia; 1s. 10½d. vegetables; and 2s. 4½d. is left, out of which she gets 2s. worth of meat and a gill of milk and a cooking egg to make a pudding. She makes the meat last Sunday, Monday and Tuesday by careful cooking and rationing.

usually effective. The baby is then given supplementary food from the bottle. It is quite impossible for my correspondents to follow this advice. Even three weeks' perseverance does not produce milk: a starved, over-driven, harassed mother cannot supply milk, the secretion of which is almost as much a psychological as a physical function. And this failure to feed the new baby naturally increases the expenses of the family. In normal circumstances the coming of a new baby need not mean 'another mouth to feed' until it is nine months old; in times of unemployment and poor living the baby must be fed from birth, and fed on expensive diet—milk supplemented by sugar, cream, or cod liver oil. Illness—infantile paralysis, summer diarrhœa and other diseases that take toll of baby life—follows, bringing even more expense. It is a significant thing, too, that the figures of death in child-birth, and also the number of still-births, have increased alarmingly lately, in spite of the great amount of money spent on ante-natal clinics. It is impossible to get figures that throw any light on abortions and miscarriages, for usually women manage these illnesses for themselves, unless there are complications ending in the need for a doctor's visit; but if my correspondence with miners' wives, which ranges over the whole of England and Wales, is any indication, these are very high. 'I have had two miscarriages this year, and feel as if I'm so weak, I can't drag about,' is a typical letter. Some of these miscarriages may be brought about artificially; but I am inclined to think the number is very small, for these women do not protest against child-bearing, but take it as a matter of course, and deplore miscarriages almost as much as they deplore births! I have not talked to any doctors about this matter, but the figures of still-births and maternal mortality given by medical officers incline me to the opinion that many of the women suffering from malnutrition are finding that their bodies literally have not the strength to bear children.

Last year I was contributing a page every week to the *Miner*, the official organ of the Miners' Federation, and, in an attempt to find out what sort of cookery recipes to give them, I asked my readers to send in their weekly budgets. I had been writing articles on 'Food Reform' of a rather scientific character, and frequently received letters asking for a weekly menu for a family of four or five people living on 18*s*. a week. I saw that my articles were utterly useless. Here are a few typical budgets, backed up in most cases by grocers' bills and pay tickets. Mrs. H. (Northumberland) gives me her husband's average takings for the three past weeks, which are 24*s* 6*d*. There are herself and husband and five children to keep; no rent to pay, as they live in a colliery house. She spends 5*s*. 6*d*. a week on flour, 2*s*. on

[illegible] as the [illegible] from [illegible] because it [illegible] of health [illegible] and home, partly because for a child [illegible] of the sacrifice of the parents, and partly thanks to the voluntary and official meals they are getting.

But now to come to the mothers. "The mothers attending the maternity and child welfare centres show marked signs of malnutrition," says Dr. Kaye, county medical officer for the West Riding of Yorkshire; and the medical officer of health of Monmouth points out that the number of mothers attending the clinics able to breast-feed their babies has decreased very greatly, because "the nutrition and general standard of health of the mothers has definitely deteriorated lately, consequent upon the low wages earned by the majority of the workers and the degree of unemployment in the county." Writing articles on the upbringing of babies in the *Daily Herald* and other papers, I get many letters from mothers asking my advice, and usually give it with the caution, "But don't depend on me. I am too far away to see exactly how things are with you; go to the clinic"; and they reply that they do not like to go to the clinic when they have grown so very shabby. They stay at home and shut the door and suffer. "I can't go and see a doctor when I have no underclothes on; I'd feel ashamed," they tell me. I was considerably worried last year by a correspondence with a mother of three children who, from the symptoms, I felt must be suffering from *cancer of the breast. I kept urging her to go to the hospital*, but, as she lived in Yorkshire and I in London, I could not see her personally. Finally I found that the trouble was partly her terror of being taken into hospital and leaving the family untended, and partly her shame of letting the doctor see her clothes. After six months, during which she grew steadily worse and nearly made me decide to rush up to Yorkshire to force her to the doctor, she went to him when she could stand the pain no longer and was continually fainting. I got her some clothes and made her go to hospital by impressing her with the fact that she would be treating me unfairly if she did not. It was too late. She is dead now. I think any woman would have done as she did. How can a sensitive woman let a doctor know that she has no underclothes to wear?

When these women write to me asking how to feed their babies I usually give them the advice given by Dr. Truby King at his mothercraft training centres, where he says that he never fails to make a mother able to breast-feed her baby if she is in normal health. The advice is simple; the baby is put to the breast for ten minutes and made to suck even if no milk is there; this starts secretion in the milk glands, and is

The same report goes on to say, quoting Dr. [illegible], whose district is wholly a mining area :

> Financial conditions show little improvement ; in fact, they are in many cases less satisfactory than during the stoppage in 1926. Most of the miners' children never have fresh cow's milk. . . . Not long ago a clinic mother said to me : ' We used to have 8*l.* a week coming in, now we have only 21*s.* to 25*s.* a week, and it takes some getting used to.' . . . A lessened income does not only mean a more limited diet and worn-out clothes : it has also a psychological effect on the parents. Poverty does not always stir them to greater thrift and more thought for the care of their children. Sometimes it appears to paralyse them.

Miss Scott, a school dentist in the same district, says :

> Another sequel to the trade dispute is the number of badly nourished children one finds One notices more cases of sickness after extractions and a greater number of nervous children Another feature is the state of the gums. The mucous membrane in many cases has been badly inflamed, and the gums were soft and spongy, bleeding easily on pressure. I would say that the amount of soft food eaten instead of meat, vegetables, and fruit has been responsible for this condition

The voluntary committees of many child welfare and maternity centres sell very cheaply, and in some cases distribute free, cod liver oil and dried milks, and it is significant that the medical officer of health for Monmouth reports that the condition of babies up to a year old (when officially the child ceases to benefit by this scheme) is markedly better than that of the toddlers of two years. In some cases, usually through the personal efforts of the head teacher in schools, drinks of milk are given during the morning to the children, and during this past year a well-known firm of dried milk makers have supplied head teachers with urns, beakers and dried milk at a price which makes it possible for them to sell a beaker full of hot milk at ½*d* per head A North Staffordshire head teacher told me that all her children bring their 2½*d*. on Monday mornings, ' though how the parents manage it goodness knows,' she added In some cases meals have been provided in schools for necessitous children, usually by the efforts of the head teacher and the co-operation of local tradesmen who sell materials very cheaply, so that in the Blaenau district a school dinner can be given for 2½*d* and in Yorkshire for 3*d*., including soup made of meat and bones, vegetables and rice pudding.

I read in a certain newspaper during the stoppage in 1926 that the talk about the suffering of the children was nonsense, as they were better fed than ever before ! They were fed by the various school and unofficial organisations, which were able to do better for the children than their parents could, even when working. The fact that so few children are actually exhibiting signs of the sensational sort of starvation we were accustomed to see reported

[illegible] day. The [illegible] —shirts [illegible] scraps of material—[illegible] article of [illegible], underclothing, children's garments made out of almost any material that will take a needle and cotton. Few of the men have socks, but put their boots on to bare feet; many of them, when they go out to meetings, make themselves look smart by wearing 'dickies' (fronts of shirts attached to a collar) under their coats, which are worn next to the skin. A woman told me that, in accordance with custom, she had saved the pretty frilled calico nightgown she had been married in for her burial—amongst these women a nightgown for burial is kept almost from girlhood—but had had to cut the frills off and make a shirt for her husband, as he suffered from a skin disease which the rough lining of his coat irritated badly. The *Daily News* special commissioner, who has been visiting South Wales, has a comment on the state of the men's clothing:

By the special request of the local ex-service men [of Nantyglo], Armistice Day commemoration this year was held at Hermon Chapel at 7.45 p.m., because the men have no clothes decent enough for a daylight parade.

They had good suits and underclothes and socks when we sent them to France to fight for us. The women tell me, from all districts, that their men are staying in bed because their clothes are so poor. School reports say that the children are not suffering very greatly from apparent malnutrition, although in Blaina and Nantyglo 8 per cent. are subnormal through this cause, and in one school 14 per cent. were classed subnormal. But here, again, a report from the school medical officer of health for the West Riding of Yorkshire is worth noting:

If one is disposed to self-congratulation on so few children exhibiting signs of malnutrition, it is a good corrective to undue optimism to keep in mind two facts—viz., (1) that the good results mean a great deal of self-sacrifice on the part of someone, mainly the mother; (2) that insufficient or barely sufficient food does not make its effects felt until some time after except in delicate children. But there are still the imponderables of commencing malnutrition, the unconscious economy of effort, the lack of muscular tone, the lack of high spirits or mischievousness (in boys), increased liability to fatigue, diminished resiliency against adverse circumstances, such as the slower recovery from loss of sleep. These considerations should weigh heavily in determining whether there are children in attendance at schools who are unable by reason of lack of food to take full advantage of the education provided for them. It would be unwise to wait until the lack of food manifests itself in failure to thrive—*i.e.*, to achieve the proper increase in height and weight—for these we may very properly regard as the later symptoms of insufficient food.

roads in mining districts are notoriously bad and wear out a pair of plimsolls, which are unrepairable. Various charities and local efforts amongst religious and school people have provided shoes for schoolchildren, but in some districts in Wales, Durham and Yorkshire 10 per cent. of the schoolchildren are absent because they have no boots to come to school in. The clothing of the schoolchildren, though ragged in many cases, is, on the whole, adequate—though some medical inspectors report that children are wearing eight or nine layers of clothing at once sewn together for warmth and not removed at bedtime, as there are no blankets. But it is in the homes that the clothing is at its worst, for somehow or other, through jumble sales and private charity, the children do get to school covered, at least. I know personally school teachers in mining districts who gave up last summer's holiday trip to spend the money on making clothes for the children in their classes; and something is being done in another way by 'adoption.' That is, through various labour organisations during the stoppage, people in non-mining districts were put in touch with miners' families and had a child or two children for five or six months living with them; since November 1926 some people have kept in touch with miners' families and collected clothing amongst their friends for them, and had a child or a mother for a week's holiday, paying all expenses for them. But actually in the homes clothing is practically non-existent. In some articles on 'child care' in the *Daily Herald* I advocated the use of butter muslin for babies' napkins, as it can be bought for 4½*d*. a yard and is soft and absorbent, but they cannot buy it. Mothers' underclothes are torn up to make napkins for the baby, and the constant cry in letters I get from miners' wives is, 'Have you any bits of old sheets or anything to tear up for napkins?' The babies cannot be trained from birth in cleanliness in many cases, for this, as any nurse or mother can testify, takes time and patience, and the mothers have not much time! What is more, many of the homes have no 'chambers' which the babies can be taught to use, and one hesitates to take a weakly baby out of doors to a bucket closet when it is raining or frosty. What is more, I do not think many people yet realise the utter weakness of many of the mothers, following on childbirth and semi-starvation. It may sound condemnatory when I say that babies are crawling about the floor of a two-roomed home with legs encrusted with fæces, but I do not mean to be condemnatory at all. It is impossible to keep a baby clean when a mother is almost too weak from malnutrition to hold it in her arms, and when there is not a scrap of linen in the house to make it a napkin. When I was talking to the M.P. for Don Valley about the condition of things in his constituency he said something I can never forget: 'Just

[illegible] are [illegible] work, while [illegible] [illegible] winter and [illegible] poverty [illegible] of employment. These figures, which normally [illegible] I am assured by [illegible] M.P.'s, and others who have their local conditions at their finger tips, have grown alarmingly since the report was issued, and they are also misleading for this reason. Many men have ceased to be 'insured persons' for various reasons and so do not appear amongst the official figures; their numbers are not available yet, but some experts would put them at double the Government estimate for May 1928. It is very misleading to read in the London Press 'Brighter outlook—Unemployment Figures Down this Month.' They are down only because men have ceased to be on the registers and have been turned derelict on the world. Old men and sick men are taken off the registers as being 'not eligible to return to employment.' All that is before them is parish relief.

A good deal has been written in the newspapers about the 'dole' and how it works in practice, but there is a great deal of misapprehension about this also. 'Standard benefit' for an insured man means a week's 'dole' for six weeks' contributions; thus a man who has had a full year's work is normally entitled to unemployment pay for eight weeks; men who worked full time for a period of years have been able, therefore, to draw unemployment pay for considerable periods. Following the depression in trade during the present crisis, however, a man has been compelled to show only thirty stamps on his card in order to draw unemployment pay. Some men have been unemployed for five years or more, and their income from unemployment pay is 26s. for man and wife and 2s. for each child. They pay anything from 3s. to 10s. rent; but that is not all. The stoppage in 1926 has left its legacy of debt as well as exhausting all savings, and often the rent is increased by half to wipe off this past debt. You can live on a sum like 30s. a week for five people for a while—after a period of good work when the home is well provided; the dole gives food and rent and some firing on a starvation basis for a few months; but what happens when clothes wear out? Clothes and boots go first; bedding and cooking utensils follow. School medical officers have reported, in all mining districts, that they have seen children whom they thought cripples running about the streets, but inquiry has proved that they were suffering from sores through broken boots or limping from the actual discomfort of shoes which had not yet caused abrasions. During the past summer the state of footgear amongst the schoolchildren has not been bad, for most of them have been wearing rubber plimsolls at from 1s. 11d. to 2s. 11d. a pair often provided by charity; but the

Many men in the northern coalfields are working [illegible] what is called the 'starvation level,' for the pits are [illegible] and a half days, thus cutting the men off the 'dole.' [illegible] prefer work to unemployment, and will pay omnibus fares to go [illegible] miles a day to work. In North Staffordshire the managers of some of the pits have made an arrangement by which they work five days one week and two the next, so that a man may get a fair week's wages one week and draw a supplementary sum from the labour exchange the next. In Wales the men find that working half-time produces 26s. a week, which is the same figure as the dole would be, and work does not pay them. While a man is out of work his landlord (they live here, in the Merthyr Valley, in houses not owned by the collieries) does not clamour for his rent, nor is he expected to pay his loans or his debts to tradesmen, but the minute he gets a day's work a procession of creditors, quite naturally, begins to knock at his door. There are many districts in Wales, with a population of 10,000, entirely out of work, living on a 30s. a week average per home; and miners' families are notoriously big. In passing, I may mention one thing. There has been some attempt unofficially to give women who ask it birth-control information. It has got about amongst miners' wives, for instance, that I myself would give such advice, the carrying out of which would cost about 2s., which meant a supply of the necessary material for three weeks; and I have received hundreds of letters from women, some of them unstamped because they literally could not afford the stamp. When I told them what to buy many of them replied that they simply dared not spend 2s. and must run the risk of another baby. Last Christmas some of my children's school friends got together a few parcels of gifts for miners' children, and I wrote to a miner's wife I know in Durham asking for addresses of families to whom we could send the gifts. The average number of children in the twenty families she sent to me was eight.

In the Blainau district nine collieries have closed down during the past four years—four of them all at once, putting 800 men at a time out of work. In Spennymoor there are 60,000 to 70,000 men unemployed. In North Staffordshire during the past month there have been 2500 totally unemployed, two collieries having just shut down and certain seams of others being closed, while more pits talk of closing down shortly. Things would be worse here but for the recent opening of a big factory to make motor tyres, which has absorbed some labourers. In Brynmawr (Brecon) there are only 400 people employed at all out of a population of 10,000, and these are not, in any case, miners; they are all school teachers, shop assistants, carpenters and the like. The latest returns furnished to the Mines Department of H.M. Government show

[illegible]

Now for figures. [illegible] parts of the county. In Durham the minimum wage is 7s. 2½d. a day for a seven-and-a-half hours day for coal hewers; other grades get 6s. [illegible] eight hours day, and piece-work rates were reduced last February to 65 per cent. from 89 per cent. above the 1879 basis. In Northumberland the minimum is 6s. 9½d. per day, and the piece-work rates were reduced from 80 per cent. above basis to 40 per cent., which brings them considerably lower than the rates in 1914, when costs of living entirely changed. In addition a man is entitled to a varying allowance for coal, according to the size of his family, and to a house—perhaps good, perhaps deplorable—or to an allowance of 10d. per shift if no house is available. If he will not take a house available, no matter in what condition it may be, in most cases he does not get the 10d. rent allowance. To arrive at what these figures mean in actual money coming into the home is not easy, but the average paid out in wages, including cash and kind, during the month of June 1928, works out at 2l. 4s 1½d per man for Durham and 1l 19s. 8½d. for Northumberland. Here, again, further figures are necessary, for deductions for various dues are made before the wages are paid, these deductions often reaching from 3s. to 4s 6d a week, divided up between health and unemployment insurances, mutual benefit funds, subscriptions to the infirmary and repayment, from 2d. to 6d a week, of relief granted on loan by the guardians during 1926. These deductions are usually made whether the man has worked six days or two. In the Northumbrian mining area there is a particularly tragic side-issue: here the collieries have built nice post-war houses in many cases which the men are buying at a weekly sum, something like 10s or more a week, from their wages. This was an excellent plan when work was good; it meant that the miner would have a home when he was old and needed more comforts, and that his son would not have rent to pay at all, but it presses grievously on him now. For instance, here is an example by no means isolated. A Durham miner living with his wife and two children in one of these houses drew one week, after deductions, 19s. 1d for four shifts; the next week the pit worked only two days, so he drew 3s. 1d. and received 14s. from the labour exchange. He cannot leave his house, and guardians are not at present granting relief to partially employed men. Financially a man is worse off when the pit is working four days than if he is unemployed, for he can draw unemployment pay in addition if he works only three days, but not if he works more.

and cod liver oil, but it seems as if Jim caught it [illegible] he can't get rid of it. The doctor said it came from undernourishment. [illegible] both been off work now three weeks, and last week they sent [illegible] relieving when he went for his dole on Friday, so we had two [illegible] each and gravy made of a penny Oxo cube for our Sunday dinner.

About impetigo. This is usually considered a disease arising from dirty conditions in children, but the report of the Medical Officer of Health of the West Riding of Yorkshire for 1927 notes an alarming increase of it even amongst children not in the dirty class, and says it is mainly due to lack of sunshine and malnutrition; he also says that some of the children are suffering from what looks like scurvy, a disease scarcely ever heard of in England to-day, cured as it is almost instantly by the vitamin-C in fresh fruit and green vegetables.

People at large, who gather their information about the mining industry from the newspapers, have heard a great deal about the seven and a half hours a day agreement entered into by some mines in November 1926, and I have repeatedly had people in London say to me, 'Well, why do they grumble? I work much longer than that.' In effect, of course, no miner works only seven and a half hours a day. In the Don Valley, for instance, a miner will ride down the pit at 5.10 a.m. and ride out at 2.20 p.m., giving a period of nine hours ten minutes in the pit. The average time is about eight and half hours in the pit. Transport is improving in all the colliery districts in England at least, great fleets of omnibuses going almost everywhere now; but even omnibus travel takes some amount of time, and when the men reach underground they may have to go some miles to the coal face. A man in Staffordshire told me last week that he had to walk three miles from home to the pithead (working three days a week, he could not afford omnibus fares, and has been wanting new tyres for his bicycle for months), and when he got underground had to walk another three miles back to work exactly under his home!

I suppose, owing to the work of the R.S.P.C.A., many newspaper readers have heard of the blindness of pit ponies, and have probably given subscriptions to help this society carry on its work of helping these inarticulate sufferers; not so many people outside mining areas know of the miner's nystagmus, a twitching affection of the eyes which leads to partial blindness, and very few people, even amongst those who have been disturbed by the reports of silicosis amongst pottery and flint workers, know that a similar disease affects old miners; it shows itself as a kind of asthma, with agonising contractions of the chest and coughing, and, although it is not actually responsible for tuberculosis, it is easily understood that lungs that have been lacerated by particles

[illegible] where a few years ago [illegible] were killed in the same pit. I do not think any other industry spreads this same pall of dread over the women left at home.

All this, however, applies to times and districts where the mining industry is flourishing and the men prosperous; all these things are true of days when good money is coming into the house. If they were earning [illegible] a week each, there would be the same struggle with dirt, the same, unmitigated ugliness, the same bad housing and the same cloud of dread for the women and children. Even in good times the men would have the long hours of work under bad conditions. Many of them have to work in places reminiscent of the 'little-ease' cells of mediæval torturers; many of them work almost naked; many of them have to crawl on all fours with a chain round their waists dragging trucks. I know that most people have the belief that these chains are not used now, but that does not alter the fact that they are. The coal-hewer's work is very hard; his shorts and his socks in normal times become soaked in sweat, and sometimes, while waiting after a heavy fall of coal until the air passages become ventilated, he gets chilled. In the days when he was well fed he could throw off these chills. Now that the men go to work on an inadequate meal of bread and margarine and tea without milk, and have reached that condition of debility inevitable after four or five years of inadequate feeding, the sweating is excessive, and they have to pause three or four times an hour to wring out their shorts and empty their boots of moisture. Few of them have socks now. During the 1926 stoppage I got into personal touch with a number of miners' families through my page in George Lansbury's paper, which did some unofficial work in providing clothes, etc. I have kept in touch with these families since. A woman in Barnsley wrote to me last week:

'Before all this trouble started you couldn't have found a stronger chap than Bill. He was a splendid boxer and footballer. But his health seems to have broken up, though he is only thirty-eight. It was being starved during the lock-out that began it, and the first day he went back to work he came over giddy because he'd had no breakfast but a drink of water, and fell down and broke his leg. That kept him home three months; then he went back again before he was fit and sweated so awful, he got pneumonia with the chill of his wet clothes. We do seem to have had bad luck. Jim [a lodger of twenty-three whom this woman stood by and shared parish relief with for the whole seven months of the stoppage when single men were given no relief at all] isn't in very good health either; he keeps coming out all over in sores. The school doctor said Billy [the little boy] had what they call impetigo, but it got better at the clinic with ointment

them materially. Child-birth is [illegible]; it means that the mother's bed is carried into the living-room for the confinement so that she can keep her hands on the reins of government; it means that the midwife either carries on her work with the family round her (with often, indeed, a child or two in the actual bed where a new baby is being born) or else turns the whole family out to shelter with a neighbour; it means sometimes a day or two in bed 'being a lady,' but more often than not the woman is up and about next day. There used to be a good deal of neighbouring done at these times—the washing taken out of the homes by friends, neighbours coming in to cook and care for the families—but from all the coalfields the same tale comes to me now: in times of illness the doors are closed because of the pride that will not let even people in the same state of poverty see what has gone from the home and the pass to which it has been reduced. A woman has to get up when her baby is three days old to tackle all the washing attendant on a confinement; she has to carry and heat all the water; very rarely has she a copper to boil the clothes. Death, too, is just as terrible; the dead body has to stay in the one bedroom or living-room until burial. In a house where a mother had died in child-birth and the father was at work three days a week the table was covered with unwashed crocks; a paper of margarine and half a loaf of bread were on the coffin, and the five children were huddled round a choked fire; they are all so terribly dependent on the mother that when she dies everything goes to pieces for a time. When she is ill—but she never is ill in the way we understand illness—she either goes about her ministry or drops dead. Death is much reverenced amongst these people—they start to pay death insurance as soon as a child is born, so that they can be sure of decent burial; but now many of the insurances have had to lapse, and death means a whip-round amongst neighbours for the price of burial. To anyone who understands the psychology of working people this is a most significant fact. They pay their burial club money every week before anything; they would go hungry to pay it. To drop the payment of death insurance is as ultimate a thing as the pawning of the wedding ring.

Then, too, in the normal life of the miner's wife is the ever-present dread of accident. Women literally do not know, when their husbands and sons go out to work, if they will ever come back. When I was a girl they used to say that a certain pit in our district killed a man a week, but things are better there now, with improved machinery and pit-props. Perhaps we think too sentimentally about death; yet I remember the terror one day of meeting four men carrying a bloody sack across our field and being told that Tom —— was in it. Only the day before, I had passed

[illegible] I met another man who [illegible] boy when I was a girl and whose father once grew [illegible] pup. I asked him about the dogs, which used to take prizes at local shows. 'We put three of 'em in the pool with bricks tied round their necks during the lock-out,' he said tonelessly. 'I kept the little bitch (he entered into a long pedigree which took me back thirty years) till last Easter; then I drowned her too.'

Life was not pretty even twenty years ago in a mining village; the miners' wives made pillow-slips of black sateen because it was impossible to struggle with white cotton ones, which so soon became grey, however much they were washed. A miner's wife, even in the best conditions, has a life that people in southern England could scarcely imagine; for instance, her husband may have to be at work at 4 in the morning, which means that she gets up about 3 to light the fire and prepare his breakfast; her children will have to be fed for school at 9, and her husband will arrive home some time after 12 noon hungry and black. Food must be ready for him, and hot water to wash him on the hearth, because, working with no clothing but a pair of calico pants, he is blackened all over with coal dust. He has no bathroom (although some of the pits have now provided baths and many more are providing them), and has to stand in a tub in the living-room while his wife scrubs him with soap and water. Then, probably, she has a son or a lodger setting off to work before 3, and he has to be fed. The children come in from school at 4.30 for their tea, the son comes back just after midnight. The children bring in loads of black mud on their boots from the rutted, unpaved roads, and the men bring in coal dust. I saw a woman pouring away the water in which she had just washed her husband; it was black as ink with a two-inch sediment of coal dust. During the past thirty years the men have been doing a great deal, in various organisations, to help themselves to better conditions, although even now few pits have any lavatory accommodation underground, and the floor of the mine is their lavatory; but little has been done, or can be done, for the women. Their lives are one long ministry to the needs of the men and the children. The women's institutes, the women's sections of the Labour Party, various religious organisations, and the woman's pages of Labour papers are doing what they can to brighten their lives a little; but nothing save reorganisation of the hours of work and some sort of transport which will make it possible for their homes to be miles from the smoke-belching pithead can help

who 'kept themselves to themselves,' 'asking nothing from nobody.' I heard them sing 'Cwm Rhondda' again lately, and there was despair in their voices as they sang of being 'pilgrims through this barren land,' and the chorus 'Bread of heaven, bread of heaven, feed me till I want no more,' took on a most terrible significance.

Of course, these people whom I have just mentioned were the aristocracy of the colliery village, people living outside the tied-cottage areas, tramping or cycling many miles to work. Those in the actual colliery villages at the pithead lived often in two-roomed homes planted in long black rows facing each other, with a row of earth closets stretching right up the middle of the street. Some of them lived there because the houses were free, and they preferred to save a few shillings on rent than to have comfort; some lived there because there were not even then enough decent houses to go round. In Staffordshire and in the Northumbrian coalfield, where the mining industry is of century-old standing, these cottages were built in many cases 100 years ago, when the miners were considered scarcely human, and probably lower in the social scale than the negro slaves of America. They were housed far worse than pigs are housed by any farmer who wants to make money; few of the houses had any water supply, and these astonishing rows of earth closets outside the front doors—in many cases one to a dozen houses—were not considered either insanitary or degrading. In some houses in Northumberland and Durham one of the two rooms is an underground cellar built into the rock. No pavements were made, and in many cases no provision for the disposal of household refuse, which had to be tipped outside. In the years that have passed the collieries have grown enormously, but the old houses remain and are still lived in. I walked along rows of them last week; they were black outside, but steps had been whitened or raddled, and crisp, clean curtains were drawn tightly over the windows. But I missed the red geraniums and begonias which were in every window when I was a girl. There was little evidence of unusual poverty except the closely shut doors and the absence of children playing in the street or women talking at the doors. In hundreds of houses I did not see one open door, and, although it was a bitterly cold day, there was scarcely one cottage chimney smoking in this village, where two pits have recently closed down, because the cottagers have no money to buy coal; the hens scrabbling outside the cottages told what was happening inside. The miner is proud of his live-stock—these hens were mere frames of bone. I asked a man who, with his father, used to be a great breeder of canaries how his birds were. (It was significant that he, once the most hospitable of people, who would have beamed with delight and



THE MINER'S HOME

ALMOST all my life until I was eighteen I lived in a mining district. My grandfather came from the Lanarkshire coalfield, and sank one of the big pits (now worked out) in North Staffordshire. Almost all the people in our village were colliery workers, and when later I became an elementary school teacher most of my children were miners' children. Twenty years ago there was a curious absence of any servility amongst these people. Even when my father was a large employer of labour his family was treated with friendly equality, assured of a welcome in the homes of the workers, and treated with a sort of affectionate familiarity which did not change in the least when we became considerably poorer than most of the miners themselves at my father's death. I have memories of pleasant little cottages where my friends lived—brilliantly clean in spite of the terrible fight against smoke and dirt necessary in any colliery district, cottages with shining black and red tiled floors, firegrates polished like gleaming black velvet and window-sills covered with bright geraniums; good food on the table—one would sit down to a tea of ham and eggs (they had allotments and kept pigs and poultry, many of them), home-made cake, hot pikelets and home-made jam. Many of them kept canaries which sang deafeningly and took numbers of prizes, and some had whippets which raced or rabbit-coursed on Saturday afternoons; many of them took a big part in the life of the local chapels. I have often in the Primitive Methodist chapel listened to a collier delivering a sermon which, if my memory is not at fault, was considerably better than some I have listened to from professional clergy since. Many colliers, too, belonged to local choirs, and could sing anything from almost any oratorio, most of their music being religious. I heard them often sing the famous 'Cwm Rhondda.' At the time of the South African War, when the district sent a large number of men to fight, I shall never forget hearing the men at a pithead, receiving the news of the relief of Mafeking, break out spontaneously in that hymn as they reached the surface and heard the news. They seemed then to be such proud people—proud of their homes, proud of their black faces as they walked through the streets to their homes, people

relief on the urban), it still remains the fact that the spreading of the burden must result in some additional charge on areas that have escaped over-lightly in the past. All that can be done here is to mitigate and ease the transition. The county districts which lose are to be guaranteed that their deficiency shall be made up to them in the first year of the scheme, the difference being provided as to half by a supplemental Exchequer grant, and the remainder coming from the districts which gain, in proportion to their gains. This extra present to the losing areas, however, is not to be permanent. It is gradually to disappear, being reduced each year by one-fifteenth, so that the whole change is spread over this long period, during which it may well be set off by other conditions arising out of the scheme. There is, in particular, the stimulus given to agriculture and industry by the de-rating proposals, which may be expected to reduce local charges generally, and more particularly in industrialised districts.

Writing at the beginning of December, and before the Bill has got into committee, I anticipate that changes of detail will certainly be made during its passage through the House of Commons. In particular, I do not close my mind to the possibility of giving still further financial easement and security to the local authorities, for I recognise that they are asked to make a new departure into territory some part of which must remain unknown for the present, and so long as my object is attained in a reasonable time, I am not disposed to drive the authorities too hard or too fast at first But my experience has been almost universally that the better the whole scheme of the Government is understood the more it is appreciated , the more it is seen how its many parts are carefully and thoughtfully twined together to produce the desired results. For my part, I am satisfied that its main features are sound and right, that it will at once simp'ify and strengthen the structure of local government, which was already beginning ominously to quiver, and that it will remain among the greater monuments of legislation, to mark the onward and upward march of our democratic and characteristically British system of local administration.

N. CHAMBERLAIN

[illegible] 'weighted' population [illegible] two other factors, which, however, only occur in certain instances. The one is abnormal unemployment; the other a sparsity of population, such as you get in great rural counties, where the length of road to be maintained is out of all proportion to the number of people in the county, and where houses are so scattered as to make the common services far more expensive than where they are concentrated closely together.

The real 'proof of the pudding is in the eating,' and the formula must be judged by the results it produces. They have been very carefully worked out at the Ministry of Health, and, although one cannot expect to obtain mathematical accuracy, the formula is found to put the money where we want it to go.

Much criticism has been based on the fact that this or that local authority will gain more or less than some other similar local authority when the Government scheme is in full operation. This is really the wrong way to look at it. Gains or losses take account of the present allocation of Exchequer contributions, but if these are, as they are *ex hypothesi*, unfair, it is clear that a fair arrangement must mean gains in some cases and losses in the others. To see whether the formula is working correctly you must consider, not a comparison with the present circumstances, but a comparison of grant with needs, and a rather interesting example of this was provided recently during the debate in the House of Commons. Complaint had been made that, whilst the counties of Hampshire and Somersetshire were closely alike in needs, Hampshire would gain nearly 6od. per head of population, whilst Somersetshire would only gain about 1od. per head; but I was able to show that the total grant to Hampshire would be 31$\frac{1}{2}$d. per head, whilst that to Somersetshire would be 33od. So that, in fact, the actual grant per head would be very nearly the same in these two counties, the needs of which had been stated to approximate so closely to one another.

As this way of looking at the formula and its results comes to be appreciated, I am confident that the criticisms that have been made upon it, mostly from the theoretical point of view, will lose their force. There still remain, however, the difficulties arising out of the distribution of the grant within the counties. Here the difficulty arises, not from the formula, but from the spreading of the charges for Poor Law and highways, and whilst these two sets of charges tend to balance one another (for the highways chiefly bear upon the rural districts and the Poor Law

percentage grants, but the local taxation [illegible] as well. These two losses will be calculated for the [illegible] 1928–29, and to them will be added a sum of 5,000,000*l*., making a total which is at present estimated at about 45,000,000*l*. Ultimately it is intended that the whole of the block grant shall be distributed among the authorities aforesaid according to a formula which is designed to measure the needs and the ability to pay of each receiving authority.

To begin with, it would be impossible to put the formula into full operation without involving such large changes in individual cases as would dislocate the local finances. Accordingly, the proposal is that in the first five years each of the counties and county boroughs is to have returned to it, as a first charge upon the block grant, 75 per cent. of its loss of rates and grants, the remaining 25 per cent., together with the new money, being distributed according to the formula. In the second quinquennium only 50 per cent. of the loss of rates and grants will be given back, a further 25 per cent. being transferred to the formula. In the third quinquennium only 25 per cent. of loss of rates and grants will be made up direct, and in the fourth five-year period the formula will be in full operation.

The main purpose of this great change is to bring about a more equitable distribution of the national contribution to local expenditure, while at the same time making a substantial increase in the actual amount. The distribution of national grants, other than percentage grants, is to-day quite indefensible. Large amounts, for instance, are distributed according to a basis fixed forty years ago, when conditions were totally different from what they are to-day, and the principle underlying the Government's present proposal is that, in future, needs rather than local expenditure itself or conditions which were stabilised more than a generation ago should govern the allocation of the Government grant.

It is clear, therefore, that the formula which automatically distributes the grant to a greater and greater degree as time goes on is a matter of vital importance. I do not think it is necessary to give it here in mathematical form; it is to some extent admittedly empirical, but it is really based on considerations which must be obvious to everyone. The factor which above all regulates needs is population, and population, therefore, forms the basis of the formula. But of two communities one may be much poorer than the other, and therefore much more in need of help. Accordingly, we take into account two factors to measure relative poverty, one being rateable value per head, and the other the number of children under five years of age per 1000 of the population. It is a well-known fact

[illegible] the county purse towards the improvement of such a district, while in the same way a rural district will be able out of its resources to give assistance to a parish or a group of parishes within its area.

I suppose that the part of the scheme of reform which is likely to arouse the largest amount of doubt or criticism is that which concerns finance. Many people are quite genuinely concerned at the idea of substituting a block grant for the percentage grants which hitherto have been applied to the health services. They fear that if the stimulus which is afforded by the promise of pound for pound is withdrawn, local authorities may be backward and stingy about the development of services which, nevertheless, are getting recognised to be among the most valuable which the community can provide. No one attaches more importance to these services than I do. They include the provision for tuberculosis, the maternity and child welfare service, and the provision for mental deficiency, and the results of the efforts that have been made in these three directions are so encouraging that it would indeed be disastrous if they were to suffer a check. But I am convinced that, so far from suffering by the change, these services will gain. The position at present is that whilst if a local authority undertakes any one of these services it receives a grant from the Exchequer of an amount equivalent to its own expenditure on approved estimates, the Minister of Health has no power whatever to force any local authority to accept this gift if it does not choose to do so; and in fact a careful examination of the position of the services to-day shows that they are by no means satisfactory, and that the percentage grant has in many cases failed to secure the results which were expected.

What I think we should aim at, and what we hope to effect by the Bill, is that no local authority should be able to plead poverty as an excuse for not providing adequate health services, and that ample power should reside in the Minister of Health to enforce at least a minimum standard of service by withdrawal of part of the grant in case of default.

The block grant, under the Bill, is to be paid to the councils of counties and county boroughs, and it is to take the place of two items, namely, the loss of rates by the de-rating proposals and the loss of grants previously given—these including not only the

increased by reason of the necessity of supporting the families of those who have been thrown out of work.

So, too, with the roads. Modern conditions of traffic demand a far higher standard of road construction than has ever before been known. The benefits of this improved construction frequently come, not to the locality itself, but to other places far apart, between which the road becomes the channel of communication. And yet in performing this service for other places the rural district may well be crippled by the charge for the reconstruction of this one length of modern roadway. When the rateable value is reduced by the de-rating proposals these difficulties must be multiplied many times, and hence the need for spreading the charge over a wider area becomes more urgent and more vital, even than it has been in the past.

It will be seen, therefore, that the two reforms of rating on the one hand, and equalisation of charges on the other, are intertwined with one another, and that any suggestion that de-rating could have been carried through without affecting local government rests on a want of appreciation of the way in which the one factor affects the other. But, whilst the spreading of the financial responsibility for poor relief and highways over the area of the county, instead of that of the union or the county district, has become inevitable, it would be a misfortune if at the same time we were to lose the local interest and the local knowledge which has been employed with such advantage to the community of the boards of guardians and district councils. Much care has been given to that part of the Bill which provides that these valuable features of our local government shall not be lost in the future. The county council is to divide up its areas into sub-areas, which may be composed of one or more county districts, and in each of these sub-areas there is to be a local committee, known as the guardians committee, composed largely of members of the councils of the county districts, whose duties will be very similar to those of the old boards of guardians, though always leaving the financial responsibility and the general control of policy to the central body.

So also with the roads. Although the county council assumes liability, there will be a large measure of delegation of the actual work of maintenance and repair to the district council, and it is expected that, in this way, the district councils will retain their interest in the work, while at the same time there will be a much more complete standardisation of the widths and methods of construction.

Other clauses in the Bill will deal with a problem which is constantly arising in rural parts of the country, where rising standards in sanitation and comfort demand a better water

[illegible] ... local government [illegible] the ground for de-rating is one of equity, not of expediency. I do not contend that the manufacturer gains nothing from the services provided by the local authority. On the contrary, he obtains a direct benefit from the existence of the streets about his works and from their proper lighting and cleansing, and he is clearly interested in the preservation of law and order in the place in which he lives. Nor would I deny that he has also an indirect interest in the services which are provided for the benefit of his workpeople and staff. But it cannot, I think, be fairly argued that the manufacturer, as such, has the same interest in, let us say, education, the provision of libraries, swimming baths, recreation places, and some of the sanitary services as the householder, who may require these things for himself or his family. Moreover, the manufacturer has hitherto been rated, like the householder, upon the premises he occupies, regardless of the fact that the house and land of the householder were originally chosen as the most obvious measure of his ability to pay, whereas a factory can be no such measure, and may even be subject to rates when an actual loss is being made upon the processes carried on within it.

It was considerations of this kind that led the Government to the conclusion that to rate the manufacturer in future upon a quarter of the annual value of his factory was to place upon him a fair, and not less than fair, share of the common local burdens.

Having decided that justice demands some lightening of the burden laid by local rates upon the manufacturer and the farmer, we must next consider the effect upon local government. Local authorities derive the main part of their revenue from rates levied in proportion to rateable value, but the effect of de-rating is to narrow the field over which those rates can be spread. In other words, a service which would require a rate of a certain amount over the existing field of rateable value must require a much larger rate when that field is materially reduced. Already, however, the smaller areas of local government are severely handicapped when they have to meet sudden and unexpected demands, and when we consider what are the various services, the cost of which fluctuates most violently, two in particular stand out—the charges for poor relief and for highways. In some small areas there are often only three or four collieries or factories which have hitherto represented quite a large part of the rateable value. Let one of these be closed down, and the area in which it lies is hit in two ways—its revenue is reduced, and its liabilities are

in the system which impede and hamper its smooth and working.

It is always difficult in such a subject to know whe begin, but I think I may assume that the readers of this Re are possessed of some knowledge of the structure of local go ment and that it is not necessary for me, therefore, to enter any description of it. The Bill deals with a series of n reforms—all of them urgent, and most of them carrying be them a considerable weight of authority. I may summ them thus:

The abolition of the boards of guardians and the transfe of their powers and duties to the councils of counties and co boroughs.

The equalisation of the charges for Poor Law and high over the area of the county or county borough.

The institution of periodical reviews of county districts, the consequent adjustment of their boundaries or form (e.g. conversion of one form into another).

The complete de-rating of agricultural land and buildings the partial de-rating of productive industry.

The recasting of the financial relations between national local resources, involving the substitution of an annual l grant, fixed over a term of years, for the present hapha arrangement of assigned revenue grants and certain other g given on a percentage basis.

In addition to these major reforms, the Bill provides the remodelling of the registration services and the placin registrars upon a salaried basis, instead of one in which they remunerated by uncertain fees.

The de-rating proposals are, I think, already fairly understood, and, although argument still rages about the que of the amount of benefit they are likely to bring to indust believe that the country, as a whole, is satisfied that their e must be substantial The lifting of 24,000,000*l*. a year off backs of our manufacturers can hardly help putting them in position of being able to compete more effectually in the ma of the world, and no doubt it has not been overlooked that help is so directed as to flow in the greatest volume to those in tries which are in the greatest need of it. It may be confide asserted that not less than 18,000,000*l*. out of the 24,000, will go to the most depressed industries, including the heavy basic trades, and agriculture; and it is difficult to believe so large and substantial a benefit will not speedily resu increased employment.

All this, I repeat, is already in the minds of the public. W however, is not by any means so clearly realised is the tu

NINETEENTH
CENTURY
AND AFTER



No. DCXXIII—January 1929

LOCAL GOVERNMENT

To the ordinary citizen, immersed in his profession or in the conduct of commercial affairs, the subject of local government seems to offer a somewhat forbidding aspect. Its complications, its jargon of technical terms, its sinister tendency to be mixed up with politics, all combine to produce in him an attitude of aversion and dislike. A Local Government Bill of unusual length, and ranging over the whole field of local administration in town and country, must indeed be 'caviare to the general.' Nevertheless, to all those who have any part in local government—whether professionally or by their own choice as voluntary public servants—the subject has a deep fascination, and to-day the number of those so engaged in one form or another has reached a very high figure. They at least realise how deeply local government enters into the life of every individual, and how nearly the happiness, health, and general contentment of the people are affected by the working of the local government machine. And here and there, in the course of their work, many of them must have become aware of difficulties, inequalities, and injustices

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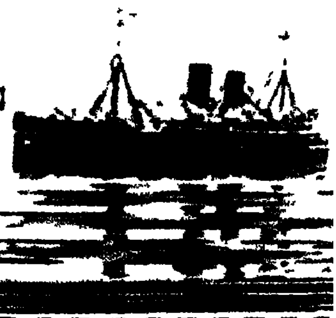
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The Nineteenth Century and After

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New Y[illegible]



From a [illegible] of the Alexandra Orphanage by Frank Reynolds, Esq., R.I.

The Empty Chair

means a heartache for the little child who has lost his father. It means much more however. The training and advice which father would have given to the little chap will be missing, and if mother has to go out to earn her own living and be self-supporting the little lad will be left alone and unprotected. A happy home awaits such children (boys and girls) at the Alexandra Orphanage at Haverstock Hill, London, N.W. 3, where they are received at all ages from early infancy to 11 years and are maintained until they are 14. Their training equips them for their duties as useful, self reliant citizens. [illegible] we are needed each year above the regular income, and gifts towards the upkeep of this excellent School will be welcomed by the Treasurer, the Right Hon. Lord Marshall, P.C., K.C.V.O., at the office of the

ALEXANDRA ORPHANAGE (founded 1758), 73, Cheapside, London, E.C. 2



"Nobody likes me 'cause I have spots!"

A cry that goes to the heart—

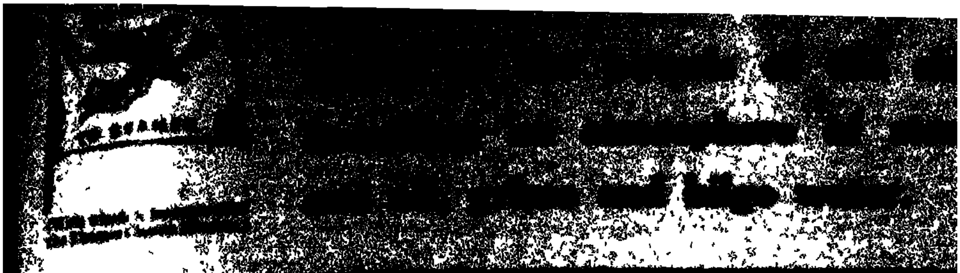
A cry uttered by a little girl in Hospital—a cry which typifies the feelings of the unfortunate sufferers from Skin Diseases—diseases which turn beauty to hideousness, and, among those who do not understand, cause distaste and loathing. And these diseases are not in any way due to the patients' own fault!

Our children's ward is closed—we cannot open it until we have more funds. Will you help us to reopen it? Please send us a Gift to help to pay our Bills.

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Patron: HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN. President: THE EARL OF CH[illegible]FIELD.
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COUNTRY

BOYS' SCHOOLS

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CENTURY AND AFTER

1877 1929

JANUARY 1929

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